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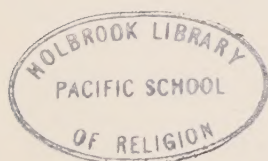
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THE MEANING OF „MYTHOLOGY” IN RELATION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT *)

BY

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This paper is intended to contribute towards the clarification of a term which is to-day enjoying frequent use in reference to Bible, religion and theology. The continuing need for such clarification may be indicated by the following two points:

1. We are becoming increasingly aware that the study of the facts or phenomena cannot be separated from the terminology which we apply to them. When we work with detail on a small scale this problem of terms is less serious and the danger of error more remote. But when we attempt to relate facts and their significance over a wider area we may by inappropriate use of terms lay our study open to misconstruction, and much more serious, lead ourselves into actual errors of interpretation. We may take as an example the difficulties into which we may have been led by terms like “monolatry” and “Monotheism”, and still more by “animism” or “polydaemonism”—each of which has no doubt been used with good intention to express something in some of our texts, but which has carried other connotations going beyond the Old Testament texts and has thus become a mould forcibly applied to a reluctant material.

2. The recent discussion of “mythology” has been to a great extent dominated by New Testament studies and general philosophy and theology. It seems to me however that the basic problem of faith and mythology is one hammered out in the Old Testament, and that discussions which evade this fact miss a great deal of the point. This has not been unrecognised, e.g. by ALAN RICHARDSON in his paper “Gnosis and Revelation in the Bible and in Contemporary Thought” (*Scottish Journal of Theology*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1956). It is very largely ignored however by the essays translated from German in the volume *Kerygma and Myth*, by HENDERSON in his *Myth in the New Testament*, and by MACQUARRIE in his *An Existentialist Theology*—three

*) A paper read to the Society for Old Testament Study, Cardiff, July 1956.

of the most influential expositions of the problem in English. In the discussion it has too often been imagined that mythology could be identified for some purposes at least with the First-Century view of the universe. It will be part of the thesis of this paper that this First-Century cosmology is only a part of an approach to myth which is a theme of the whole Bible, and which is indeed more consciously a central concern of ancient Israel than it is of the New Testament Church. For this reason I suggest that Old Testament scholarship has a special contribution to make to this study.

We may begin by admitting that in a sense we are discussing a problem of definition. What do we mean by "mythology"? We have here the same difficulty that appears in other terms like "eschatology", "animism", etc., namely that we are abandoning actual Biblical language and seeking to find other terms to express Biblical thought. So far we might say that the terms can be used in any sense we wish, provided always that we define them clearly in advance. This would appear to avoid one of the commonest causes of confusion.

But we cannot be satisfied with this as a solution. In fact it is impossible for language to carry *any* sense by an arbitrary act of definition. Words carry a certain connotation of content; definition must be appropriate, in a sphere of this kind, to the entities studied; the division between words must, if error is to be avoided, be made to correspond as closely as possible with the division between relevant actualities. If this is true, the following appears to be true also:

1. A definition of myth for the purposes of Old Testament study would not be built upon universal theoretical considerations, or even upon the universal phenomenology of religion at all times and in all places. Definition would begin from example. Thus we could say, "By myth we mean, in this context, the sort of thing we find in Ugarit, or in the Enuma Elish, or in other expressions of culture which in fact impinged upon Israel with some directness." We would thus leave for the moment undecided whether in fact such myth universally existed, or whether other types existed elsewhere which would also within their own sphere of relevance require to be designated as "myth".

2. The most serious fault in much recent discussion has been that the sense of the word "myth" has been tacitly or deliberately fixed not in reference to myth as it actually existed in cultures in

contact with Israel but by its position in more or less modern philosophic usage. BULTMANN's original essay defines myth as follows: "Mythology is the use of imagery to express the otherworldly in terms of this world and the divine in terms of human life, the other side in terms of this side." This is perhaps not an impossible definition in itself, though open to criticism in many ways. But in its context in BULTMANN's thought it is clear that the *content* attached to myth is drawn from the opposition of myth to modern science rather than from the study of a mythology in its actuality.

3. It is not my concern here to deny that the word "myth" may be properly used in a general philosophical sense as opposed to, or even as a part of, natural science or epistemology. But it does seem true that such usage when applied to the Biblical and extra-Biblical cultural data introduces considerations completely foreign to the subject.

On this basis we can go on to say the following:

1. Myth has to be seen as a totality within the relevant cultural group. It is true that within a single civilisation we have myths of different strata and of different degrees of importance, and myths which appear to bear little relevance to one another. Historical and phenomenological study may for certain purposes have to isolate these elements and see them separately. None the less the effect of myth upon the consciousness of a people is seen only when we realise that it was the mythology as a totality which both shaped and expressed its mind.

It is a totality first of all because mythological thinking is a striving for a total world-view, for an interpretation or meaning of all that is significant. Mythology is not a peripheral manifestation, not a luxury, but a serious attempt at integration of reality and experience, considerably more serious than what we loosely call to-day one's "philosophy of life." Its goal is a totality of what is significant to man's needs, material, intellectual and religious. It has then its aspects which correspond to science, to logic, and to faith, and and it would be wrong to see myth as a distorted substitute for only one of these. Egyptian mythology, for example, has its insights into the configuration of the land of Egypt, the nature of truth, and the dealings of the gods with one another and with men. Myth is then a total worldoutlook; not an outlook brought to expression only on certain solemn occasions, rather one which informs and inspires with meaning the daily business of living. Where new interests and

needs emerge, myth will expand to comprehend the new and greater totality of what is now relevant. This is not to say that mythology was always or ever fully successful in comprehending the totality for which it strove; hard facts can be awkward for myth as they can for any world-outlook; yet to claim the comprehension of such a totality was its nature.

On the other hand man influences and is influenced by the totality of myth as he knows, believes and enacts it. Elements in mythology may come and pass away; but at any point of time and place there is a totality of myth as it is then and there known, which in one way moulds and controls the minds of men and in another way equally is expressing them or being moulded by them. One mythological form or pattern may infiltrate into another and finally replace the other; but man does not see himself in this as surveying two alternatives and choosing between them; rather throughout the process of infiltration, from the beginning to the end of the change, he is moved by the totality as it then exists.

This does not mean that myth is a totality in the sense of a logical system. On the contrary, the attempt to make myth intelligible by a logical systematisation usually distorts it. On the other hand myth may have a logical background; rationalisation does not necessarily abolish myth, but alters it. In late times we have such a phenomenon as post-rational myth, such as the Gnostic mythology, with the rationality of Greek philosophy lying behind it. But in general the totality of myth consists not in its logical organisation but in its grasp of what is significant and its recognition as such by man.

Being such a totality, myth is not a substitute for or a distortion of merely *one* of our forms of knowledge, scientific, philosophical or religious. It is not merely a pre-scientific attempt to understand the world of nature, sun and moon, plant and animal. Nor is it simply the philosopher's quest for a Logos or ultimate reality, a quest which lacking the instrument of rational logic has fallen into inextricable symbolic confusion. Nor is it merely a kind of religion which, unable to know God in his spiritual reality, has cultivated the creator under the guise of the creature. And it is not just the projection of the human subconscious, important as the psychological aspect must be for understanding the hold which myth has upon the minds of men.

2. Secondly, myth is not really a symbolic knowledge. In fact it is only within limits and with some reserve that we can look upon

myth as symbolic at all. MALINOWSKI (speaking however of “primitive” culture) can say, “Studied alive, myth, as we shall see, is not symbolic, but a direct expression of its subject matter; it is not an explanation in satisfaction of a scientific interest, but a narrative resurrection of a primitive reality, told in satisfaction of deep religious wants, moral cravings, social submissions, assertions, even practical requirements”¹⁾.

This would seem to apply equally well to the mythological culture of the Near East contemporary with the Old Testament. This myth was not the symbolism to which we may turn when we reach the rationally incomprehensible, when our logical concepts fail to take us farther; nor was it the symbolism which uses pictures for the sake of the impression they give, for the extra tones of their colouring. In ancient times myth was not a picture language. We cannot translate it element by element into another type of language, as if we could say, “This stands for this and that represents that.” When we consider myth functionally, in its actual working within a society of mythological culture, we cannot understand it as essentially symbolic in nature.

If this is true, one or two consequences must be drawn. In particular, and this should surely be obvious, it is entirely confusing to treat myth and metaphor as things of the same kind. All language is symbolic in one sense, but this does not make it myth. Some language is metaphorical, but even then it is not myth. It is not myth to say that somebody is a worm. It has sometimes been argued against BULTMANN’s plans to get rid of mythology that mythology is indispensable to human discourse, since all language, especially when it goes beyond the description of familiar tangible things, is symbolic. This argument is entirely misleading and unsuccessful. Even if the position I have just been maintaining were denied, and it was held that myth was a kind of symbolism, even so it would not mean that all symbol was myth.

3. Thirdly, the centre of mythology, or at any rate its characteristic which is specially significant in relation to the Biblical material, is its doctrine of correspondences. Myth always maintains a secret correspondence or hidden harmony of some kind between gods and

¹⁾ MALINOWSKI, *Myth in Primitive Psychology*, London, 1926, p. 23. Also in *Magic, Science and Religion*, Doubleday ed., p. 101. The quotation of this passage should not be taken to imply an approval of MALINOWSKI’s remarks on methodology in the same essay.

man, gods and nature, man and nature, the normative primeval and the actual present. The correspondence is, as we have said, not merely figurative but ontological. Tammuz dying and the vegetation dying are not merely like one another but are one another. The correspondence is not only believed but enacted. Not only does myth teach the existence of the harmony, but ritual ensures that the harmony will in fact exist. In *Enuma Elish* there is a correspondence between gods and man because both had their origin ultimately from the same monsters of chaos; and there is a correspondence between the salvation of the universe from chaos and the prosperity and fruitfulness of the existing state. The recital and re-enactment of the story at the festival not only relates these correspondences but brings them into renewed being. We believe then that this correspondence doctrine is fundamental to myth as we find it in the ancient Near East.

This is not to say that in every sentence or element of myth we can trace a direct correspondence to something in the present world. It is rather in the totality of myth, and not in each component part, that we find the necessary connecting link somewhere, which makes the whole relevant to life in this world, and it is in the form of a correspondence that the link exists.

The place of ritual makes clearer to us the unitary type of *ap-*perception which lies behind the correspondences. The King of Egypt succeeding his dead father *is* Horus succeeding the dead Osiris, and myth and ritual celebrate not one of these two things but both, for both are one. Zeus is the rain. Mythology does not perceive Zeus and then symbolise him as rain, nor see rain and then personify it as Zeus, but it sees Zeus-rain, as it can also see Zeus-thunder, or Zeus-meteorite (Zeus Kappotas). The perception is essentially unitary. We might ask what is characteristic of Zeus as separate or abstracted from these unitary relations, but mythology proper sees no meaning in such a question.

The importance of the correspondences is above all functional. They express the fact that myth is not a mere story or fiction but an integral and essential instrument for the maintenance of actual human life in the world. When it is related that the world of the gods was defended successfully against the attack of chaos this is significant because this world of the gods has a connection of origin or other correspondence with the world of men, and its successful defence guarantees corresponding prosperity for the farmer or shepherd or

merchant. The provision of this guarantee is the function of myth and ritual in society. Without the correspondences myth could not provide anything of value.

We are now in a position to approach Israel's special position among the mythological cultures which surrounded it.

1. In Israel we have a very radical departure from the characteristic mythical thought in terms of harmony or correspondence. The thinking out of this change may well have been slow and gradual; perhaps its clearest example is the creation story in Gen. i, where the old creation story is very thoroughly demythologised. The very sharp distinction between God and his creation here carried out seems to be characteristic of the central currents of Hebrew thought from early times also. It is not too much to say that the main battle of the Hebrew faith is fought against the confusion of human and divine, of God and Nature. The historical *Sitz im Leben* of this movement in thought may well be the problem of Canaanite Baalism, in which the confusion of God and nature was a basic principle. Against this background, so well illustrated in an earlier form from Ugarit, we can see the significance of another Israelite affirmation—namely that Yahweh alone is God, and that (in pure forms of Israelite faith) he has no female goddess with him—in its full contrast with the Canaanite interest in the divine sexuality and the sexual aspects of human worship which are here part of the correspondence theme. The *'Asherah* was more offensive to reformers than the *maššebbah*, of which many innocent traditions remain.

The main thesis of this paper is, then, that in Israel the correspondence pattern of mythology was broken.

2. We must return however to our point about totality. Israelite thought is a totality with its own centre, and its various peripheral manifestations have their place in relation to that centre. It is clear that many fragments of traditional near-Eastern mythology survive in Israel. In a sense they remain mythology. But whether they are so called or not, they now have to be understood in their relation to a totality which is shaped largely by its repudiation of the characteristic mythological pattern of correspondence. Fragments of mythology are no longer mythology in the full sense. This, we may remark in passing, seems to be one of BULTMANN's errors here; he exemplifies what he calls mythology from the concept of the "three-decker universe", which is not really living mythology in any full

sense, but rather a residual and sterilised fragment, on the cosmological side, of what was once myth ¹).

3. It will probably be agreed that the importance of history in the Israelite mind was the greatest factor in enforcing the differences from the mythological environment. It is thus perhaps possible to say that the central position in Israelite thought is occupied by history rather than myth, and that such survivals of myth as exist are controlled by the historical sense. It is perhaps too much to say, as has sometimes been said, that myth by its own nature is in principle unhistorical and uninterested in history. But it is certainly true that for the most part myth has in fact tended to an interest in the cyclic or the permanent rather than in the moving stage of history. If we ask how this Israelite interest in the historical arose, we are probably forced back on Israel's own confession to the centrality of the Exodus and the events surrounding it. This is independent of any question of the exact accuracy of the Exodus narratives as we have them.

4. Perhaps the most difficult problem at this point lies in the understanding of the Israelite cult in its double aspect of action and word, as we see it in the Psalms for example, or in the kingship as a focus of that cultic life. Is this not "ritual and mythology" in the sense of the surrounding cultures? Does this not include certain themes of divine-earthly correspondence, as in the Messianic attributes of the king, or elements of that functional purpose of ritual and myth, to keep the world going on and society prosperous? It is important here not to see the cultic elements in isolation from the historical; on the one hand the historical basis of the Israelite consciousness going back to the Exodus; on the other hand the historical realities of the Israelite kingship from David on. From early times a tendency to pure culticism, to cultic myth in the Canaanite sense, was balanced and restricted by the old traditions of the people. The functional idea of the cult, where the cult stabilised society by reproducing the primaeval divine event, was checked in Israel by the understanding of the transcendence of God, evidenced in the Exodus and contradicting a simple harmony picture of God and the world. Under this influence the central position of the king, which seems to me now to have been well established, and the ideas related to his person of the renewal of creation and the establishment of justice,

¹) BULTMANN, "New Testament and Mythology", ap. BARTSCH, *Kerygma and Myth*, English edit., London 1953, p. 1.

take on a new colour as gracious acts of God. In so far as they refer to the great acts of the past (and this past is a real past, not the un-historical primeval time of mythology), celebrate and re-enact them in the present, and bear also a future reference, they carry a certain sense of movement in time which we might designate as eschatological.

This leads us on to the question of myth and eschatology; and in this we may make special reference to the paper of S. B. FROST read before this society some years ago ¹). He says there, following MOWINCKEL, that "fundamentally, myth is opposed to eschatology by its very nature". This is a statement which the writer would also be prepared to make, but which seems to have rather different ramifications in his thinking from what it has in FROST's. For FROST agrees with MOWINCKEL that "while the cult maintained its hold upon men's thinking, eschatological thought could not arise; only in the mythological mother's death could the eschatological child come to life" ²). We have just argued, however, in effect that while mythology in the usual sense of the near East is opposed to eschatology, cult as such is not. There is no reason to think that the Israelite cult from David's time was dominated by these static and therefore anti-eschatological features; more likely, indeed, it was the cult, and not only the breakdown of the cult, which under the influence of the history of God's acts in time, transmitted to later generations the impulses towards eschatology. It seems impossible that the Israelite eschatology arose from disillusionment under the pressure of political deterioration and disaster, which broke the mythological idealisation of the *status quo* and forced men's interest into the future. Mesopotamia and Egypt also had their times of disaster but produced no eschatology; their mythology remained relatively stable through it all.

This is important in its consequences; for I am unable to agree with FROST that at the time of the Exile there was a re-mythologising of Israelite eschatology, and that Apocalyptic represents the completion of this process of mythologisation. He writes as follows: "It was this fusion of myth and eschatology which produced what we call apocalyptic. In fact, we may define apocalyptic as the mythologizing of eschatology" ³). What I take it FROST is pointing out here

¹) S. B. FROST, "Eschatology and Myth", *VT*, vol. 2, 1952, pp. 70-80.

²) *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³) S. B. FROST, *Old Testament Apocalyptic*, London, 1952, p. 33.

is the extensive use in later prophecy and in apocalyptic of themes like the conquest of the dragon or the return of the Golden Age, in other words the use of themes with a mythological origin. He is not saying that the philosophy of the *status quo*, the *rationale* of mythology, is now being revived and integrated with eschatology. But he does not make it quite clear that he is not saying this. The following points in particular should be made:

1. It is somewhat artificial to argue that the early stages of eschatology were not expressed in mythological terms, while later stages were ¹⁾. Can we really draw so sharp a distinction in nature between the fire which ate up *tehom rabbah* in Amos and the prophecies of the Golden Age?

2. It seems unlikely that the situation of the Exile was a sufficient cause for the alleged upsurge of mythology among the Jews. Is it not an attempt at learned explanation, rather than a credible account of reality, with a basis in evidence, to suggest that in Babylon Jews suddenly came to hear of the Dragon, the Flood or the Golden Age, and at once began to use these new terms as their natural idiom?

It seems more likely that from early times the cult in Israel, while using motifs from mythology, had already under the influence of the Exodus traditions broken away from the real underlying mythical view of life; and that with the development of eschatology under the prophets this movement took on a new impetus.

3. Why then did late prophecy and apocalyptic enter so much more deeply into symbolic and difficult language? This is not, I think, either a revival of mythological ideals, or a new injection of mythological language. It comes rather from the basic fact that these later writers had a greater sweep of history before their consciousness. The earlier prophets made no great effort to clarify the sequence or the arrangements of the things which were "coming". But when the prophetic tradition becomes temporally longer its interpretation of God's activity requires something closer to a philosophy of history, a discerning of the divine purpose through the ages. But such a total view is necessarily a view δι' ἐσώπτερου ἐν αἰνίγματι, a discerning of a veiled purpose. Hence Daniel has as principle that "there is a God in heaven who unveils secrets" ²⁾. It is the natural outgrowth of classical prophecy in the fullness of time.

¹⁾ S. B. FROST, *VT*, vol. 2, p. 75, 79.

²⁾ Dan. ii 28.

THE BARBERINI GREEK VERSION OF HABAKKUK III

BY

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The Barberini version (hereafter abbreviated Barb.) is so named because of its occurrence in the Barberini Codex, MS Barberinus Gr. 549 in the Vatican Library (HOLMES and PARSONS no. 86). MARGOLIS called it "Anon." for Anonymous¹), and THACKERAY called it "Oxford", because it occurs also in H-P 62 and 147, which are at Oxford²).

Barb. is a non-LXX, Greek translation of Habakkuk iii alone. It shows no outstanding affinities with any other known Greek version of this or any other OT passage. The scribe of the Barberini Codex, knowing that it was not LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion, wondered if it might be Quinta or Sexta³). Examination of extant fragments of these versions proves that there is no contact. DE MONTFAUCON was of the opinion that this version is Septima⁴). Since no fragments of Septima for our chapter exist, the conjecture cannot be tested.

The version is contained in five MSS, four of which also present the LXX text. The exception is V (Codex Venetus, H-P 23), which gives only Barb., though in a form which shows considerable adaptation to LXX. The other four are minuscules, H-P 62, 86, 147, and 407. All of the MSS are of medieval date, V being 8th century, 407 9th century, 86 9th or 10th century, 62 11th century, and 147 12th century. The four minuscules give the Barb. text first and follow it with the LXX text.

¹) "The Character of the Anonymous Greek Version of Habakkuk 3", *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper* (Chicago, 1908), Vol. I, pp. 131-142.

²) *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* (London, 1921), p. 48.

³) Cf. the colophon to the Barberini Codex, quoted by MARGOLIS, *op. cit.*, p. 133, and by KLOSTERMANN, *Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik* (Leipzig, 1895), p. 60: τὴν ᾠδὴν τοῦ Ἀμβρακίου οὐχ εὗρον συμφωνοῦσαν οὔτε τοῖς οὐτε ἀκόλα οὔτε συμμάχῳ οὔτε θεοδοτίωνι. ζητήσεις οὖν, εἰ τῆς εἴη τῆς εἰς ἐκδόσεώς ἐστιν.

⁴) Noted by MARGOLIS, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

1. The Text of the Barberini Version

By extended comment on the Greek text, I will attempt to show in detail the Hebrew *Vorlage*, the translation methods, and the contacts of Barb. with other versions. Concluding sections will organize these materials systematically.

- 1 Προσευχὴ Ἀμβακουμ ¹⁾ μετ' ὧδῃς ²⁾).
- 2 Κύριε, εἰσακήκοα τὴν ἀκοήν σου καὶ εὐλαβήθην ³⁾.
κύριε, κατενόησα ⁴⁾ τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ ἐξέεστην ⁵⁾.
ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων ⁶⁾ γνωσθήσῃ ⁷⁾
ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν ⁸⁾ τὰ ἔτη ἐπιγνωσθήσῃ ⁹⁾
ἐν τῷ παρῆναι τὸν καιρὸν ἀναδειχθήσῃ ⁹⁾
ἐν τῷ παραχθῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν μου ¹⁰⁾ ἐν ὁργῇ ἐλέους ¹¹⁾ μνησθήσῃ.
- 3 ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ λιβὸς ¹²⁾ ἤξει
καὶ ὁ ἄγιος ἐξ ὅρους φαρὰν. μεταβολὴ διαψάλματος ¹³⁾.

¹⁾ 86 and 407 add the missing τοῦ προφήτου in agreement with MT and LXX.

²⁾ This rendering (= LXX) is probably a guess at MT על שגיונות.

³⁾ This is Barb.'s sole departure from LXX in v. 2, the two versions having been conflated in this verse. LXX reads ἐφοβήθην. It presupposes יראתי rather than MT יראתי.

⁴⁾ Both LXX and Barb. imply ראיתי for MT יראתי, and the word is a doublet to εὐλαβήθην as well.

⁵⁾ A doublet of καὶ εὐλαβήθην.

⁶⁾ The Heb. *Vorlage* may have been חיוב.

⁷⁾ Whether γνωσθήσῃ presupposes the addition of תודיע in this line, or whether it is only an anticipation of the verb in the next line is not certain. The latter seems more likely.

⁸⁾ This phrase, together with ἐν τῷ παρῆναι in the next line, presupposes a repointing of MT בקרב to בקרב. Aquila has the same words.

⁹⁾ This line is certainly a doublet of the preceding, and it may have been the original Barb. rendering of בקרב שנים תודיע.

¹⁰⁾ These words presuppose the non-MT *Vorlage* בקרב רחי. Note the doublet following.

¹¹⁾ Here we have the equivalent of MT ברגו רחם

¹²⁾ Barb. has rendered MT תימן in its general meaning, "south", though V reads θεμάν. Cf. Vulg. and a Sorbonne Old Latin Psalter: *ab austro*; Theodotion: ἀπὸ νότ(ι)ου; Targum: מדרומא.

¹³⁾ The very curious expression was explained by THACKERAY (*op. cit.*, p. 50, and "Primitive Lectionary Notes in the Psalm of Habakkuk", *JTS* 12 [1910/11], p. 206) as a lectionary note. He observes that μεταβολὴ in Isa. xxx 32 seems to correspond to תנופה, the technical term of "wave-offering", mentioned in Lev. xxiii 15, which was a primitive Pentecost lection. Thus THACKERAY would identify the *Vorlage* of μεταβολὴ διαψάλματος as תנופה סלה. Another possibility seems open, since THACKERAY's lectionary-note theory is doubtful on other grounds. LXX reads κατασπίου δασέος for MT פארן. The two words form a doublet, and the most natural *Vorlage* of both would be something like שער,

- ἐκάλυψεν ὁ οὐρανὸς τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ¹⁾
καὶ τῆς αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ ἐπλήσθη ²⁾ ἡ οἰκουμένη ³⁾.
4 διαύγασμα ⁴⁾ φωτός ⁵⁾ ἔσται αὐτῷ. ⁶⁾
κέρατα ⁷⁾ ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ.
ἐκεῖ ἐπεστήρικται ⁸⁾ ἡ δύναμις τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ⁹⁾.
5 πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ προελεύσεται πτώσις
καὶ κατὰ πόδας αὐτοῦ ¹⁰⁾ ἀκολουθήσει τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πετεινῶν ¹¹⁾.

"leafy, hairy." BÉVENOT, among others, proposes that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX was שָׁעִיר ("Le cantique d'Habacuc", *RB* 42 [1933], p. 513). In Isa. xlvii 15, μεταβολή translates כְּסֶר, and its cognate μεταβόλος, renders the same word in Isa. xxiii 3. The corruption of שָׁעִיר to כְּסֶר by paracousis is quite possible. Thus μεταβολή might go back to a corrupted Heb. doublet of פָּאֵר. The same reading is contained in W (the Freer Codex) and Achmimic.

¹⁾ The phrase τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ is typical of Barb.'s tendency to paraphrase. It is also contained in the Targum (וְיִי יִקְרִי), Peshitta (ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ), Achmimic (ΑΠΕΛΕΥΣΕΤΑΙ [Η]ΠΥΡΕΑΥ), and Sahidic (Α ΠΕΛ ΑΠΕΛΕΥΣΟΥ).

²⁾ Complutensian Polyglot also reads ἐπλήσθη.

³⁾ These two lines of Barb. are erroneously cited as belonging to Aquila and Theodotion by Codices Colbertinus and Coislinianus.

⁴⁾ MT's copulative is omitted. Complutensian Polyglot reads καὶ διαύγασμα.

⁵⁾ MT reads כָּאוֹר. Augustine and Cyprian in the Old Latin seem to agree with Barb., reading *ut* where the rest of Old Latin has either *quasi* or *sicut*. Achmimic also gives the Barb. reading for this line.

⁶⁾ MT תִּהְיֶה is hardly rendered by ἔσται αὐτῷ. Cf. the next line, where ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ renders לוֹ. It seems likely that the *Vorlage* of the line was לוֹ אֵר.

⁷⁾ Barb., like LXX, has mistaken קַרְנִים for a plural. The plural of קָרַן is קַרְנוֹת, and MT's form can only be dual.

⁸⁾ The two words form a doublet. MT reads וְשָׁם, and ἐκεῖ corresponds to שָׁם. But ἐπεστήρικται certainly renders שָׁם. MARGOLIS (*op. cit.*, p. 137) thinks that the verb is "an amplification by the translator".

⁹⁾ The word order is strange. We would expect δύναμις to render עֹז, though δόξα is used for עֹז in Ps. lxvii (lxviii) 34; Isa. xii 2; xlv 25 (24); lxii 8 (?). MARGOLIS (*op. cit.*, p. 141; and cf. *ZAW* 25 [1905], p. 321) believes that δόξα might presuppose צְבִיּוֹן (the change from ה to צ is possible, he says, in old Hebrew script). In Isa. xxviii 1 δύναμις renders צְבִי. It is possible either that the Barb. translation presupposes the corrupted צְבִיּוֹן עֹז or that δύναμις was a guess at the *bapax legomenon* חֲבִיּוֹן. Old Latin texts (except Augustine, Jerome, and four Old Latin Psalters), along with H-P 239, interpolate this line before LXX v. 4c.

¹⁰⁾ The reversed order of לְרַגְלֵי does not indicate a non-MT *Vorlage*.

¹¹⁾ The identification of the Phoenician pestilence deity, *Resheph*, as "the great winged ones" is very similar to the translations of Aquila (πτῆνον), Symmachus and Theodotion (ὄρνειον), Quinta (reported by Jerome as *volucer*), Peshitta (ܡܠܟܐ), Achmimic (ΗΣΙ ΗΡΑΛΕΤΕ), and Sahidic (ΗΣΙ ΗΡΑΛΑΤΕ, and in the citation of the text by Shenoute: ΕΗΣΙ ΡΕΗ ΓΑΛΑΤΕ). Cf. also W^c: πετη[νοὺς?]. THACKERAY (*LXX and Jewish Worship*, p. 53) quotes CLERMONT-GANNEAU (*Horus et St. Georges* [Paris, 1877]) to the effect that this text identifies Resheph with Perseus of the winged sandals (cf. the various LXX readings, one of which

- 6 στάς ¹⁾ διεμέτρησε ²⁾ τὴν γῆν·
κατανοήσας ἐξείκασε ³⁾ τὰ ἔθνη.
διεθρύβη καὶ ⁴⁾ τὰ ὄρη θραυσθήσεται· ⁵⁾
ταπεινωθήσονται αἱ νάπαι ⁶⁾ ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος,
αἱ ὁδοὶ αἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀλλοιωθήσονται· ⁷⁾
αὐτοῦ ἔνεκα ⁸⁾ σεισθήσεται ἡ οἰκουμένη ⁹⁾.
7 καταθενόγηκα τὰς σκηνὰς Ἀιθιοπῶν,
ταραχθήσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ¹⁰⁾ τὰς δέρρεις Μαδιάμ.
8 μὴ ἐν ποταμοῖς ὀργισθῆς ¹¹⁾, κύριε;
ἢ ἐν ποταμοῖς ὁ θυμός σου;

is ἐν πεδιλοῖς, contained in A, Q, and some minuscules). Resheph is also identified in some Cypriote inscriptions (cf. COOKE, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 55 ff.) with Apollo. When we recall that Apollo was the charioteer of the sun, and that the sun was portrayed in Egypt as a winged disc, we may have a clue to Barb.'s Egyptian provenance. The Jewish translator was perhaps loth to name the pagan deity and preferred this circumlocution.

¹⁾ The participle (like κατανοήσας in the next line) is used in the interest of good Greek style and does not indicate a non-MT *Vorlage*.

²⁾ MT's Po'el is presumed here to be Pi'el, which is a better pointing of the verb.

³⁾ This is a *hapax legomenon* in the Greek versions, though it also occurs here in Complutensian Polyglot as ἐξήκασεν, and is presumed by 𐤀𐤃𐤕 in the Palestine Syriac (though there the word stands in the place of κατανοήσας). It may translate 𐤒𐤕𐤒, a form of 𐤕𐤕, "to spy out, explore", interpreted by ἐξείκάζω, 'to liken, compare.'

⁴⁾ Barb. has divided words differently. MT ויתפצצו הררי has been read יתפצץ והררי.

⁵⁾ Another of Barb.'s doublets, this probably renders יתרצץ (cf. Deut. xxviii 33; Isa. xlii 4; lviii 6), a corruption of יתפצץ. Old Latin Speculum seems to presuppose this reading with *quassati*, and cf. Palestinian Syriac. MT עד has been omitted.

⁶⁾ As a translation of גבעות, αἱ νάπαι looks strange, suggesting rather גאיות. But cf. Isa. xl 12, where LXX has rendered גבעה by νάπη.

⁷⁾ Still another doublet, this one of ταπεινωθήσονται, v. 6d. Ἀλλοιόω almost always renders שנה, and this is probably a corrupted doublet of MT שוה. At the same time, the future passives of Barb. may presuppose Heb. imperfects.

⁸⁾ This could render MT לו, though למענו would be more likely.

⁹⁾ Σεισθήσεται ἡ οἰκουμένη seems to be a doublet of v. 6a, perhaps presupposing ימוט for ימדר (as does LXX in v. 6a). BÉVENOT (*op. cit.*, p. 506, and cf. MARGOLIS, *op. cit.*, p. 138) thinks that the whole line rests on Heb. 𐤀𐤕𐤕 𐤀𐤕𐤕, לו תחת ארץ, תחת ארץ, v. 7a, otherwise omitted by Barb.

¹⁰⁾ Either MT ארץ was not in the *Vorlage*; or κατοικοῦντες presupposes ישבי before יריעות; or κατοικοῦντες renders ארץ in a revised word order, not unusual for Barb. (cf. κατοικοῦντας = ארץ in Jer. xxvii (1) 45); or οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὰς δέρρεις Μαδιάμ is a free translation of יריעות ארץ מדין. The last alternative seems most likely.

¹¹⁾ The form may presuppose an imperfect rather than MT's perfect. It may, however, be paracousis for the probable LXX original, ὠργίσθης (though most LXX MSS agree with Barb.).

ἢ ἐν θαλάσῃ ἢ ὁργῇ σου;

¹⁾ ἀνέβης ²⁾ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄρματα ³⁾ σου,

ἢ ἱππασία σου ⁴⁾ σωτηρία δὲ προέβης ⁵⁾.

9 ἐξηγέρθη ⁶⁾ τὸ τόξον σου·

ἐχόρτσας ⁷⁾ βολίδας ⁸⁾ τῆς φαρέτρης αὐτοῦ ⁹⁾. διάψαλμα.

ποταμούς διασκεδάσεις καὶ γῆν σείσεις ¹⁰⁾.

¹⁾ MT כִּי is omitted.

²⁾ This would seem to render a Heb. perfect, רכבת, rather than MT's imperfect.

³⁾ Ἄρμα is never elsewhere used for סוס. It accords better with מרכבה, which appears in the next line. (Cf. note 4).

⁴⁾ The terms may have been reversed. Ἡ ἱππασία renders סוס in Jer. viii 16 and LXX of this passage.

⁵⁾ The basis of this expression is all but impossible to determine. MARGOLIS (*op. cit.*, p. 142) calls it "an unsolved problem of identification." Προβαίνω usually renders בוא, הלך, or ירד. Given Barb.'s propensity to add doublets at the ends of lines or groups of lines, we might expect δὲ προέβης to be a doublet of ἀνέβης. But no likely Heb. equivalent of προβαίνω can be identified as a corruption of MT תרכב. Furthermore, the relative pronoun, δὲ, can hardly be either a translation of כִּי, omitted by Barb. in the previous line, or a corruption of ὅτι (LXX for כִּי), but would more probably render אשר. It is barely possible that δὲ προέβης is a witness to a divergent Heb. form of the poem which had אשר תרכב rather than כִּי תרכב. Certainty is lacking.

⁶⁾ It is unlike Barb. to condense, but that seems to be the solution here. עזרה was probably taken as an absolute infinitive, acting to strengthen the verb, and ἐξηγέρθη renders the whole expression, עזרה תעור. On the other hand, it is possible 1) that עזרה had dropped out of the *Vorlage*, or 2) that δὲ προέβης renders something like it, perhaps a form of ירד. Ἐξηγέρθη seems to presuppose a perfect form, עזרת, for MT's imperfect.

⁷⁾ This line in Barb. has attracted a good deal of attention from scholars, for its rendering of this most baffling Heb. sentence is a helpful source of emendation. (DUHM [*Das Buch Habakuk* (Tübingen, 1905), p. 86] took a dim view of it. He said, "Jene griechische Übersetzung ist eher ein interessante Beispiel einer kühnen Konjektur aus alter Zeit.") Clearly ἐχόρτσας renders שבעת, rather than MT שבעות. Peshitta has read the same Heb. with ܫܒܥܬܐ. The number of scholars who have accepted this or a similar emendation is legion. They include TORREY (שבַּעַת), EHRLICH, GUNKEL, GUTHE, MARTI, NICOLARDOT (שבַּעַת), G. A. SMITH, WARD (שבַּעַת), ALBRIGHT (שבַּעַת), CASSUTO, RUBEN (שבַּעַת), ELLIGER, HORST, HUMBERT, IRWIN, NÖTSCHER, NOWACK, PROCKSCH, SELLIN, TRINQUET, and WADE (שבַּעַת).

⁸⁾ Though βόλις is not an accurate translation of מטה (it is never so used in LXX), it is probably intended to translate מטות.

⁹⁾ Codex V reads τῆς φαρέτρης αὐτῆς. The noun may render אשפה (so BÉVENOT, *op. cit.*, p. 515; LACHMANN, *Das Buch Habbakuk* [Aussig, 1932], p. 75) or יתר (so THACKERAY, JTS 12 [1910/11], p. 201). The former is more like MT.

¹⁰⁾ Another case of duplication. The curious fact here is that both verbs of the line seem to have non-MT *Vorlagen*. Neither διασκεδάζω nor σείω elsewhere renders בקע. The possibility of determining the *Vorlage* of this line seems remote. תפיר may lie behind διασκεδάσεις (cf. Gen. xvii 14; Zech. xi 14; Isa. xiv

- 10 ἐν τῷ ἀντοφθαλμεῖν σε ταραχθήσονται ¹⁾ τὰ ὄρη· ²⁾
 ἐν τῷ τὸν ἐξαίσιόν σου ὕμβρον ³⁾ διελθεῖν δι' αὐτῆς· ⁴⁾
 ἢ ἄβυσσος ἀνεφώνησε ⁵⁾ μεῖζον ⁶⁾.
 11 ὥς τὸ λαμπρὸν τοῦ ἡλίου ἐπέσχε· ⁷⁾
 τὸ δὲ φέγγος τῆς σελήνης ἐστάθη· ⁸⁾
 κατὰ τὸ φέγγος τῶν βολίδων σου ⁹⁾ πορεύονται·
 κατὰ τὸ φέγγος ¹⁰⁾ ἀστραπῆς μαχαίρας σου.
 12 μετὰ θυμοῦ ἐγερεθήσῃ ¹¹⁾ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ¹²⁾,
 μετ' ὀργῆς ἀλοήσεις ἔθνη.
 13 ἀνεφάνης ¹³⁾ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ λαοῦ σου·

27; xxiv 5, etc.), and **רעיש** may be presupposed by **σεῖσεις** (cf. Hag. ii 7 (6); Isa. xiv 16; Ezek. xxxi 16, etc.), but these are only guesses. **תקבע** does not seem to have been in the *Vorlage*.

¹⁾ Barb. has rendered the asyndetic **ראוך יחילו** by a good idiomatic Greek construction, using the prepositional infinitive phrase as the participles in v. 6 were used.

²⁾ Where LXX is haggadic, using **λαοί** for **הרים**, Barb. is literal.

³⁾ This rather complex phrase is doubtless intended as an interpretative translation of **זרם מים**.

⁴⁾ Δι' αὐτῆς seems to imply the addition of **בו** after **עבר**.

⁵⁾ As in v. 9a, Barb. has condensed. This clearly represents **קול**.

⁶⁾ Where MT **רום** is the first word of v. 10d, Barb. takes it (reading **רם**) with v. 10c. The rest of v. 10d is taken with v. 11a.

⁷⁾ This is a very difficult line, as is indicated by the fact that MARGOLIS gave up on its solution (*op. cit.*, p. 142). The equivalent in MT is clearly **ידיהו נשא שמש**. As we see elsewhere in the version, the translator was quite free in the rearrangement of words. Here **ידיהו** has been figuratively rendered by **ὥς τὸ λαμπρὸν**, this being the meaning of the sun's "hands." Since the "hands" belong to the sun, the translator has rendered the line as if **ידיהו** and **שמש** were in construct. And **נשא**, "lift up", is translated "to spread out", emphasizing its contrast with **עמד** in the next line.

⁸⁾ The same phenomenon as in the previous line can be observed here. Barb. translates as if the line read **זבל ירח עמד**. This does not imply that this was the *Vorlage*. The translator was trying to give an adequate translation.

⁹⁾ Palestinian Syriac, with **ܐܪܥܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ**, seems to presuppose Barb.'s reading, as do Achmimic and Vulgate.

¹⁰⁾ It is strange that **φέγγος** occurs three times in this verse, each time as the equivalent of a different Heb. word (**זבל**, **אור**, and **ננה**). One wonders whether it was a *terminus technicus* among Hellenistic cults in Egypt or elsewhere, but evidence is lacking.

¹¹⁾ Since **ἐγερεθήσῃ** is not a good translation of MT **תצעד**, we may suggest the corrupted **תעור** as the *Vorlage* (cf. **ἐξεγείρω** = **עור**, v. 9a; **ἐγείρω** = **עור**, Ps. cvii [cviii] 2; Prov. x 12; Cant. ii 7; iii 5; viii 4; Joel iii [iv] 12, etc.). Palestinian Syriac seems to have the same reading with **ܐܪܥܝܬܐ**.

¹²⁾ Although it is not impossible that Barb. read **על ארץ**, MT is probably presupposed.

¹³⁾ This word is cited by MARGOLIS (*op. cit.*, p. 136) as evidence of Barb.'s Targumic character, since Targum to the passage is **אתגליתא**. 'Ανεφάνης could,

ῥύσασθαι τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς σου.¹⁾
 κατετόξευσας κεφαλὰς ἀνθρώπων²⁾ ὑπερηφάνων³⁾,
 ἕως ἀβύσσου τῆς θαλάσσης καταδύσονται⁴⁾.
 14 ἐξεδίκησας⁵⁾ μετὰ δυνάμεώς σου⁶⁾ τοὺς ἀρχηγούς⁷⁾ τῶν
 ἀμαρτωλῶν⁸⁾,
 τοὺς πεποιθότας⁹⁾ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐθαδεῖα αὐτῶν¹⁰⁾

however, render תִּצַּת, from צַת, "to make to blaze up;" the corruption from MT
 תִּצַּת is an easy one.

¹⁾ This reading of מְשִׁיחַ is a most unusual one. Like LXX, Barb. has taken the Heb. to be plural. The interpretation, "the elect", is to be found in three Old Latin texts (the Mozarabic Breviary, Verecundus, and the Verona Psalter, reading *electos tuos*), and cf. the Sahidic citation (ⲙⲏⲉⲓⲭⲣⲉⲓⲥⲧⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ). The translation, doubtless original in Barb., probably reflects both Jewish provenance and an anti-Christian polemic. The latter point is disputed by BÉVENOT: "Nous pensons que notre traducteur a évité de se servir du mot 'christs' pour désigner le peuple de Dieu en général, probablement par un scrupule sacerdotale" (*op. cit.*, p. 507).

²⁾ A corruption of בית to מתי is presupposed; this emendation is accepted by HUMBERT, *Problèmes du livre d'Habacuc* (Neuchâtel, 1944), p. 65.

³⁾ Though ὑπερήφανος never translates רשע elsewhere, it is probably the equivalent of MT here.

⁴⁾ The notable fact about vv. 13-14 in Barb. is that in these verses we have none of the expanded translations so characteristic of the version. Yet these verses contain more departures from MT than any other comparable passage in the poem. The present line is a good example. MARGOLIS (*op. cit.*, pp. 136, 141) feels that ἕως ἀβύσσου τῆς θαλάσσης renders עֲרוֹת יָסוֹד, and καταδύσονται renders עַד צוֹאֵר. This, however, is a much freer translation than even Barb. ever undertakes. "Ἐως ἀβύσσου must be something like עַד צוֹאֵר, perhaps עַד מְצוֹלָה (cf. Job. xli 22). We have noted above that Barb. in several places makes genitive constructions of words which are separated in the Heb. text. Thus the genitive τῆς θαλάσσης may represent a corruption of עֲרוֹת or יָסוֹד. It would most naturally render הַיָּם, but it might translate תְּהוֹם, perhaps a corruption of עֲרוֹת. Καταδύσονται would most naturally represent יִרְדּוּ (cf. Exod. xv 5), which might replace יָסוֹד. This is one line in which Barb. so obviously read a non-MT *Vorlage* that its determination is a matter of pure guesswork.

⁵⁾ This presupposes נִקְמַת for MT נִקְבַּת (for ἐκδικῶ = נָקָם, cf. Lev. xxvi 25; Num. xxxi 2; Deut. xxxii 45; I Kings xxiv 13; Nah. i 2; Ezek. xxiv 8; xxv 12).

⁶⁾ A reading במִּטִּיךְ (MT במִּטִּי) is indicated, on the basis of which many scholars emend.

⁷⁾ The plural might suggest ראשִׁי for MT ראש, but it may be only interpretative.

⁸⁾ Since most of the versions have guessed at the meaning of פְּרוּז, Barb. may also have done so. MARGOLIS, however (*op. cit.*, p. 142), notes Aquila's rendering of פְּרוּץ by ἀμαρτωλός in Ezek. xviii 10, and suggests that the text read פְּרִצּוֹ.

⁹⁾ MT v. 14b seems to be almost entirely omitted by Barb., though this phrase is probably a remnant of it. MARGOLIS thinks that the translator read a Niph. of סַעַד for סַעַר, an easy corruption (*op. cit.*, p. 142). Πείθω never renders סַעַד elsewhere, nor does the Niph. of סַעַד occur in the OT. The equivalent of πείθω is usually בטח, but MARGOLIS' identification is possible. Cf. also Peshitta, ܡܬܬܝܚܐ.

¹⁰⁾ MT להִפְצִיז is omitted by Barb. This expression presents a word used else-

- 1) ἔνεκεν τοῦ καταφαγεῖν τοὺς πτωχοὺς λάθρα.
 15 ἀνεβίβασας ²⁾ ἐπὶ θαλάσσας τοὺς ἵππους σου
 ἑταράχθη ³⁾ τὰ ἐξάισια ὕδατα τῆς ἀβύσσου ⁴⁾.
 16 ἑταξάμην ⁵⁾ καὶ ἀνεσταῶθη τὰ σπλάγχχνα ⁶⁾ μου
 ἀπὸ ⁷⁾ τῆς φωνῆς ⁸⁾ τοῦ στοματός σου ⁹⁾.
 εἰσέδου ¹⁰⁾ τρόμος ¹¹⁾ εἰς τὰ ὀστέα μου.
¹²⁾ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἑταράχθη ¹³⁾.
 ταῦτα ¹⁴⁾ φυλάξεις ¹⁵⁾ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως
 ἐπαγαγεῖν ¹⁶⁾ ἐπὶ ἔθνος πολεμοῦν τὸν λαόν σου ¹⁷⁾.

where in Greek versions only in Isa. xxiv 8, where it renders שאון. Here it may show a word division within MT על יצתם, perhaps על יצתם, possibly translated "because of their anguish." Cf. Peshitta, ܫܠܝܬܡܝܢ.

¹⁾ MT כמו has been omitted.

²⁾ MARGOLIS (*op. cit.*, p. 140) considers the Hiph. of דרך to be the *Vorlage* here, since ἀναβίβασω often renders the Hiph. of רכב. In view of Barb.'s free method, there seems to be no compelling reason to assume a non-MT *Vorlage*.

³⁾ MT has the noun חמר, "heap". Barb. has read the verb חמר in Qal, "to stir up."

⁴⁾ Another example of circumlocutory translation. The translator probably identified מים רבים with such expressions as תהום רבה (Amos vii 4, etc.). Cf. H. G. MAY, "Some Cosmic Connotations of *Mayim Rabbim*, 'Many Waters'", *JBL* 74 (1955), pp. 9-10.

⁵⁾ Haplography of ע has produced this reading, which must presuppose שמתי (cf. Hab. i 12; ii 9; iii 19 [LXX]; Hag. i 5, etc.).

⁶⁾ A more genteel translation of בטן than LXX's κοιλία.

⁷⁾ For MT לקול, Barb. seems to presuppose מקול.

⁸⁾ Barb. has omitted MT צללו, as has Peshitta.

⁹⁾ Where MT has שפתי, Barb. has read שפתיה.

¹⁰⁾ Barb. presupposes the perfect בא for MT יבוא. Cf. LXX καὶ εἰσῆλθε = ובא.

¹¹⁾ LXX also uses this noun, which would accord better with רעד than with MT רקב.

¹²⁾ MT's נאח has been omitted.

¹³⁾ Where MT has imperfect ארגו, Barb. implies perfect רגותי.

¹⁴⁾ This clearly presupposes Heb. אלה, which might be a corruption of either אשח or אנוח.

¹⁵⁾ MARGOLIS (*op. cit.*, p. 142) is disposed to think that φυλάξεις represents τήν, but φυλάσσω is not elsewhere used for נוה. It would better fit some such form as תשמר. The *Vorlage* of the two lines may have been something like the following:

תחתי רגותי תשמר
אלה ליום צרה

This is not good Hebrew, but neither was it the work of Habakkuk.

¹⁶⁾ The form could represent either MT's Qal infinitive (cf. Exod. xxxiii 5) or a Hiph. infinitive (cf. Deut. xxviii 61; Jer. xl [xxxiii] 6).

¹⁷⁾ It is possible that πολεμοῦν τὸν λαόν σου is an expanded rendering of יודך (MT יגודנו). On the other hand, λᾶός is the LXX equivalent of MT עם (Barb. ἔθνος), and τὸν λαόν may be a doublet inserted, according to Barb.'s frequent pattern, at the end of the line.

- 17 ¹⁾ ἡ συκῇ οὐ μὴ παραδῶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῆς ²⁾,
καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀμπέλους οὐκ ἔσται φορά·
ἡ ἐλαία ἐξίτηλος ἔσται ³⁾,
ἡ δὲ γῆ οὐ μὴ ἐκθάλη βοτάνην·
ἐκλείψει ⁴⁾ ἐκ μάνδρας ⁵⁾ πρόβατα
καὶ βόες οὐχ ὑπάρξουσιν ἐπὶ φάτναις.
- 18 ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν ⁶⁾ κυρίῳ ἀγαλλιάσομαι ⁷⁾
χαρήσομαι ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τῷ σωτῆρί μου.
- 19 κύριος ὁ θεός μου ⁸⁾ ἔδωκέ μοι ἰσχύν ⁹⁾
καὶ κατέστησε ¹⁰⁾ τοὺς πόδας μου ἀσφαλεῖς ¹¹⁾
καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τραχήλους ¹²⁾ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου ¹³⁾ ἐπιβίβῃ με.
ταχίσας κατεπαύσατο ¹⁴⁾.

¹⁾ MT כִּי is omitted, as it is in v. 8d, the only other occurrence of the word in the Psalm. The Old Latin of Cyprian also omits it.

²⁾ A free translation of פָּרַח, with which Complutensian Polyglot and Old Latin agree (omitting αὐτῆς).

³⁾ Either Barb. has condensed MT כַּחַשׁ מַעֲשֵׂה (so MARGOLIS, *op. cit.*, p. 136) or מַעֲשֵׂה has been omitted. Since we have noted other instances of condensation, we need not assume an omission.

⁴⁾ The future seems to presuppose Heb. imperfect, יָגֹר. Ἐκλείπω is never used elsewhere for יָגֹר.

⁵⁾ Achmimic seems to agree with Barb. here against LXX: ΟΥΩΡΕ ΗΕCΑΘ ΑΣΤΕΚΙ ΔΒΑΛ *ῥῆ τιμῃσειρε; and cf. W^c: [ἀπὸ] μάνδρας ποιμνία.

⁶⁾ The only difference between LXX and Barb. in this verse is that LXX inserts τῷ here. Both versions represent MT.

⁷⁾ Complutensian Polyglot reads ἀγαλλιάσομαι, which is clearly an error, since no such Greek verb exists.

⁸⁾ Barb. has evidently taken אֲדֹנִי to have a first singular suffix.

⁹⁾ Another of Barb.'s free translations, which implies a mild interpretation.

¹⁰⁾ The aorist probably implies Heb. perfect, וָשַׁם, rather than MT וַיִּשֶׁם. Augustine, the San Michel and St. Gall Old Latin Psalters agree, reading *statuit*.

¹¹⁾ MARGOLIS (*op. cit.*, p. 136) thinks that ἀσφαλεῖς is "an interpretative paraphrase" of the Lucianic (or Syrian) LXX: ὥσει ἐλάφου. But the notion of "safety, immovability" is a poor interpretation of "like the hind." Barb. might have seen in כִּילֹת a form of כּוֹל (Hiph., "to endure, sustain"), perhaps reading כִּילֹת. It is not impossible, however, that Barb. read כִּאִילֹת as the plural of אֵילָה, "oak, terebinth" (which seems to the writer to be an improvement on MT), and interpreted it as "immovable".

¹²⁾ This is an unusual translation of בְּמוֹת, though it is found in Deut. xxxiii 29.

¹³⁾ Does this expression imply the insertion of אֵיבִי in the text, or is it another free rendering (so MARGOLIS, *op. cit.*, p. 136)? It is interesting to note that אֵיבִיךָ appears in Deut. xxxiii 29 (cf. note 1), and that in the same verse דָּרַךְ is translated by ἐπιβαίνω. We may postulate some influence of that passage on Barb. The reference to "my enemies" was probably the attempt to be consistent while translating בְּמוֹת by τραχήλος.

¹⁴⁾ The rendering of the subscription to the Psalm is very difficult. THACKERAY (*JTS*, 12, pp. 202-203), following his lectionary theory, finds in the Barb. text a *ḡ = here used for Achmimic ḫ*ai* (printer's note)

2. Characteristics of the *Vorlage*

One striking fact emerges from this study: Barb. has been heavily edited in the first section of the poem (vv. 1-9), whether in its Greek form or in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. This is shown by the large number of doublets, almost all of which occur in vv. 2-9. In v. 2 Barb. has been conflated with LXX, but the other doublets have no contact with LXX, and most of them represent non-MT readings. These doublets have frequently been added at the end of the line or sentence in which their counterparts occur.

- v. 6c θραυσθήσεται (= יתרצץ), doublet of διεθρύβη (= יתפצץ)
- v. 6d-e ἀλλοιωθήσονται (= ? ינוו), doublet of ταπεινωθήσονται (= ? ישוו)
- v. 6f αὐτοῦ ἔνεκα σεισθήσεται ἡ οἰκουμένη, doublet of v. 6a
- v. 8d-e ὁ πρόεδρος, doublet (?) of ἀνέβης
- v. 9c σείσεις, doublet of διασκαδάσεις

In three cases this arrangement does not obtain:

- v. 3b μεταβολή, doublet (?) of LXX κατασκίου itself a doublet of Barb. φάραν.
- v. 4c ἐπεστήρικται (= שם), doublet of ἐκεῖ (= שם)
- v. 16f λάός, doublet (?) of ἔθνος

The fact that these doublets correspond with demonstrable Hebrew words, most of which could have been corruptions of MT, indicates that they probably go back to a variant Hebrew tradition¹). The

corruption of a non-MT Heb. rubric. He thinks that ταχίσας κατεπαύσατο renders מהבה השבית, an erroneous reading of מחרת השבת, "morrow of the Sabbath." This phrase occurs only in Lev. xxiii 11, 15, 16, probably the earliest Pentecost lesson, and the original rubric referred to that passage as the Torah reading. BÉVENOT (*op. cit.*, p. 518) feels that κατεπαύσατο is the equivalent of Targ. תושבחתא, but he arrives at this by way of a corruption to תהשבח, the relation of which to κατεπαύσατο is not visible to the naked eye (BÉVENOT does not analyze the anomalous form). It would appear most probable that κατεπαύσατο best corresponds to למנוח, an easy corruption from MT למנצח. Ταχίσας, a *hapax legomenon* in Greek literature, presumably means "swiftly", and might render מהר, which bears little or no resemblance to MT בנינותי. One is tempted with MARGOLIS simply to give up on this obscure rubric. It is probably best to say either that it renders a liturgical direction totally different from MT, perhaps resembling מהר למנוח, or that its origin is in Greek liturgical usage, and it does not render any Heb. *Vorlage*. It should be noted that, instead of ταχίσας, V reads καθήσας over an erasure, which may be paracousis.

¹) Contra MARGOLIS (*op. cit.*, p. 135): "Especially characteristic of our version is the introduction from a parallel clause of a verb wanting in [MT]; a Greek synonym is naturally chosen." The independence of Barb. indicates that Hab. iii circulated independently of the Book of the Twelve, and the liturgical notes in all texts of the chapter show that the circulation was liturgical. The variant, Heb. text forms probably stem from this separate circulation.

fact that LXX and Barb. have been conflated in v. 2 has no bearing on this problem. Barb. and LXX agree extensively only in vv. 2 and 18, but in v. 18 there has been no conflation.

Barb. shows only two additions to MT:

v. 2c γνωσθήσῃ (= תודיע; cf. v. 2d)

v. 10b δι' αὐτῆς (= בו)

The first may be doubtful, since γνωσθήσῃ may be an anticipation of the verb in the next line.

Barb. has, however, fourteen omissions from MT, of which seven are particles, prepositions, and copulae. With the remaining seven omissions, we are dealing with more substantial lacunae. Three are somewhat doubtful:

v. 7a תחת און (BÉVENOT thinks that Barb. v. 6f presupposes a corruption of the phrase ¹⁾)

v. 9a עריה (The translators may have taken this as an absolute infinitive and joined it to the following verb in translation)

v. 17c מעשה (Again perhaps the translators joined this to the next for stylistic reasons, though Barb.'s tendency is rather to expand than to condense ²⁾)

The remaining omissions are:

v. 1 הנביא (86-407 rectify this omission in agreement with LXX)

v. 6c עד

v. 14b להפיצני

v. 16b צללו

It appears that at several points, Barb. has read different tenses from those in MT. Two of these are changes from perfect to imperfect:

v. 6d ταπεινωθήσονται = ? ישחו (MT שחו)

v. 6e ἀλλοιωθήσονται = ? ישנו (doublet to the foregoing) ³⁾

Five times Barb. seems to have read a perfect tense for MT imperfect:

v. 8d ἀνέβης = רכבת (MT תרכב)

v. 9a ἐξήγεῖσθαι = ערת (MT תעור)

v. 16c εἰσέδω = בא (MT יבוא)

¹⁾ Cf. note 9, p. 14.; cf. also MARGOLIS, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

²⁾ But cf. v. 10c, where ἀνεφώνησε = נתן קול.

³⁾ Two additional cases are probably only apparent. In v. 8a, ὁργισθῆς, which seems to imply an imperfect, is probably paracosis for LXX ὠργίσθης. In v. 17c, ἐκλείψει seems to presuppose יגור (MT גור), but the whole verse is cast in the future tense, and the translator may only have been maintaining consistency.

v. 16d ἐταράχθη = רגזתי (MT' ארגז) ¹⁾

v. 19b κατέστησε = שם (MT' ישם)

Barb.'s *Vorlage* contained one different preposition from that in MT': v. 16b ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς = מקול (MT' לקול). At three points Barb. has read a pronominal suffix different from that in MT':

v. 14a μετὰ δυνάμεώς σου = במטיו (MT' במטיו)

v. 16b τοῦ στόματος σου = שפתיו (MT' שפתו)

v. 16f πολεμοῦν τὸν λαόν σου =? יגודך (MT' יגודני)

Only one Barb. reading presupposes a difference in word division from MT': v. 14b ἐπὶ τῇ αὐθαδείᾳ αὐτῶν = על יצתם (MT' עליצתם). Most of the divergences (there are about twenty more) have been shown to be corruptions from MT', though several seem to point to something completely different from MT'. One such is v. 6f, which has been identified above as a doublet to v. 6a. Only one Hebrew word of the three presupposed by this line agrees with MT'. Likewise, v. 9b bears witness to a non-Massoretic tradition of pronunciation if not to a totally variant line. The verbs in v. 9c cannot be shown to render what is in MT', nor is it likely that their *Vorlagen* were corrupted from תבקע. V. 13d is so different from MT' that its *Vorlage* can only be conjectured. Yet it fits the context. And though τοὺς πεποιθότας in v. 14b might point to a corruption of MT' ἰσέρο, the normal equivalent of πείθω is בטח, which, if presupposed, is obviously non-Masoretic.

For all these disagreements, Barb. agrees with MT' in the majority of readings, and no convincing pattern can be made of the disagreements. Many of the discrepancies are added to form doublets, many are integral to the text. The largest number occur in the very difficult passage, vv. 13c-14; in five lines there are at least twelve divergences from MT', which range from a changed suffix (במטיו for MT' במטיו) and different word division (על יצתם for MT' עליצתם) to a completely variant line (v. 13d). On the basis of these observations, it must be assumed that Barb. had as its *Vorlage* an early variant tradition of Hab. iii. In the doublets, it seems to have retained vestiges of what may have been still a second non-MT' tradition.

3. Characteristics and Method of Barb.

The translator knew Hebrew quite well, and he felt entirely

¹⁾ It is interesting to note that these four verbs occupy two pairs of consecutive lines. In the former case, the perfect of v. 9b may have influenced the tense change.

free to translate the text into good Greek. In doing so, he has departed several times from a strict rendering of the Hebrew tenses in the interests of good style (cf. the Greek participles for Heb. perfect in v. 6a-b, the two examples of ἐν + infinitive for perfect in v. 10a-b).

In the freedom of translation we find Barb.'s most outstanding characteristic. In several passages, the Heb. word order has been altered. In v. 5b, the rendering of לרגליו comes at the beginning of the line, producing a symmetrical parallelism with v. 5a. In v. 17b and 17f Barb. has also lent a better climax to the lines by reversed word order. A different type of changed word order is to be found in v. 11a-b, where genitival constructions have been made from words separated in the Heb. text. Thus MT has been translated as if ידיהו and שמש were in the construct: φῶς τὸ λαμπρὸν τοῦ ἡλίου ἐπέσχε. The same phenomenon occurs in v. 11b, where φέγγος τῆς σελήνης would seem to render ירח and זבלה as if they were in the construct. A more radical change has taken place in v. 13d, where Barb. presupposes a totally variant *Vorlage* from MT. The prepositional phrase at the end of the Heb. line comes first, followed by what probably was the first word of the *Vorlage* in the genitive. Barb. is certainly an attempt to render the sense rather than the letter, much in the manner of a Targum¹).

Another characteristic of Barb. is the use of paraphrase. Most of the paraphrastic translations are prepositional phrases:

- v. 3c τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ = הודו
- v. 5b τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πετεινῶν = רשף
- v. 7b οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὰς δέρρεις = ? יריעות
- v. 10b τὸν ἐξαίσιόν σου ὄμβρον = זרם מים
- v. 11a φῶς τὸ λαμπρὸν = ידיהו
- v. 15b τὰ ἐξάισια ὕδατα τῆς ἀβύσσου = מים רבים
- v. 16f πολεμοῦν τὸν λαόν σου = ? יגודך
- v. 17a οὐ μὴ παραδῶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῆς = לא תפרח
- v. 19a ἔδωκέ μοι ἰσχύν = חילי
- v. 19c τοὺς τραχήλους τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου = ? במותי

At only three points has Barb. condensed:

- v. 9a ἐξηγέρθη = ? עריה תעור
- v. 10c ἀνεφώνησε = נתן קול
- v. 17c ἡ ἐλαία = ? מעשה זית

¹) Cf. MARGOLIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 f., on the Targumic character of Barb.

Still another peculiarity of Barb. is its vocabulary. Four words in this passage appear nowhere else in Greek translations of the OT, and one of them appears nowhere else in Greek literature:

v. 4a διαύγασμα

v. 6b ἐξεικάζω

v. 17c ἐξίτηλος

v. 19d ταχίσας (the *harpax legomenon* in Greek)

None of these words appears in the NT. Three of Barb.'s words appear elsewhere only once in Greek translations of the OT:

ἀντοφθαλμέω, v. 10a and Wis. xii 14

ἐκθάλλω, v. 17d and Sym. Cant. ii 13

φορά, v. 17b and Sym. Ps. lxvi 7

Two words appear twice elsewhere in Greek translations of the OT:

αὐθαδεία, v. 14b; Isa. xxiv 8 (ABS); Sym. Eccl. ix 3

εἰσδύνω, v. 16c; Jer. iv 29; 1 Macc. vi 46

Ἐξάσιος, vv. 10 and 15, appears elsewhere only in the LXX of Job, where it is used eight times.

Other words are characteristic of later books, such as Tobit, Wisdom, and Proverbs:

ἀναδείκνυμι, v. 2e (and LXX, v. 2e), twice in LXX of Dan., elsewhere only I Esdras, II and III Macc.

λαμπρός, v. 11a, Tobit, Wisdom, Ben Sirach, Epistle of Jeremy, Symmachus, Theodotion

ἀσφαλής, v. 19b, Tobit, Proverbs, Wisdom

ἀναστατόω, v. 16a, LXX Dan. vii 23; Aquila Ps. x 1; Sym.

Ps. lviii 12; Isa. xxii 3; xxxvii 13; Jer. xlix 30 (xxx 8).

These vocabulary examples show a certain affinity to Symmachus¹). But the fact that Barb. and Symmachus coincide in only one rendering in this passage rules out their identification; the one agreement is the rendering of **לְכַלֵּל**, v. 14c, by καταφαγεῖν.

The translator thus has mastered his subject extremely well. He knows classical Hebrew, and never mistakes it for Aramaic as the LXX translators have done several times in this chapter²). He trans-

¹) Compare also the similarity of translation methods between Barb.'s use of a participle and a verbal form to translate two Heb. verbs joined by *waw* in v. 6a-b with Symmachus' use of the same device in Exod. v 7; 4 Kings i 2. On the translation methods of Symmachus, see SWETE, *Introduction to the OT in Greek* (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 52f. Jerome identified Symmachus' aim as "*sensum potius sequi*", which was certainly the case with Barb. But the most that can be said is that the Barb. translation may have been made in a circle which knew the same vocabulary and methods as those of Symmachus.

²) LXX Aramaisms in this chapter are: the rendering of **גָּגַל**, v. 4a, as if it

lates literally when it suits his purpose, and he paraphrases very freely when he prefers paraphrase. The translation is a deliberately exegetical rendering, though there are none of the specific allusions which are to be found throughout the Targum to this chapter. And the comparative restraint in paraphrase marks the Targumic character of Barb. as a rather early one ¹).

4. Relationships with Other Versions

Relationships with other ancient translations of Hab. iii have been pointed out in the notes on the text of Barb. Here they may be catalogued.

a. Hexaplaric versions

v. 3a ἀπὸ λιβὸς; cf. Theodotion, ἀπὸ νότιου

v. 5b τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πετεινῶν; cf. Aquila, πτηγνον, Symmachus and Theodotion, ὄρνεον, Quinta, *volucer* (as reported by Jerome)

b. Septuagintal Versions

1) Old Latin

v. 3a ἀπὸ λιβὸς; cf. the first text of a Sorbonne Psalter with a dual text, *ab austro* = Vulg.

v. 4a διαύγασμα φωτός; cf. Augustine, Cyprian, *splendor ut lumen* (Cyprian *lux*)

v. 4c ἐκεῖ ἐπεστήρικται ἡ δύναμις τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ; cf. the insertion of this line before its LXX counterpart in all Old Latin texts except Augustine, Jerome, and the Psalters of the *Manuale ambrosianum*, of St. Germain, the second text of the above-mentioned Sorbonne Psalter, and the *Psalterium*

had Aram. third masculine suffix (φέγγος αὐτοῦ); the interpretation of יתר, v. 6b, by διετάκη, as if it were a form of Aram. תרי, "to dissolve"; the translation of עד in the next line by βία, „strong”, as if it were Talmudic עור (cf. Bib. Heb. עז); the reading of what was probably יסור for יסוד in v. 13d in the Aram. sense of "chain" (δεσμός); the seeming translation of ערו for MT יסערו in v. 14b as if it were Aram. ערר, "to shake" (σειώ); the rendering of צללו in v. 16b by προσευχή, clearly reflecting Aram. צלו; the presupposition of an Aram. infinitive form in למנצח, v. 19d (τοῦ νικῆσαι).

¹ Cf. the insistence of CHURGIN, *Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* (New Haven, 1907), pp. 35 ff., that the early Targumim were more literal and less paraphrastic, in opposition to the opinions of such scholars as ZUNZ, GEIGER, FRANKEL, BACHER, etc.: "Literalness was insisted upon and expository rendering would only be tolerated in difficult or poetical passages, or where the danger of a mis-interpretation had to be averted." The Targum to the present passage is on the whole astonishingly literal, though paraphrase and haggadic interpretation are not by any means absent. One of the great needs of textual criticism of the OT is a critical edition of the Targumim.

- v. 4a διαύγασμα φωτός ἔσται αὐτῷ;; Achmimic, **οση *ϑ[ηδν η] οταεινε ηα[*ϑ]ωπε ηεη.**
- v. 5b τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πετεινῶν; cf. Achmimic's addition, **ησι ηραλετε;** Sahidic, **ηει ηραλατε;** Sahidic^{ct}, **ηησι ρεν ραλατε**
- v. 8a ὀργισθῆς; Achmimic, **ηακηοηκε**
- v. 11c τῶν βολίδων σου; Achmimic, **ηηεκκατε;** Sahidic, **ηεκ- cote**
- v. 12b ἀλοήσεις; Achmimic, **κηα ρι¹**)
- v. 13b τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς σου; cf. Sahidic^{ct}, **ηηηηχρηεστιανος**
- v. 13d καταδύσονται; cf. Achmimic, **ακεινε**
- v. 16b τοῦ στόματος σου; cf. Achmimic, **αηασπατοη κα ρωοη *ϑα ηκ*ϑραη²**)
- v. 17d βοτάνην; cf. Achmimic, **βρε³**)
- v. 17e ἐκλείψει ἐκ μάνδρας πρόβατα; Achmimic **οηωρε ηεσαη αητεκηη αδαλ *ϑη τηηεειρε**
- 4) Agreements with LXX MSS⁴)
- v. 1 omit τοῦ προφήτου, L-²²-711-613 Cyr^p Th
- v. 2b κύριε; S L'-49-764-407 C'-68-239 Cyr (the rest of LXX omits the word)
- v. 3b μεταβολή διαψάλματος, W
- v. 4b ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ, L'-86^{ms} Th Tht
- v. 4c ἐκεῖ ἐπεστήρικται ἡ δύναμις τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, inserted by 239 before LXX 4c, with the variant ἐστήρικται
- v. 5b τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πετεινῶν; cf. W^c, **πητη[νοις?]**

mimicae: Codex Rainerianus (Leipzig, 1915) as Vol. 16 of his "Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde." A better edition was produced by Walter TILL, *Die achmimische Version der zwölf kleinen Propheten* (Hauniae, 1927), and this edition has been used here. TILL dated the MS, following KRALL, at the latest in the 5th century A.D., and CRUM, in his review of TILL's work, *JTS* 29 (1928), p. 208, calls it "the fifth (or? fourth) century parchment volume". The Sahidic texts, which are extant only in fragments, are published in a great number of places, for which see GROSSOUW.

¹) CRUM, *op. cit.*, p. 210, objects mildly to this identification, saying, "ηα with ρι- would be strange."

²) GROSSOUW (*op. cit.*, p. 72) wrongly translates this *a voce mea*, rather than *a voce tua*. This is the only occurrence of the phrase **κα ρωοη** in the Book of the Twelve, and its equivalent remains doubtful. The line is perhaps not derived from Barb., but it is somewhat similar.

³) ZIEGLER would emend to ***ϑρε**, which is used for βρωμα in Joel i 16 (*op. cit.*, p. 118). Cf. also Bohairic **ϛpe** in our passage.

⁴) The sigla and MS groups are those of ZIEGLER, *Duodecim prophetae* (Göttingen, 1943), by far the most adequate edition of the Twelve in the LXX.

* (See printer's note on p. 19).

- v. 8a ὀργισθῆς, attested by most LXX MSS
 v. 17e ἐκ μάνδρας; cf. W^c [απο] μάνδρας
 c. Targum
 v. 3a ἀπὸ λιβὸς; cf. Targ. מדרומא
 v. 3c τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ; cf. Targ. יו יקריה
 d. Peshitta
 v. 3c τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ; cf. Pesh. ܡܥܬܝܠܐ ܕܡܥܬܝܠܐ
 v. 5b τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πετεινῶν; cf. Pesh. ܡܥܬܝܠܐ
 v. 9b ἐχόρτασας; cf. Pesh. ܡܥܬܝܠܐ
 v. 14b τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ τῇ αὐθαδείᾳ αὐτῶν; cf. Pesh. ܡܥܬܝܠܐ ܕܡܥܬܝܠܐ
 v. 16b ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ στόματος σου; cf. Pesh. ܡܥܬܝܠܐ ܕܡܥܬܝܠܐ
 ܡܥܬܝܠܐ, agreeing with MT שפתי against Barb.'s presupposed שפתיך
 e. Vulgate
 v. 4c ἐκεῖ; Vulg. *ibi* (MT ושם)

These relationships present somewhat ambiguous evidence. The closest relationships to Barb. are in the Coptic versions, particularly the Achmimic, which was probably made in about the middle of the third century A.D.¹⁾ Otherwise, we have several contacts in Old Latin texts of North African provenance (Cyprian, Augustine; and Mozarabic Breviary probably represents a somewhat independent North African text-type), some in the Palestinian Syriac, which may antedate the fifth century A.D.,²⁾ and a few with Peshitta.

5. Provenance and Date of Barb.

These relationships with other versions suggest that the provenance of Barb. is Egypt. Egypt would be the most likely center from which a textual and exegetical tradition would spread both west to North African centers and east to Syrian ones. And the relationship with the Coptic versions are perhaps the earliest attested.

Egypt is also suggested by the fact that the translator of Barb. knew classical Hebrew uncorrupted by Aramaic and by the fact that his Greek is very good. Alexandria, of course, was the site of the most cosmopolitan and Hellenized Jewish community. And in

¹⁾ GROSSOUW, *op. cit.*, p. 122, thinks that it was not later than the second half of the century.

²⁾ So BLACK, *op. cit.*, p. 21, on the basis of a few traces in the version as a whole of pre-Rabbulan Syriac readings.

Alexandria such a Hebrew textual tradition as that presupposed by Barb. could well have been extant¹). The very slight internal evidence in Barb. may point to Egypt, but this evidence is so slight as to bear very little weight.

The problem of date is more complicated. The *terminus ad quem* is the first half of the third century A.D., as shown by the fact that Cyprian and the Achmimic and Sahidic versions probably come from the second half of that century. But this *terminus ad quem* must be carried further back than that in view of the fact that Barb. and LXX have been conflated in v. 2 of our chapter. The presence of this conflation in *all* LXX MSS is indication that it must have been made quite early, though the precise date cannot be established. It seems unlikely that it could have been done any later than the early second century A.D. The *terminus a quo* is impossible to determine. THACKERAY suggested a date early in the second century B.C.²). His theory was that Barb. was the first Greek translation of our passage, made for the purposes of the Pentecost lection, and that the present LXX displaced the more ancient text. This is a very difficult position to support in detail. It seems quite likely that Barb. represents a translation made for liturgical purposes. And it is furthermore probable that Barb. is a very early translation, for the measure of its divergence from the Massoretic text-type is considerably more even than LXX.

We might even argue that Barb. presupposes an edition of the poem in Hebrew which was quite independent of the rest of Habakkuk and the Book of the Twelve. The fixation of the Hebrew text was not by any means complete. Of course, it has been maintained by many scholars that the Hebrew text was not uniform until the time of the ben Chayyim text³). But it seems probable that the process of establishment of a uniform text began with the initiation

¹) Cf. the work of Peter KATZ: *Philo's Bible: The Aberrant Text of Bible Quotations in some Philonic Writings and its Place in the Textual History of the Greek Bible* (Cambridge, 1950). The character of Philo's text merely suggests the possibility of such a non-MT textual tradition in Alexandria. Since Philo does not quote from Hab. iii, we have no evidence to link his text with that of Barb.

²) *JTS* 12 (1910/11), p. 213; and cf. GROSSOUW, *op. cit.*, p. 125; BÉVENOT, *op. cit.*, *passim*; and SCHNEIDER, "Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum", *Biblica* 30 (1949), p. 31, all of whom agree with THACKERAY on the chronological priority of Barb. over LXX, though they do not all follow his early date.

³) Notably J. M. P. SMITH, "Studies of the Massorettes", *JAOS* 44 (1927/28), pp. 208 f. Cf., for full discussion of the various views, ROBERTS, *The Old Testament Text and Versions* (Cardiff, 1951), pp. 23-29.

of translations, and the process was furthered in the Jewish tradition by the acceptance of LXX as the Christian Bible. Important aid in the development of a uniform Hebrew text was given by Aqiba, who simply assumed dogmatically a pure, uniform text. The kind of close study which Aqiba and his disciples carried on shows this presumption, and the work of Sopherim and Massoretes not only was the attempt to bring about textual conformity in the Hebrew Bible but also operated on the presumption of uniformity. Barb.'s divergence from MT indicates that this process was not well started—if it was started at all—at the time the version was made. A date late in the first century A.D. might be suggested on the basis of this observation ¹⁾.

It is not unimportant to notice that the existence of this non-LXX version lends weight to KAHLE's "Greek Targum" theory of translation ²⁾, since it is highly likely that such was its purpose. The Targumic character of the version and its probable Jewishness give further support to KAHLE's argument, and it is curious that KAHLE nowhere gives any indication that he knows of Barb.'s existence. At the same time, the writer would disclaim the KAHLE theory insofar as it applies to the LXX itself in Hab. iii. The clear evidence of variants there is that there was a "proto-LXX." The conflation of the two versions in v. 2 and sporadic LXX variants agreeing with Barb. show only a very limited contact between them, and no pattern of "recension-family" agreements with Barb. emerges from LXX variants.

¹⁾ Cf. above, note 1, p. (17). The suggestion that τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς σου in v. 13b represents an anti-Christian polemic might indicate a time between the two Jewish revolts when Jewish anti-Christian sentiment was increasing. But this consideration cannot be decisive.

²⁾ See especially *The Cairo Geniza* (London, 1947) and *Masoreten des Westens* II (1930).

NOCH EINMAL ZUR JOSEPHUS-STELLE ANTIQU. 18,1,5

VON

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Die originelle Konjektur, mit der im siebenten Jahrgang dieser Zeitschrift ¹⁾ J. CARMIGNAC eine Vermutung DUPONT-SOMMER's weiter zu führen versuchte, ist sicherlich der letzteren vorzuziehen. CARMIGNAC weist mit Recht auf den bedeutenden Eingriff in den Text hin, den die Annahme von CAΔΔΟΥΚΑΙΩΝ statt ΔΑΚΩΝ voraussetzt, und auf die ungewöhnliche Bedeutung, die Σαδδουκαῖοι an dieser Stelle haben müsste. Aber auch sein eigener Vorschlag bietet, wie mir scheint, unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten. Abgesehen von der graphischen Verschiedenheit, würde sich der Abschreiber ein undeutlich geschriebenes ΑΥΤΩΝ wohl noch einmal genauer angeschaut haben, ehe er dafür einen so auffallenden und im Zusammenhang unverständlichen Namen wie ΔΑΚΩΝ einsetzte. Verlesungen neigen zur leichteren Lesart, und blossе Verschreibungen gehen meist nicht über einzelne Buchstaben hinaus. Andererseits kann man sich schwer vorstellen, dass Josephus ein ihm vorschwebendes *rabbim* durch πλεῖστοι hätte wiedergeben können, ganz gleich, ob damit nun alle Vollmitglieder, oder (was weniger wahrscheinlich ist), nur eine Elite der Essener gemeint ist. Weder „die Zahlreichen“ = die Vollversammlung, noch die „Grossen“ = die Massgebenden oder die Lehrer, würden normalerweise im Griechischen durch πλεῖστοι wiedergegeben (wenn Josephus nicht überhaupt *rabbim* als Gruppennamen unübersetzt gelassen hätte), sondern höchstens durch πολλοί bzw. μεγάλοι, διδάσκαλοι oder dergleichen. Wohl kommt πλεῖστοι im späteren Griechisch in elativischer Bedeutung vor: aber die Übersetzungstechnik der Alten klammerte sich doch zu sehr an den Buchstaben und setzte lieber ein missverständliches πολλοί, auch wo der Sinn den Elativ verlangte.

Gegen CARMIGNAC's Konjektur insbesondere erhebt sich die Schwierigkeit des Zusammenhangs. In der kurzen Notiz des 18.

¹⁾ V.T. 7 (1957) 318 f.

Buches der *Antiquitates* berührt Josephus nicht die Einteilung der Essener in vier Klassen, die er im *Bellum* (2, 8, 10) erwähnt; er lässt in keiner Weise durchblicken, dass Unterschiede und Abstufungen innerhalb der Essener bestehen. Wenn er daher abschliessend feststellt, dass „sie“ durchaus nicht abweichen von „denen aus ihnen, die man *πλεῖστοι* nennt“, so musste das unverständlich bleiben. Denn der Leser konnte unter der zusammenfassenden Bezeichnung „sie“ nichts anderes verstehen, als eben die bisher beschriebene Gesamtheit der Essener, am allerwenigsten ein Gruppe, die in der Vorbereitung auf die Vollmitgliedschaft steht und darum im vollen Sinne noch gar keine Essener sind. Es wäre auch eine höchst banale Feststellung, hätte er nur sagen wollen, dass die Novizen sich in allem nach dem Vorbild der Professoren richten. Offenbar will er die dem Leser unbekannte Lebensweise der Essener, an der er das besitzlose Gemeinschaftsleben und die Ehelosigkeit hervorgehoben hat, durch ein anderweitig bekanntes Beispiel veranschaulichen. Auf eine inner-essenische Gruppe mit Namen *πλεῖστοι* hinweisen, von deren Existenz der Leser nichts ahnt, hiesse daher Unbekanntes durch noch Unbekannteres verdeutlichen zu wollen. Vor allem hätte er dann nie eine ausdrückliche Verneinung der *U*nähnlichkeit vorausgeschickt: „sie weichen durchaus nicht ab, sondern gleichen . . .“, als ob der Leser in der zu korrigierenden Annahme befangen wäre, dass ein Unterschied der Lebensweise bestehen müsse zwischen den *πλεῖστοι* und den übrigen Essenern.

Im Zusammenhang käme also nur eine Sekte oder Gruppe in Frage, die mit den in Gütergemeinschaft und Ehelosigkeit lebenden Essenern verglichen werden und bei den griechischen Lesern des Josephus einigermaßen als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden konnte. Hier bieten sich, von den sagenhaften Pythagoräern und den utopischen Therapeuten Philos abgesehen, für das ausgehende 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr. eigentlich nur die buddhistischen Mönchsorden an.

Zum mindesten die Ehelosigkeit als das auffallendste Merkmal der Essener (wenigstens der Hauptgruppe) ist zweifellos in den Eigenschaften enthalten, die Josephus bei seinem Vergleich vorschwebten, und sie bietet die meisten Schwierigkeiten auf der Suche nach vergleichbaren Sekten oder gar nach den Ursprüngen der essenischen Bewegung. W. BAUER, der Verfasser des Artikels „Esseni“ in PAULY-WISSOWA trifft hier das Richtige, wenn er schreibt: „Auch bei den Juden hat ja das Gefühl, dass der Geschlechtsverkehr levitisch verunreinige, niemals zu einer Verwerfung der Ehe geführt. Für diese wie für das enge Zusammenleben in Besitzlosigkeit haben wir eine Entsprechung bisher wohl nur im Buddhismus, der sich

allerdings in anderer Hinsicht wiederum gar nicht mit dem Essenertum verglichen lässt. Bilden doch Bettelbruderschaft und Arbeitsgenossenbund den denkbar schärfsten Gegensatz. Aber dass eine Einwirkung Indiens auf das Palästina der Essenerzeit sehr wohl denkbar ist, zeigt die neuere Forschung unwiderleglich¹⁾. Ohne der Vermutung BAUER's bezüglich eines buddhistischen Einflusses zuzustimmen, können wir doch das, was er über Ähnlichkeit und Verschiedenheit sagt, voll unterschreiben.

Dass die im heutigen Text stehenden Daker nicht ernstlich in Betracht kommen, wird wohl jetzt allgemein zugestanden. Die in Siebenbürgen wohnenden *Daci* sind zwar schon in Caesars *Bellum Gallicum* erwähnt (6,25), standen aber nicht im Rufe eines besonderen Asketentums. Was in diesem Sinne behauptet wird, beruht zum grossen Teil eben auf Josephus. So schreibt z.B. BRANDIS über die Bewohner von Dacia: „Die Daker waren ein thrakischer Stamm; das wusste man schon im Altertum . . . Gegenüber den allgemeinen thrakischen Lastern des Trunkes und der Unkeuschheit, von denen die Daker nach Strabon VII 304 mindestens dem ersten ergeben waren, bildeten sich Sekten, denen wir Liebe zum Ackerbau, Ehelosigkeit, Verwerfung der Sklaverei und Gütergemeinschaft als Ziele, welche sie erstrebten, zuschreiben dürfen. Josephus . . . vergleicht mit ihnen die Essener bei den Juden, aber leider ist der Name dieser dacischen Sekte verderbt . . .”²⁾. Ähnlich G. KAZAROW über die Sitten der Thraker: „Man berichtet auch von verschiedenen Sekten oder Mönchsorden, die ein strenges und tugendhaftes Leben führten. Das sind die dakischen πολιῖται (TOMASCHEK, Thraker, II 1,18), die Flavius Josephus . . . mit den jüdischen Essenern vergleicht. Poseidonios bei Strabon VII 296 berichtet von ähnlichen Asketen bei den Moesern, die sich der Fleischnahrung enthielten . . . An derselben Stelle bei Strabon wird berichtet, dass manche thrakischen Asketen den Umgang mit Frauen mieden und κτίσται genannt werden.”³⁾.

Dies sind nicht nur lehrreiche Beispiele einer gewissen Art von Geschichtschreibung, sondern sie führen uns zugleich auf die einschlägigen Quellen, die zur Deutung der Josephus-Stelle herangezogen worden sind. Tatsächlich findet sich bei Strabon (7,3,3) ein Auszug aus Poseidonios († um 51 v. Chr.) über die Thraker: „Εἶναι δὲ τινὰς τῶν Θρακῶν, οἱ χωρὶς γυναικὸς ζῶσιν, οὓς κτίστας καλεῖσθαι ἀνιερῶσθαι τε διὰ τιμὴν καὶ μετὰ ἀδείας ζῆν.” Strabon selbst scheint dem nicht recht geglaubt zu haben, denn er bringt gleich darauf weitere (neben den oben erwähnten) Belege für die Unenthaltbarkeit der Thraker. Eine gewisse σπουδὴ περὶ τὸ θεῖον will er ihnen immerhin zubilligen. Was immer es mit den κτίσταις des Poseidonios auf sich hat⁴⁾: wir wissen nicht, ob Josephus diese Stelle gekannt hat; ganz unwahrscheinlich ist es jedoch, dass er sich in *Antiq.* 18, 1, 5 auf sie bezieht. Sonst würde er kaum Daker für Thraker eingesetzt haben. Auch führt kein glatter Weg graphisch von κτίσταις auf πλείστοις wie

¹⁾ RE, Suppl. IV, 428, 52 ff. Art. Esseni.

²⁾ RE I, 4, 1950 und 1955, Art. Dacia, von BRANDIS (1901); nach Strabon 7, 3, 11.

³⁾ RE II, 11, 549, 45 ff. Art. Thrake (Religion), von KAZAROW (1936), Strabon 7, 3, 3.

⁴⁾ Vielleicht verwechselt er sie mit skythischen Buddhisten, s.u. S. 39 Anm. 3

es etwa ORTELIUS annahm¹⁾; als Lesung bei Josephus wird es heute mit Recht abgelehnt. Dagegen hat sich die Konjektur SCALIGER's, *πολίσταις*, lange gehalten²⁾. Allem Anschein nach fusst sie auf Poseidonios und will eine Mittelform bieten, aus der sowohl *κρίσται* als auch *πλείστοι* abgeleitet werden können. Aber die Voraussetzung hierfür, dass sich Josephus auf Poseidonios beruft, ist wie gesagt abzulehnen. Trotzdem könnte *πολίσταις* eine bessere Lesart darstellen als *πλείστοις*, wie ich noch zu zeigen hoffe; sie ist zum mindesten *lectio difficilior*.

Der Name Buddhas taucht in der abendländischen Literatur erst spät auf. Als frühester Beleg³⁾ gilt bis heute Clemens von Alexandrien († vor 215). Aber Buddhas Lehre und seine Anhänger waren sicherlich schon früher bekannt. Die erste Kunde über Indien stammte von Megasthenes, der im Auftrag von Seleukos Nikator eine Reise an den Hof Chandraguptas nach Pātaliputra (Patna) unternahm (um 300 v. Chr.) und dann als erster Grieche ein Buch über Indien schrieb. Von seinen *Indika* sind zwar nur Fragmente erhalten, aber für das Altertum waren sie eine wichtige Quelle. Nach ihm waren die indischen *σοφισταί* in zwei Klassen eingeteilt, die Brachmanai und die Samanaioi. Diese Einteilung, und besonders die Samanaioi, kehren dann (auch als Sarmanai) bei vielen späteren Schriftstellern wieder. Hinter des Samanäern verbirgt sich sicher das skr. *śramaṇa* „Asket, Bettelmönch“ (pali: *samaṇa*), ein Wort, das zwar zunächst keine Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Sekte einschliesst, später aber fast ausschliesslich für die buddhistischen Mönche gebraucht wurde⁴⁾. Ob dieser Gebrauch schon bei Megasthenes vorliegt, ist trotz seiner Zweiteilung Brahmanen — Samanäer nicht sicher. Nach WECKER sind die Samanäer hier „wohl nicht buddhistische Mönche, wie VON BOHLEN und SCHWANBECK glaubten, sondern brahmanische Einsiedler“⁵⁾. Das stützt sich aber vor allem auf die Annahme, dass erst unter Aśoka (273-232) der Buddhismus genügend Verbreitung erlangt haben könne, um dem Brahmanentum gegenübergestellt zu werden.

Wenn dagegen Alexander Polyhistor (1. Jahrh. v. Chr.) von *Samanaioi* in Persien und Baktrien berichtet⁶⁾, so meint er damit

¹⁾ Vgl. NIESE, ed. crit. zur Stelle.

²⁾ Vgl. oben KAZAROW, und die Josephus-Ausgabe von DINDORF, 1865.

³⁾ Clemens Alex., *Strom.* I 15, § 71, 5; s.u.

⁴⁾ „Die Bezeichnung *śramaṇa*, womit die Brahmanen Buddha und seine Schüler benannten, hat einen verächtlichen Beigeschmack“, C. REGAMEY in: F. KÖNIG, *Christus und die Religionen der Erde* III (1951) 251.

⁵⁾ *RE* I 9, 1312 Art. India.

⁶⁾ Bei Cyrill Alex., *ctr. Julian.* lib. 4; PG 76, 706.

sicher buddhistische Mönche. Unter seinen *Semnoi* und *Semnai*¹⁾ sind deutlich die buddhistischen Arahāt oder Bhikkhu und Bhikkhūnī (Mönche und Nonnen) gemeint²⁾. Σεμνοί ist hier, und auch sonst öfters, nichts anderes als die volksetymologische Deutung von Σαμαναῖοι. Die hier vorliegende Begriffserweiterung von σεμνός im Sinne von „asketisch“ ist auch sonst gelegentlich zu beobachten (vgl. σεμνότητα bei Josephus, *Bellum* 2, 8, 2).

Auch nach Strabon gab es zwei Klassen von „Philosophen“ in Indien: Βραχμᾶνες und Γαρμᾶνες. Letzteres steht zweifellos für Σαρμᾶνες. Unter diesen Sarmanen gab es eine Sonderrichtung, die Hylobier: „Τοὺς μὲν ἐντιμοτάτους Υλοβίους φησὶν (Megasthenes) ὀνομάζεσθαι“³⁾. Die hier dreimal genannten Ὑλόβιοι (= skr. *vānaprastha* Waldeinsiedler) kehren dann später bei Clemens Al. in der Form ἁλλόβιοι wieder: „Von den Sarmenen bewohnen die Allobier genannten weder Städte noch haben sie eine Behausung, sondern begnügen sich mit Baumblättern, nähren sich mit Eicheln und trinken das Wasser aus den Händen. Sie kennen weder Ehe noch Kindererzeugung, wie die sogenannten Enkratiten der Gegenwart. Unter den Indern gibt es auch Anhänger der Gebote des Buddha (Βούττα), welchen sie um seiner übermässigen Heiligkeit willen der Ehre eines Gottes gewürdigt haben“⁴⁾. Letztere Nachricht, mit der erstmaligen Erwähnung des Namens Buddhas, stammt wahrscheinlich nicht, wie das vorhergehende, aus Megasthenes-Strabon, sondern aus einer jüngeren Quelle des Kirchenvaters; darum weiss Clemens auch über das Verhältnis von Sarmanen und Buddhaanhängern nichts auszusagen. Welche Vorstellung man sich im Altertum von den indischen „Gymnosophisten“ machte, geht aus seinem oben erwähnten Zitat aus Alexander Polyhistor deutlich hervor: „Die sogenannten σεμνοί (Asketen) bei den Indern sind ihr ganzes Leben lang nackt. Sie üben die Wahrheit, zeigen die Zukunft im voraus an und verehren eine Pyramide, unter welcher ihrer Meinung nach die Gebeine eines Gottes ruhen. Weder die Gymnosophisten noch die sogenannten σεμνοί gehen mit Weibern um, denn sie halten dies für natur- und gesetzwidrig. Aus diesem Grunde halten sie sich keusch, und es gibt auch jungfräulich bleibende σεμναί (Asketinnen)“⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Bei Clemens Alex., *Strom.* 3, 7 § 60, 2; s.u.

²⁾ *RE* I 9, 1312, Art. India (1916).

³⁾ Strabon, *Geogr.* XV 712 f. (15, 1, 60).

⁴⁾ *Strom.* 1, 15 § 71, 3-5.

⁵⁾ *Strom.* 3, 7 § 60, 2.

Dass es sich nicht um Einsiedler handelte, sondern um klösterliche Gemeinschaften, wusste man ebenfalls. Bardesanes († 222) teilt die Gymnosophisten in Brahmanen und Samanäer; letztere seien Asketen nicht durch Geburt (wie die Brahmanen), sondern durch freie Wahl. Was er nun über die Samanäer sagt, entspricht ziemlich genau dem Leben der buddhistischen Mönche in ihren Klöstern ¹⁾. Auf die Buddhisten bezieht sich auch die Nachricht des Eusebius, dass viele tausend *Brahmanen* sich in Baktrien aufhalten ²⁾. Man wusste ziemlich viel vom Buddhismus, aber Namen und Sachen wurden leicht verwechselt.

Die Brücke von den Buddhisten zu den *Δακoi* des Josephustextes bilden nun nicht die Samanäer, sondern die *Σακai*. Dafür müssen wir uns vergegenwärtigen, welche Bedeutung die Saken im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr. spielten. Fürsten dieses „skythischen“ Volksstammes herrschten seit wenigstens 78 n. Chr. über das im Abendland vor allem bekannte Nordwest-Indien („indoskythische Dynastie“), und nach ihnen ist die noch heute in Indien gebräuchliche Śaka-Ära benannt (Beginn 78. n. Chr.).

Das Volk der Śaka hat eine bewegte, aber leider zum grossen Teil dunkle Geschichte ³⁾. Ihre früheste Erwähnung ist die der grossen Bisutūn (Behistun) — Inschrift Darius' I (um 520 angefertigt), wo als 20. Satrapie der Name Saka erscheint. Diese Provinz wurde noch unter dem gleichen Darius, nach Angabe der nachträglich zugefügten 5. Kolumne, in ein „Saka der Sümpfe“ und ein „Saka der Ebenen“ geteilt, muss also ziemlich umfangreich gewesen sein ⁴⁾. Das waren aber offenbar nur Ausläufer eines grossen Volkes, dessen Hauptmasse in Kirgisien in der Gegend des Issyk-kul wohnte. Denn sie werden heute mit guten Gründen mit den Sai-wang oder Sai identifiziert ⁵⁾, die nach chinesischen Quellen ⁶⁾ um 160 v. Chr. von den benachbarten Grossen Yüeh Shih ⁷⁾ aus ihren Sitzen vertrieben wurden.

Merkwürdigerweise ist *sai* (bzw. *sai-wang*) ein gut chinesisches Wort (altchin. *sək*) im Sinne von „absperren, Grenze“ (bzw. „Grenz-Könige“);

¹⁾ Bei Stobaeus I, 54 ff. Porphyrius, *de abstin.* 4, 16-18; vgl. *RE* Art. India, 1312.

²⁾ *Praep. Ev.* 7, 10; vgl. *RE* Art. India, 1312.

³⁾ Vgl. HERRMANN, in *RE* II, 1, col. 1770-1806, Art. Sakai (1920), und J. JUNGE, „Saka-Studien“, *Klio* 1939, N.F.28, Beiheft 10, 2.

⁴⁾ Vgl. NYBERG in: *Historia Mundi* III (1954) 81-83.

⁵⁾ Vgl. F. ALTHEIM, *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter*, II (1948) pg. 106 ff.

⁶⁾ Im Ch'ien Han-shu, von Chang Ch'ien, Kap. 61 und 96; chinesische Transkriptionen nach WADE.

⁷⁾ Die sog. Ta Yüeh Shih umfassen verschiedene „skythische“ Stämme, u.a. die Tocharer.

es ist später die gewöhnliche Bezeichnung für die „Grosse Mauer“, die China seit dem Mittelalter im Norden und Westen gegen die Barbaren abschloss. Die Saken waren nun sicher keine Chinesen; aber das Wort scheint als Fremdwort auch in andre Sprachen eingedrungen zu sein. Im Japanischen heisst „Grenze“ noch heute *sakai* oder *seki*. Obwohl die Saken, soweit wir wissen, weit vom eigentlichen China entfernt wohnten, konnten sie doch immer noch als „Grenzvölker“ bezeichnet werden.

Unter dem Druck der Grossen Yüeh Shih brachen sie in Baktrien und Soghdien, besiegten 128 v. Chr. den parthischen König Phraates II. ¹⁾ und siedelten sich schliesslich im dem Gebiet an, das noch heute nach ihnen Sistān (Seistān, skr. *śakasthēna*) genannt wird. Von den Griechen werden die Σακαί neben den Tocharern und anderen zu den Σαβοῖ gezählt. Um 80 v. Chr. drängen sie aus der unwirtlichen Gegend weiter zur indischen Grenze vor, fallen unter ihrem König Maues um 62 in Indien ein, scheinen dann 58 von Vikramāditya zeitweilig zurückgeschlagen, sind aber später erneut zur Vorherrschaft gelangt und haben 78 n. Chr. anstelle der verfallenden griechisch-parthischen eine neue „indoskythische“ Dynastie gegründet.

Die Śaka-Vorherrschaft hat nun zwar nicht lange gedauert: sie scheint gegen 120 einem anderen Teilstamm der Skythen (bzw. Yüeh Shih), den Kuschan (König Kaniška um 128-150) Platz gemacht zu haben; in einigen Teilen (Kathiawar) hielt sie sich bis zu Chandragupta II (um 390 n. Chr.); aber um die Zeit, als Josephus seine *Antiquitates* schrieb, stand ihre Macht in höchster Blüte. Dem griechischen Westen waren diese Vorgänge nicht unbekannt. Die Σακαί mussten den Eindruck der führenden Schicht von Indien erwecken und konnten daher mit den Indern selbst verwechselt werden. Was liegt da näher, als anstelle des rätselhaften Δακῶν eben Σακῶν zu lesen?

Ein weiterer wichtiger Grund kommt hinzu. Gautama Buddha stammte aus dem Geschlecht oder Volkstamm der Śākya. „Śākya-muni“, der Weise aus dem Stamm der Śākya, oder einfach „Śākya“, päli *Sākka*, jap. *Shaka*, chin. *Shih-chia*, wurden und sind z.T. noch heute gewöhnliche Bezeichnungen für den Stifter des Buddhismus. Da das Wort *śākya* eine normale Vṛddhi-Form zu *śaka* ist (wie *Maurya* zu *mura*), nahm man früher ohne weiteres einen blutmässigen Zusammenhang zwischen dem Geschlecht des Buddha und dem Volk der Śaka an ²⁾. Das ist heute aufgegeben, weil keinerlei Nachweise für

¹⁾ So nach RENOU-FILLIOZAT, *L'Inde Classique* I (1949); nach ALTHEIM a.a.O. II 108 geschah dies durch die von den Saken zu unterscheidenden Sakarauken, einem Teilstamm der Ta Yüeh Shih.

²⁾ Vgl. etwa das Sanskrit-Wörterbuch von MONIER-WILLIAMS, Oxford, 1899, s.v. śākya, pg. 1062.

eine Einwanderung von Śaka-Leuten in das Indien des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. oder früher vorliegen ¹⁾. Megasthenes ²⁾ verlegt zwar die Sitze der *Sakai* nördlich des Himalaya, also möglicherweise nicht allzu fern von der nepalesischen Heimat der Śākya; das chinesische Han-shu berichtet, dass Sai-wang-Leute, freilich viel später, über die Hängebrückenpässe des Hochgebirges nach Süden gezogen seien ³⁾; aber durch all das lässt sich die sakische Herkunft der Śākya nicht erweisen. Das ist aber für unsre Zwecke auch gar nicht nötig. Es genügt die Ähnlichkeit der Namen, um für die fernen Griechen den Śākka-muni und seine Anhänger, die Śākka-bhikkhu und Śākka-putta, zu Saken zu stempeln, sodass Buddha und Sakes nahezu Synonyme werden konnten.

Hinzu kommt, dass die Saken schon recht früh den Buddhismus angenommen zu haben scheinen, vielleicht sogar als Schutzherrn des Buddhismus auftraten. Auf einer Münze des Maues, des ersten bekannten Königs der Saken (um 60 v. Chr.) hat TARN das älteste Buddhabild auf Münzen nachgewiesen ⁴⁾. Sie waren also wahrscheinlich schon Buddhisten, bevor sie nach Indien kamen. Auf den Münzen des Kuschan-Königs Kaniška findet sich (in griechischer Schrift!) auch der Name: BOYΔO oder BOΔΔO; auch CAKAMA oder CAKANA ⁵⁾, offenbar im Sinne von Śākka-muni.

E. SEEBERG ⁶⁾ hat darauf hingewiesen, dass der Beiname des Ammonios Sakkas (um 175-242), des alexandrinischen Lehrers Plotins und Origenes', ursprünglich nichts mit σάκκος, „Sack“, zu tun hat, sondern sehr wahrscheinlich seine indische Herkunft zum Ausdruck bringt ⁷⁾, sei es nun, dass er aus dem Volk der Saken stammte, oder gar, dass er mit der Schule der Śākka-puttas in Verbindung stand. Jedenfalls scheint man im Alexandrien des 2. Jahrhunderts mit der

¹⁾ Vgl. RENOU, *L'Inde Classique* I.

²⁾ Vgl. RE. Art. Sakai, col. 1775.

³⁾ Vgl. ALTHEIM a.a.O. II 106; ALTHEIM lehnt dies als unmöglich ab.

⁴⁾ ALTHEIM II 128 und 210, nach TARN, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (1938) 404 f. Dass auch der grosse Förderer des Buddhismus, Aśoka, zur Familie der Śākya gehört habe, vgl. E. BENZ, *Indische Einflüsse auf die frühchristliche Theologie*, Mainzer Akad. der Wissensch. und Lit., 1951 Nr. 3, Seite 198, kann wohl nicht erwiesen werden.

⁵⁾ Das K ist völlig sicher (also nicht für *Samana*); vgl. H. HAAS, „Das Scherflein der Witwe . . . im *Tripitaka*“, Leipzig 1922, pg. 135.

⁶⁾ E. SEEBERG, „Ammonius Sakas“, in: *Zts. für Kirchengeschichte* 61 (1942) 136-170.

⁷⁾ Besonders in der Stellung Saccas Ammonius, die bei Ammianus Marcellinus überliefert ist, vgl. BENZ, a.a.O. 199.

Bezeichnung Σάκκας den Begriff eines asketischen „Sophisten“ aus den fernen Sakenreich verbunden zu haben ¹⁾).

Als dann die Bedeutung der Saken abnahm und seit den Daker-Kriegen (101-106) dieses Volk an der Donau mehr in den politischen Vordergrund des Westens rückte, konnte ein Abschreiber leicht aus einem unverständenen ursprünglichen ΣΑΚΩΝ ein ΔΑΚΩΝ machen, besonders, wenn er Poseidonios' bzw. Strabons Thrakerstelle kannte ²⁾).

Damit wäre nun zwar für Δακῶν eine passende Erklärung gefunden; aber wie verhält es sich mit πλείστοις? Hier lassen sich keine Wahrscheinlichkeiten, sondern höchstens noch Möglichkeiten aufweisen. Wenn wir annehmen, dass zu Josephus' Zeiten die griechische Orthographie des Namens Buddha noch nicht festgelegt war (vgl. oben die Münzen des Kaniška, und Clemens Alex.), so lässt sich die Möglichkeit wohl nicht von der Hand weisen, dass ursprünglich ΠΟΔΙCΤΑΙC im Text gestanden habe. Die Buchstaben Π und Β, ΟΥ und Ο waren in der Aussprache leicht zu verwechseln (vgl. Πόπλιος statt Publius, Apg xxviii, 7); und die Endung — ιστής ist die normale für Bezeichnungen von sektenähnlichen Gruppen (vgl. σοφιστής, ἑλληνιστής usw.) ³⁾. Aus ΠΟΔΙCΤΑΙC konnte dann leicht über ΠΟΛΙCΤΑΙC, (das so wieder an Wert gewinnt), das überlieferte ΠΛΕΙCΤΟΙC geworden sein. Die erste Konjekture, Σακῶν, zieht diese zweite mit gewisser Notwendigkeit nach sich.

Ich fasse zusammen: Der verderbte Text Δακῶν τοῖς πλείστοις bei Josephus *Antiq.* 18, 1, 5 lässt sich mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit korrigieren zu Σακῶν τοῖς Ποδίσταις und übersetzen: „Ihre (der Essener) Lebensweise ist durchaus nicht verschieden, sondern ganz ähnlich der Lebensweise derjenigen (indischen) Saken, die man *Buddhisten* nennt“.

¹⁾ Eine Notwendigkeit, die überlieferte Schreibweise des Namens in Σάκας abzuändern, vgl. SEEBERG *a.a.O.* 141, besteht nicht.

²⁾ Bei Aurel. Vict. Caes. 13 erscheinen übrigens „*saci*“ als dakischer Stamm; nach Plinius, *Hist. Nat* 6, 50 gehören *Sacae*, *Massagetae*, *Dabae* (!) und viele andre zu den *Scythae*.

³⁾ Umgekehrt könnte man auch ΒΟΤΙCΤΑΙC erwarten, vgl. ΒΟΥΤΤΑ bei Clemens Al., und würde so den ΚΤΙCΤΑC bei Poseidonios erstaunlich nahe kommen, s.o. S. 33, Anm. 4.

EXODUS XXII 4 AND THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION THEREOF

BY

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The Septuagint version of Exod. xxii 4 varies considerably from the Masoretic text. The Masoretic text reads:

כי יבער איש שדה או כרם ושלח את בעירה ובער בשדה אחר מיטב שדהו ומיטב כרמו ישרם.

The Septuagint version, which agrees with the reading of the Samaritan Torah ¹⁾, is as follows: ἐὰν δὲ καταβοσκήσῃ τις ἄγρὸν ἢ ἀμπελῶνα καὶ ἀφῇ τὸ κτήνος αὐτοῦ καταβοσκήσῃ ἄγρὸν ἕτερον, ἀποτίσει ἐκ τοῦ ἄγρου αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ γένημα αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ πάντα, τὸν ἄγρὸν, καταβοσκήσῃ, τὰ βέλτιστα τοῦ ἄγρου αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος αὐτοῦ ἀποτίσει.

In a recent article, BICKERMAN ²⁾ has attempted an explanation of the variance between the Masoretic text and the Septuagint in terms of economics, that is in terms of the economic conditions that prevailed in Egypt under Ptolemy II. A paraphrase will perhaps not do justice to this ingenious explanation. I shall therefore quote from the article at some length:

“... Working under and for Ptolemy II, the master, owner and exploiter of a planned and tightly controlled economy of his realm, the Alexandrian translators could have only misgivings on the subject. Under Ptolemy II, a Jew who should try to follow the Biblical law on cattle trespass, would get into trouble. The government directed all agricultural operations from sowing to harvesting. The king regulated the choice and the amount of crops to be sown each year. The putting and standing crop was strictly supervised by “yield custodians”. None of the cultivators was allowed to touch the green stuff, no fodder was to be taken from the field for agricultural animals without authorization. Fees were to be paid for the right of using the cattle fodder or for turning

¹⁾ See R. KITTEL, *Biblia Hebraica*, ad loc.

²⁾ E. J. BICKERMAN, „Two Legal Interpretations of the Septuagint”, *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*, Serie 3, Tome 3 (1956), p. 97 ff.

cattle out on the pastures. "The superintendant of hay" was a high rank official at Alexandria. Every year a proclamation reminded the cultivators that no one should let loose animals on the sown land. According to a law, copied on papyrus ca. 240 B.C., the seizure of the animal causing damage by the owner of the field was prohibited. According to a rule, formulated in an order of 113 B.C. the animal was confiscated to meet the land rent of the damaged proprietor. But according to the law of the third century B.C., damageor simply paid damages to damagee.

The translators could not abrogate the Biblical law. They left it as it was, but limited its application to the rather exceptional case that "the whole field" should be eaten down by trespassing cattle. In the more common case of a partial damage, the damager "will make good from his field according to its produce". This addition agreed with Ptolemaic conditions. After having delivered the grain to the governmental threshing-floor, where land-rent and taxes were deduced in kind, the farmer could bring the rest back home and use it. It is remarkable that the translators held to the reparation in kind. The quoted Ptolemaic law prescribes that the owner of the animal should repay to the damagee the damages "for whatever damage he may have done, according to judgment". But barter continued to be of a great importance in Ptolemaic economy under Ptolemy II. The government itself calculated its receipts and expenses, and paid salaries partly in money and partly in produce. Jewish private arbitrators, who followed the Biblical law, were free to exact penalty in kind in a land where cash was scarce" ¹⁾).

In this article, I propose to show: as to the Alexandrian translators, or the author of the recension which they followed, that they, or he, misunderstood the original text of the law, considered the law inequitable and attempted to make it equitable by doctoring the text, making an addition thereto; as to BICKERMAN, that he misunderstood the original text of the law as well as the Septuagint version thereof and that, in addition, he misconstrued the Rabbinic interpretation of the law. The result is confusion doubly confounded.

In order to unravel the cluster of errors, I shall, after some short preliminary remarks, proceed at once to set forth what I believe to be the correct interpretation of the law under consideration and of the Septuagint version thereof.

¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 102 f.

The phrase *מִיטֵב שְׂדֵהוּ וּמִיטֵב כְּרָמּוֹ יִשְׁלַם* lends itself to two interpretations, namely:

1. That in this phrase a rule is laid down as to the measure of damages. The tortfeasor is to give to the tortfeasee the best of his field and the best of his vineyard in compensation for the damage.
2. That the rule concerns not the measure of damages but the method of collecting them once they have been ascertained and estimated. The value of the damages is to be collected *out of* the tortfeasor's best field and best vineyard.

The Alexandrian translators, who understood the law in sense "1" above, that is as providing for a measure of damages, considered it inequitable inasmuch as it provided for compensation to the tortfeasee which was not commensurate with the damage sustained by him. They met the difficulty by doctoring the text, adding to it a new clause. With this addition, the provisions of the law are to the following effect: If only part of the field is grazed on and its future crop is destroyed by the intruding animals, the owner of the animals is to pay to the owner of the field according to the crop which, but for the intrusion, the field would have produced. This can be determined by reference to the crop which was produced by the part of the field that was left undamaged¹). If, however, the entire future crop of the field is destroyed by the animals, the owner of the animals is to pay to the tortfeasee "the best of his field", that is the value of the crop produced by the best of his fields. There being no standard by which to determine with a reasonable degree of accuracy the value of the damages, the doubt is resolved in favor of the tortfeasee and against the tortfeasor.

As I shall presently show, the correct interpretation of the law is in sense "2" above, namely that the damages, once they have been estimated, are to be collected *out of* the best field of the tortfeasor. At a time when damages, in most cases, had to be collected out of the tortfeasor's real property it was important for the party entitled to damages that a parcel of land equal in value to the value of the damages be assigned to him out of the tortfeasor's best field, for as between two parcels of land of equal estimated value but of unequal quality the one of the better quality is more desirable.

I consider the interpretation in sense "2" above correct for two reasons. First, this interpretation is shown to be highly probable and

¹) Cf. H. CAZELLES, *Études sur le Code de l'alliance*, p. 65.

plausible by some Middle Assyrian documents representing loan agreements in which it is provided that in case of default the creditor may choose the good field of the debtor and seize it: *eqlu-šu damqu i-na-sa-aq i-ša-bat* ¹⁾).

There can hardly be any doubt as to what is meant here. The creditor is to choose the good field out of which the debt is to be collected, that is out of which a parcel equal in value to the amount of the debt is to be assigned to him in satisfaction of the debt. This, it will readily be seen, corresponds to **מיטב שדהו**.

Secondly, the law under the interpretation in sense "1" above is not only inequitable, as the Alexandrian translators were quick to realize, but upon closer scrutiny does not make much sense. When animals graze on a field or on a vineyard, they don't destroy the field or the vineyard, they only destroy the crop. Why, then, should the owner of the animals restore *the best of his field and the best of his vineyard* for the crop?

DAUBE, who, like BICKERMAN, misunderstood Exod. xxii 4, says with respect thereto: "... the owner of animals that grazed on another man's land has to restore 'the best of his field and the best of his vineyard' for the land devastated. The wrongdoer... has to make good... the loss of a piece of land by delivering another piece of land" ²⁾. But the land was not devastated; only the crop was destroyed. In a note he adds: "In this case, there is perhaps a slight penal component, the law requiring the owner of the animals to make good the damage 'with the best of his field and the best of his vineyard.'" ³⁾ A field is to be delivered for a crop, and this is called a slight penal component! I would rather call it a legal monstrosity.

HEINISCH ⁴⁾ and CAZELLES ⁵⁾ are not unaware of the difficulty presented by a law providing for compensation with a field for a crop. They therefore resort to a forced interpretation of **מיטב שדהו** as meaning the best harvest (*Höchstsertrag*, *la meilleure récolte*). This interpretation, I submit, is impossible. In the first place, it is plainly opposed to the sense in which the word **מיטב** is used in the other places in the Bible

¹⁾ See, e.g., M. DAVID und E. EBELING, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden* No. 27, p. 23. KOSCHAKER's forced interpretation of this clause (*Neue Keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit*, p. 36 ff., p. 98 f.) is, in the light of the biblical parallel, unnecessary and unconvincing.

²⁾ D. DAUBE, *Studies in Biblical Law*, p. 136 f.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 152, n. 69.

⁴⁾ P. HEINISCH, *Das Buch Exodus*, ad loc.

⁵⁾ H. CAZELLES, *op. cit.*

in which it occurs. In Gen. xlvii 6, 11 מִיטֵב הָאָרֶץ means *the best of the land*, that is *the best part of the land*, and in 1 Sam. xv 9, 15 מִיטֵב הַצֹּאן means *the best of the sheep*, that is *the best part of the sheep*. Similarly, מִיטֵב שָׂדֵהוּ means *the best part of his field*, and not *the best harvest of his field*. Secondly, as a practical proposition, how could the best harvest of a given field be determined? How many years back would one have to count in order to determine what the highest yield in one year was? The law would make sense only if it limited the period which was to serve as a frame of reference for determining the highest yield, as, for example, the highest yield during the previous 5 years.

The interpretation in sense "2" above is the one given to Exod. xxii 4 by R. Akiba, who is followed by Rashi on the Torah. BICKERMAN misunderstood a crucial term in the opinion by B. Akiba quoted in Mekilta (ed. LAUTERBACH, v. III, p. 110) and Babylonian Talmud, Baba Kamma 6b, and altogether confused the issue between R. Akiba and R. Ishmael. Again, in fairness to him, I shall quote his discussion of the matter in his own words. Referring to Exod. xxii 4, he says:

"The sanction is ambiguous. What does mean "his" here? *Agro suo*? This is Jerome's translation: *quidquid optimum habuerit in agro suo . . . restituet*. But the Hebrew suffix may also refer to the damagee (*agro illius*). The question divided Palestinian jurists. R. Ishmael opined that the law means the property of the damageor (*mazik*), whereas R. Akiba held that the damage (*nezikin*) is referred to.

Following Jerome and Rashi, modern commentators usually side with R. Ishmael. Yet, philologically the interpretation of R. Akiba seems preferable. The intensive form (*Piel*) of the verb *shlm* used in our passage (and everywhere in this section of the Torah) to describe reparation for torts and damages, means "complete", "restore". With object expressed the verb denotes restoration of the subject."¹)

BICKERMAN's major error, which got him altogether off key, was that he interpreted the word נֹזֵקִין in R. Akiba's opinion as meaning *damagees*, that is the parties who sustained the damage, whereas the true meaning of this word is *damages*. The Fourth Order of the Mishna is called נֹזֵקִין which is correctly rendered by DANBY as

¹) BICKERMAN, *ibid.*, p. 97-98.

Damages. All of BICKERMAN's other errors in the text quoted above from his article and in several of his footnotes ¹⁾ stem from this basic one.

I shall quote the opinions of R. Ishmael and R. Akiba as they appear in Babylonian Talmud, *Baba Kamma* 6b, in the original, together with an English translation which accurately conveys the sense of the original:

“תנו רבנן: מיטב שדהו ומיטב כרמו ישלם. מיטב שדהו של נזק ומיטב כרמו של נזק-דברי רבי ישמעאל. רבי עקיבא אומר: לא בא הכתוב אלא לגבות לנוקין מן העידי' ...”

“Our Rabbis taught: *Of the best of his field and of the best of his vineyard shall he make restitution* refers to the field of the plaintiff and to the vineyard of the plaintiff; this is the view of R. Ishmael.

R. Akiba says: Scripture only intended that damages should be collected out of the best . . .” ²⁾

R. Ishmael, like the Alexandrian translators long before him, interpreted Exod. xxii 4 in sense “1” above, namely as laying down a rule with respect to the measure of damages, whereas R. Akiba interpreted it in sense “2” above, namely as laying down a rule as to how the damages, once they have been estimated, are to be collected. This rule of procedure was not invented or formulated by R. Akiba. As appears from Mishnah *Gittin* v 1 and *Baba Kamma* i 2, this was an old rule of general application to all torts, not only to that of the intruding animals. The former text, in DANBY's English translation, reads:

“Compensation for damage is paid out of the best land, a creditor out of medium land, and a wife's Ketubah out of the poorest land.” ³⁾ The latter text reads: “If I am answerable for the care of a thing, it is I that render possible the injury that it may do. If I render possible part of that injury I must make restitution for that injury as he that rendered possible the whole of the injury . . . And If the injury is done the injurer must make restitution for the injury with the best of his land.” ⁴⁾

It is interesting to note here that while the plain meaning of

¹⁾ 43, 46, 48.

²⁾ E. W. KIRZNER, translator, *The Babylonian Talmud: Baba Kamma* (The Soncino Press, 1935), p. 21. LAUTERBACH's translation of R. Akiba's opinion in *Mekilta* III, p. 110 is incorrect.

³⁾ DANBY, *The Mishna*, p. 312.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

R. Ishmael's opinion is as stated above, the Babylonian Talmudists gave it a strained interpretation in order to avoid the difficulty which centuries earlier induced the Alexandrian translators to tamper with the text of the Biblical law. After quoting R. Ishmael's opinion, the Talmudists ask: *ור' ישמעאל? אכל שמינה משלם שמינה. אכל כחושה משלם שמינה?* ("Would R. Ishmael maintain that the defendant, whether damaging the best of worst, is to pay for the best?")¹) and the answer is that R. Ishmael, like R. Akiba, does not refer to the measure of damages but to the method of collecting the damages, the difference between them being that according to R. Akiba the tortfeasor's property is taken as the standard for the purpose of determining what is property of "the best quality" and according to R. Ishmael it is the tortfeasor's property that is taken as the standard for this purpose.

¹) Babylonian Talmud: *Baba Kamma*, *ibid.*

DAVIDSBUND UND SINAIBUND BEI JEREMIA

VON

MASAO SEKINE

Tokio

L. ROST hat in seinem Aufsatz „Sinaibund und Davidsbund“¹⁾ zum ersten Mal die Frage nach dem Verhältnis der beiden Bunde aufgeworfen. Unter anderm hat er nach ihrem geschichtlichen Geltungsbereich gefragt. Es handelt sich nämlich bei ROST um die Rolle, die beide Bunde in beiden Reichen, Israel und Juda, spielten. Dabei hat er die enge Verknüpfung des Sinaibundes mit dem Nordreich, des Davidsbundes mit dem Südreich betont. Allerdings hat er auch darauf hingewiesen, dass der Prophet des Südreiches, Jesaja, nach dem syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg den Namen Israel und die Israeltraditionen für Juda zu beanspruchen begann, und dass König Josia durch seine Reform den Sinaibund erneuerte, um dadurch die Verschmelzung beider Ideenkreise, des im Sinaibund und des im Davidsbund verkörperten, wesentlich zu fördern. M. NOTH warnt vor einer gewissen Schematisierung in der Auffassung ROST's, indem er sagt: „man wird eher daran denken müssen, dass innerhalb der gesamtisraelitischen Tradition die an die dem Davidshause gegebenen Zusagen geknüpften Erwartungen, wo immer sie überhaupt im Kreise der israelitischen Stämme aufgenommen wurden, sich in das altüberlieferte Verhältnis Gott-Volk als ein besonderes und mehr und mehr vor allem in die Zukunftweisendes Element einfügten“²⁾.

H.-J. KRAUS hat indessen den positivsten Schluss aus diesem Fragenkomplex gezogen. In seinem Buch *Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im AT*, 1951 hat er behauptet, der Sinaibund sei dadurch mit dem Davidsbund vereinigt worden, dass das königliche Zionsfest die neue Eingangspforte zum alten amphiktyonischen Bundesfest wurde³⁾. Er hat weiter in seiner nächsten Schrift *Gottesdienst in Israel*, 1954 die Meinung vertreten, dass der Davidsbund durch die Apotheose der jüdischen Herrschaft in der nachdavidischen Zeit den

¹⁾ *ThLZ*, 1947, Sp. 129-134.

²⁾ „Gott, König, Volk im AT“ in *Gesammelte Studien zum AT*, 1957 S. 224f.

³⁾ *Die Königsherrschaft*, S. 46.

Sinaibund verdrängte, und dass sich dieser Bund nur unter Asa, Jojada dem Priester, Hiskia und Josia gegen jenen wieder Geltung verschaffte.¹⁾ KRAUS folgt dabei hauptsächlich dem deuteronomistischen und dem chronistischen Geschichtswerk. Betreffs Asas und Jojadas können wir wohl nicht Entscheidendes sagen, da wir nicht wissen, wie wir den Deuteronomisten und den Chronisten als Geschichtsquelle beurteilen sollen, wenn uns kein anderes Material zur Verfügung steht. Nur das kann gesagt werden, dass wir, politisch gesehen, zur Zeit Asas und Jojadas keine grossisraelitische Grundlage finden können, die zum Durchbruch des Sinaibundes verhelfen könnte. Anders steht es mit Hiskia und Josia. Hier sind die Vorbedingungen vorhanden, die das Ideal des Grossisraels nahe legen konnten²⁾.

Nun sind wir der Meinung, dass wir für das Verständnis der Prophetie Jeremias, besonders seiner Eschatologie, neues Licht gewinnen können, wenn wir im Buch Jeremia diesem Fragenkomplex in der Zeit n a c h König Josia nachgehen³⁾.

Wir gehen von den bekannten Sprüchen über Jojachin in Jer xxii 24-30 aus. Für das Verständnis dieser Stelle ist der Aufsatz von M. NOTH, „La Catastrophe de Jérusalem en l'an 587 avant Jésus-Christ et sa signification pour Israël“⁴⁾, wichtig. NOTH vertritt hier die Meinung, dass in der Zeit zwischen 598-587 v. Chr. zwei judäische Könige vom Hause Davids vorhanden waren. Der eine ist Zedekia, der andere Jojachin. NOTH beruft sich dabei auf die Veröffentlichung E. F. WEIDNER's, „Jojachin, König von Juda, in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten“⁵⁾. Es handelt sich um die Urkunde von der Lieferung des Sesamöls an Jojachin und die fünf Prinzen von Juda. Unter den vier Texten, die WEIDNER veröffentlichte, nennen drei Jojachin als *šarru* (König) des Landes Juda, während der eine ihn merkwürdigerweise als *mâr šarri* (Prinz) bezeichnet. Wir wissen nicht, wo diese Ausnahme herrührt, doch meinen wir, alle Dinge erwogen, ruhig annehmen zu dürfen — und darin stimmen wir NOTH

¹⁾ *Der Gottesdienst* S. 79 ff.

²⁾ Vgl. besonders jetzt E. W. TODD, „The Reforms of Hizekiah and Josiah“ *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 1956., pp. 288-293.

³⁾ S. MOWINCKEL sagt in seinem bedeutsamen Werk über die israelitisch-jüdische Eschatologie, *He that comes*, 1956 (S. 165 f.), dass man in Jes lv 3f und Jer xxx 21f die Vereinigung der Ideenkreise des Sinai- und Davidsbundes sehen kann. Was Jes lv 3f betrifft, würden wir ihm gerne zustimmen. Dagegen müssen wir die von ihm zitierte jeremianische Stelle wohl anders beurteilen, vgl. unten.

⁴⁾ *RHPR*, 1953, pp. 81-102.

⁵⁾ *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud*, Tome II, 1939, pp. 923-935.

zu —, dass Jojachin in Babylonien den Titel König beibehielt und als solcher behandelt wurde. Schon im Jahre 1942 hat W. F. ALBRIGHT unter Hinweis auf den Aufsatz WEIDNER's den Schluss gewagt, dass Jojachin damals noch nicht im Gefängnis war ¹⁾. Nach ALBRIGHT waren die Babylonier selbst noch schwankend, indem sie in einem Jahre Zedekia und im andern Jojachin bevorzugten. Nun behauptet NOTH weiter, dass auch unter den Bewohnern von Jerusalem und Juda die Meinung geteilt war, und die einen Zedekia für den legitimen König hielten, während die anderen sich Jojachin anschlossen. NOTH meint, dass Jeremia ohne Zweifel zu denen gehörte, die Zedekia treu blieben. ²⁾ Jedenfalls ist wohl mit NOTH anzunehmen, dass sowohl in Juda als in Babylonien Leute da waren, die Jojachin für den legitimen König von Juda hielten und die rosige Zukunft Judas von seiner Rehabilitation erwarteten. Der Prophet Chananja ist, soweit wir aus Jer xxviii 1-4 ersehen können, ihr Wortführer. Jeremia hat die Absicht, mit seinen Sprüchen über Jojachin, xxii 24-30, gerade die an diesen geheftete Erwartung zu zerbrechen, indem er sagt, dass Jojachin und seine Söhne nie wieder auf dem Thron Davids sitzen würden.

Dass diese Weissagung über Jojachin und seine Söhne dem Propheten selbst umstürzend erschien, können wir aus dem merkwürdigen, dreimaligen Anruf an das Land (v. 29) ersehen. Um zu erkennen, in was für einem Sinne das umstürzend war, müssen wir wohl über NOTH hinausgehen und vermuten, dass hier Jeremia nicht nur betreffs der Söhne Jojachins, sondern auch betreffs der davidischen Dynastie überhaupt die Thronfolge abspricht. Diese Auffassung könnte etwas gewagt erscheinen ³⁾. Um sie begründen zu können, müssen wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit darauf lenken, was Jeremia einerseits über Jojakim, andererseits über Zedekia sagt.

Jeremia hat schon einmal Jojakim, dem Vater Jojachins, gegenüber erklärt, dass keiner „für ihn“ (*lô*) auf dem Thron Davids sitzen wird (xxxi 30). Diese Aussage meinen wir mit den Sprüchen über Jojachin in Zusammenhang bringen zu dürfen. Darin, dass Jojachin nach dreimonatlicher Regierung nach Babylonien verschleppt wurde, hat wohl Jeremia die Verwirklichung seiner Weissagung über dessen Vater gesehen. Zwar ist Zedekia nach Jojachin auf den Thron ge-

¹⁾ „King Joiachin in Exile“ *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 1942, pp. 49-55.

²⁾ Diese Meinung scheint mir fraglich zu sein, angesichts der Weissagung in xxiv 8 ff., vgl. unten.

³⁾ Vgl. aber A. WEISER, *Das Buch des Propheten Jeremia*, 1952-55, z. St.

kommen. Aber soweit wir sehen können, zeigt Jeremia in der Zeit Zedekias kein Interesse mehr an dem Thron Davids im merkwürdigen Kontrast zu den früheren Zeiten. Nicht nur vergleicht er Zedekia und die Leute mit ihm mit den schlechten, ungenießbaren Feigen (xxiv 8 ff.), sondern auch in seinen Heilsweissagungen an Zedekia (xxxiv 2 ff.; xxxviii 17 ff.) finden wir überhaupt kein Wort über das etwaige Bestehen des Davidsthrones. Es geht in den Sprüchen an Zedekia nur um die Rettung des Lebens für den König. Die Frage, was aus der davidischen Dynastie werden wird, beschäftigt Jeremia in der Zeit Zedekias nicht mehr. Seit dem Spruch in xxxvi 30 hat Jeremia anscheinend die Idee des Davidsbundes aufgegeben und mit dem Bestehen des davidischen Thrones nicht mehr gerechnet ¹⁾.

Auf die Frage, warum Jeremia in dem vierten Jahre der Regierung Jojakims eine Absage an die davidische Dynastie wagte, sind wir wohl berechtigt, aus der Gesamtsituation des in c. xxxvi Geschilderten eine Antwort zu finden. Nach unsrer Meinung kann man die hier dargestellte Haltung Jojakims der vorgelesenen Rolle gegenüber weder aus seinem persönlichen Hass gegen Jeremia (so WEISER) noch aus seiner Frivolität (so VOLZ, RUDOLPH) erklären. Es handelt sich wohl um ideologische Gegensätze. Wir müssen hier aber etwas weiter ausholen und xi 1-14 mit in Betracht ziehen. Wir möchten in „den Worten dieses Bundes“ in vv. 3. 6. 8 trotz der entgegengesetzten Meinung der neueren Kommentatoren ²⁾ mit vielen Forschern eine enge Beziehung zur deuteronomischen Reform finden. In Bezug auf das Wort *kešer* in v. 9 meint VOLZ, Jeremia setze sich hier mit einem staatlichen Vorgang auseinander, nämlich mit der durch Jojakim vorgenommenen öffentlichen Wiederaufhebung der josi-anischen Reform ³⁾. Aber von einer öffentlichen Massnahme auf der Seite Jojakims hören wir sonst nirgends. So ist die jüngst von MILLER vorgeschlagene Auffassung vorzuziehen. Dieser hat nämlich hinter dem Wort *kešer* eine Situation angenommen, „in der nach aussen alles einwandfrei und schön bleibt, aber unter dieser täuschenden Decke die entgegengesetzten Gedanken und Entschliessungen ver-

¹⁾ Unter den vielen Stellen, die irgendwie mit David oder Davidsthron zu tun haben, xiii 13; xvii 25; xxi 12; xxii 2. 4. 30; xxix 16; xxx 9; xxxiii 15. 17. 21. 22. 26; xxxvi 30 finden wir überhaupt keine, die uns in die Zeit Zedekias führt. Zwar denkt RUDOLPH für xiii 13 an die Zeit Zedekias, ohne die davorliegenden Jahre auszuschliessen (W. RUDOLPH, *Jeremia*, 1947, z. St.). Aber die Zeitansetzung ist hier sehr schwierig. Über xxiii 5 f. vgl. unten.

²⁾ Vgl. RUDOLPH, *op. cit.* und WEISER, *op. cit.*, z. St.

³⁾ P. VOLZ, *Der Prophet Jeremia*, 1928 S. 130.

borgen sind" ¹⁾. In diesem Licht gesehen, können wir die Haltung Jojakims der josianischen Reform und der vorgelesenen Rolle gegenüber so deuten, dass er sich jetzt, von den Heilspropheten unterstützt, wieder von der in der Reform Josias enthaltenen Idee des Sinaibundes abwandte, um sich einseitig an den Davidsbund zu klammern ²⁾. Diese Deutung dürfte vielleicht die freche Entschiedenheit Jojakims und die Reaktion Jeremias besser erklären. Jeremia setzte sich also in Gegensatz zu Jokakim, indem er die Geltung des Davidsbundes in Frage stellte: Jokakim wird keinen mehr haben, der auf dem Thron Davids sitzt.

Wir fassen das bisher Gesagte zusammen: Jeremia hält seit dem vierten Jahre Jojakims an der Idee des Davidsbundes nicht mehr fest, so dass sie in der Zedekiazeit von ihm nicht vorausgesetzt wird ³⁾. Die einzige Stelle, die mit unsrer Auffassung im Widerspruch zu stehen scheint, so dass wir sie ausführlich behandeln müssen, ist der bekannte Messiaspruch in xxiii 5 f.

Die Echtheit von xxiii 5 f. ist jetzt allmählich von vielen Forschern anerkannt worden, m. E. ganz mit Recht. Es ist doch kein Grund vorhanden, diesen Spruch Jeremia absprechen zu müssen. Es ist denkbar, dass Jeremia als judäischer Prophet die Tradition seit Jesaja aufgenommen hat, indem er wohl in Anlehnung an Jesaja den Messias als „Spross“ (*semah* vgl. *hōṭer* und *nešer* in Jes xi 1) bezeichnet. Aber es ist hier weder von der wunderbaren Geburt des Messias noch von dem Prunk des zukünftigen Königs die Rede. Alles ist in Bescheidenheit gehalten, die der jeremianischen Art der Weissagung sehr gut entspricht. Aber was die Entstehungszeit dieses Spruches anbetrifft, setzen alle Forscher, soweit sie an seiner Echtheit festhalten, ihn einstimmig in die Zeit Zedekias. Alle sehen doch im Namen des zukünftigen Königs „Jahwe unsere Gerechtigkeit“ (*Jhwḥ šidkēnū*) (v. 6) einen Anklang an den Namen Zedekia.

¹⁾ Vgl. J. W. MILLER, *Das Verhältnis Jeremias und Hesekiels sprachlich und theologisch untersucht*, 1955, S. 47.

²⁾ Es ist u. E. nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die einseitige Betonung des Davidsbundes das Aufblühen der heidnischen Religion in Juda nach sich zog. Der Kampf gegen das Heidentum ist anscheinend im Davidsbund nicht betont. Vgl. für den religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der davidischen Religion z.B. G. WIDENGREN, *Sakrales Königtum im AT und im Judentum*, 1955, S. 10 ff. Es ist wohl nicht richtig, die Vereinigung des Davids- und Sinaibundes in der Zeit Davids zu stark zu betonen, wie es bei KRAUS der Fall ist, vgl. oben.

³⁾ Auch in der Heilsweissagung an die Exilierten xxiv 5 ff. rührt Jeremia mit keinem Wort an dem Bestand der davidischen Dynastie. Vielmehr braucht er in v. 7 die bekannte Formel des Sinaibundes.

Es ist aber wohl methodisch verfehlt, v. 5 von v. 6 her begreifen zu wollen. In v. 5 sind schon die Ausdrücke „Gerecht“ und „Gerechtigkeit“ gebraucht, die das Auftauchen des Namens „Jahwe unsere Gerechtigkeit“ in v. 6 genügend erklären, so dass keine Notwendigkeit besteht, an den Namen Zedekia erinnert zu werden. Dass an der Messiasgestalt Gerechtigkeit hervorgehoben wird, ist ja schon seit Jesaja (Jes ix 7; xi 4 f.) geläufig. Die allgemeine Anschauung, diesen Spruch mit Zedekia in Zusammenhang zu bringen, ist auch deshalb aufzugeben, weil Jeremia seine Forderung an Recht und Gerechtigkeit nicht an Zedekia, sondern ausschliesslich an Jojakim stellte (vgl. xxi 12; xxii 3 f.; xxii 13. 15. 17). Die einzige Stelle, die für Zedekia in Frage kommen könnte, ist xxxiv 8 ff. Aber genauer gesehen, handelt es sich hier nicht um Recht und Gerechtigkeit, sondern um Untreue Gott gegenüber, um derentwillen Zedekia gezüchtigt wird. Die messianische Weissagung entsteht u. E. nur aus dem konkreten Gegensatz in der geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit. Wie die Messiasgestalt bei Jesaja ohne Gegensatz zu Ahaz undenkbar ist ¹⁾, so ist der Messiaspruch bei Jeremia ohne Jojakim unvorstellbar. Übrigens ist die Grenze zwischen dem Geschichtlichen und Übergeschichtlichen bei der prophetischen Eschatologie oft sehr fließend ²⁾, und das ist hier bei Jeremia besonders der Fall. Im beachtenswerten Gegensatz zu Jesaja, der die übergeschichtlichen Momente des zukünftigen Retters hervorhebt, liegen die Messiaszüge bei Jeremia im Bereich der geschichtlichen Möglichkeit. Wenn der Messiaspruch Jeremias in der Zeit Zedekias entstanden wäre, wäre die Möglichkeit des Missverständnisses oder sogar des Missbrauches im Sinne der Parteinahme für Zedekia oder Jojachin nicht undenkbar. Jeremia würde nicht gern einen Anlass dazu gegeben haben.

All das Gesagte spricht dafür, dass der Messiaspruch Jeremias nicht in der Zeit Zedekias, sondern des Jojakim entstanden ist. Angesichts des Wesens des messianischen Spruches, das die Geltung des Davidsbundes voraussetzt, ist die Zeit zwischen dem Regierungsanfang und dem vierten Jahr Jojakims als Entstehungszeit der messianischen Weissagung Jeremias anzunehmen, da er seit 605 den

¹⁾ V. HERNTRICH, *Der Prophet Jesaja Kapitel 1-12*, 1954, S. 132 ff.

²⁾ Vgl. Joh. LINDBLOM, „Gibt es eine Eschatologie bei den alttestamentlichen Propheten?“ *Studia Theol.* Vol. VI 1953, s. 79 ff., bes. 81 f., Th. C. VRIEZEN, „Prophecy and Eschatology“ *Supplements to VT.* Vol. I, 1953, S. 197 ff., bes. S. 224.

Davidsbund und die Davidsverheissung nicht mehr ernst nahm ¹⁾. Es ist möglich, dass Mattanja in Anlehnung an diese Weissagung seinen neuen Namen Zedekia gewählt hat ²⁾. Ebenfalls ist es aber gut möglich, dass diese Umbenennung ganz unabhängig von Jeremia geschehen ist ³⁾.

Die Einschränkung der Messiasweissagung Jeremias auf eine bestimmte Lebens Epoche des Propheten wird hoffentlich leicht erklären, warum der Messias in der gesamten jeremianischen Prophetie eine so geringe Rolle spielt ⁴⁾.

Nun müssen wir nachzuweisen versuchen, dass Jeremia in der Zeit nach Jojakim unter Absehen vom Davidsbund nur den Sinaibund in den Mittelpunkt seiner Weissagung gerückt hat. Dabei kommen zuerst die in c. xxx f. gesammelten Sprüche in Betracht. Seit Volz sehen viele neuere Forscher in diesen Sprüchen eine Weissagung an

¹⁾ Die Struktur der prophetischen Eschatologie müsste einmal philosophisch genau behandelt werden. In der bisherigen Diskussion, ob bei den Propheten von der Eschatologie die Rede sein kann (vgl. LINDBLOM, *op. cit.* und VRIEZEN, *op. cit.*), geht es im Grunde nur um die Frage der Terminologie. Wir sind freilich hier nicht imstande, dieses Problem eingehend zu behandeln. Es sei aber unser Grundgedanke angedeutet. Es geht u. E. in der Eschatologie um die Struktur der Prophetie überhaupt, die von drei Faktoren bedingt ist. Diese sind Gott, philosophisch gesprochen das Allgemeine, das Volk, philosophisch das Besondere, und der Prophet, philosophisch das Individuelle. Die Eschatologie entsteht aus der negativen Mediation der zwischen Gott (dem Allgemeinen) und dem Volk (dem Besonderen) befindlichen Problematik durch den Propheten (das Individuelle). Der konkrete Inhalt der prophetischen Eschatologie im Einzelfall ist von der Problematik bestimmt, die der Prophet jeweilig in der geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit vorfindet und mit der er sich ernsthaft beschäftigt. Durch die negative Mediation der Politik des davidischen Staates unter Ahaz entsteht bei Jesaja die messianische Eschatologie (Jes vii, ix, xi), deren Inhalt nichts anderes ist als „die idealisierte Staatsform“. Mit der allmählichen Entpolitisierung Jesajas entstand nun in der zweiten Epoche der jesajanischen Wirksamkeit — wohl nach 721 v. Chr. — eine Enderwartung in Jes ii 2-4, die eine Art „religiöse Völkervereinigung“ darstellt und „eine entschiedene Ablehnung des politischen Weltreichsgedankens“ enthält (vgl. W. EICHRODT, *Die Hoffnung des ewigen Friedens*, 1920, S. 69 f.). Von dem Messias ist hier keine Spur. Bei der Eschatologie Jeremias ist etwas ähnliches zu beobachten. In der Zedekiazeit, in der der jüdische Staat im Auge des Propheten schon zum Tode verurteilt ist, bewegt ihn u. E. nur das Problem, was mit dem Bund zwischen Gott und Israel werden wird.

²⁾ Man denke an die starke Neigung Zedekias zu Jeremia.

³⁾ Wir wissen nicht, wie weit der babylonische König an dieser Umbenennung im konkreten Sinne beteiligt ist.

⁴⁾ Der Spruch xxxiii 15 f. ist Nachahmung von xxiii 5 f. durch einen Späteren. Die Bezeichnung „Jahwe unsere Gerechtigkeit“ ist hier auf Juda und Jerusalem übertragen worden. Übrigens findet KRAUS (*Der Gottesdienst in Israel*, S. 90) in Jer xxx 21 f. eine messianische Verheissung, m. E. zu Unrecht, vgl. unten.

das Nordreich und setzen sie meistens in die Zeit Josias ¹⁾. Dass die beiden Kapitel xxx f. in einer Zeit der Entstehungsgeschichte des Jeremiabuches als eine Einheit angesehen wurden, ist sehr wahrscheinlich. Aber ob die in ihnen gesammelten Weissagungen von Anfang an einheitlich sind, ist eine andere Frage. Einige Sprüche in beiden Kapiteln können auch nach unsrer Meinung aus der Zeit Josias stammen, z.B. xxxi 4-6; 7-9; 10-14; 15-20. Aber für die anderen Stücke, abgesehen von den späteren Zusätzen, kommt nur die Zeit in Frage, in der der Zusammenbruch des jüdischen Reiches ganz unvermeidlich, oder sogar eine historische Tatsache geworden ist. Wir möchten insbesondere beide Stellen, xxx 18-22 und xxxi 31-34 genauer prüfen. Die Unechtheit der ersten Stelle, xxx 18-22, kann wohl nicht mit hinreichender Sicherheit bewiesen werden. Übrigens ist es willkürlich, in ihr eine messianische Verheissung sehen zu wollen, wie KRAUS es tut ²⁾. Der Herrscher in v. 20 f. ist nicht etwa der Messias, und sein Verhältnis zur davidischen Dynastie bleibt im Dunkeln ³⁾. 'ēdā in v. 20 ist u. E. weder ausschliesslich politisch noch einseitig religiös aufzufassen ⁴⁾. Auf alle Fälle scheint das Wort hier ein Gemeinwesen zu bezeichnen, das von einem einheimischen Herrscher regiert wird. Wenn wir mit KRAUS ⁵⁾ in v. 21b die Züge eines Bundesmittlers erblicken können, ist es nicht so gezwungen, in diesem Spruch die auf der Idee des Sinaibundes gründende Zukunftschau Jeremias finden zu wollen, abgesehen von der Frage, ob v. 22, der die bekannte Formel des Sinaibundes verwendet, von Anfang an zu diesem Spruch gehörte oder nicht ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Siehe die Kommentare von VOLZ, 1928, RUDOLPH, 1947, GELIN, 1951, WEISER, 1952-55, LESLIE, 1954 z. St. MILLER ist auch der Meinung, vgl. *op. cit.* S. 66 Anm. 1.

²⁾ KRAUS, *Der Gottesdienst in Israel* S. 90. Vgl. aber den klaren Satz von A. ALT: „der Messias ist von Haus aus nichts anderes als der Davidide“ (ALT, *Kl. Schr.* II, S. 64).

³⁾ So RUDOLPH, z. St., vgl. auch MILLER, *op. cit.* S. 175.

⁴⁾ L. ROST, *Die Vorstufe von Kirche und Synagoge im AT*, 1938 S. 86 sieht in 'ēdā an dieser Stelle einen späteren Zusatz, da ROST der Meinung ist, dass das Wort 'ēdā überhaupt exilisch-nachexilischen Ursprungs ist. ROST ist hier zu einseitig; vgl. B. LUTHER, *ZAW* 1938, S. 46 f.

⁵⁾ KRAUS, *op. cit.* S. 89 f.

⁶⁾ Manche wollen v. 22 von den früheren Versen abtrennen. Aber der Wechsel der Person zwingt uns keineswegs zu dieser Massnahme. Das Wort 'armôn in v. 18 bedeutet nicht „Palast“, sondern „Wohnturm“ (L. KÖHLER, *Kleine Lichter*, 1945, S. 30-32), so dass die Beziehung zu einem König aus diesem Wörtchen schwerlich anzunehmen ist.

Jeremia denkt mit dem ganzen Spruch etwa an ein Gemeinwesen, das unter Gedalja dem Statthalter verwirklicht wurde. Der Ausdruck „Sein Machthaber wird aus ihm selbst entstammen und sein Herrscher aus seiner Mitte hervorgehen“

Die berühmte Weissagung vom neuen Bunde, xxxi 31-34, deren Kern jetzt von manchen Forschern als echt anerkannt worden ist, ist ohne den Hintergrund des Sinaibundes undenkbar. Jeremia, der einmal von SKINNER „the least eschatological of the prophets“ genannt wurde¹⁾, ist hier streng eschatologisch. Nicht nur die in diesem Spruch enthaltene Zeitangabe — „Siehe, Tage werden kommen“ und „nach jenen Tagen“ —, sondern auch der Inhalt selbst machen den eschatologischen Charakter dieser Weissagung sehr deutlich²⁾. Der neue Bund steht im klaren Gegensatz zum alten, und dieser Gegensatz kann nicht aus der Luft gegriffen sein, sondern kann nur der geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit entstammen³⁾. Das neue Israel, mit dem Gott einen neuen Bund aufrichtet, ist geschichtlich gesehen nur nach dem Zusammenbruch des alten Israels denkbar, so dass als Entstehungszeit dieser Weissagung die Zeit Josias u. E. gar nicht in Frage kommt. Die völlige Vergebung der Sünden, das in die Herzen geschriebene Gesetz, die Einheit von Bund und Gesetz⁴⁾ sind wunderbare Gedanken, die als Krönung der jeremianischen Prophetie nur in der letzten Zeit seiner Wirksamkeit möglich sind. Im ganzen Jeremiabuch finden wir nur hier diese einzigartigen Gedanken, was u. E. die Ansetzung dieses Spruches in die Anfangszeit Jeremias völlig ausschliesst.

So meinen wir den Spruch vom neuen Bunde aus der letzten Zeit der jeremianischen Wirksamkeit herleiten zu müssen, in der der

könnte eine Spitze nicht nur gegen die Babylonier, sondern auch gegen die davidische Dynastie enthalten. — Gedalja war bekanntlich kein Davidide. Ebenso ist auch in der unsrem Spruch etwas ähnlichen Stelle iii 15-18, deren Echtheit allerdings gar nicht so sicher zu sein scheint, vom Messias nicht die Rede.

¹⁾ J. SKINNER, *Prophecy and Religion*, 1922, p. 286.

²⁾ V. 34b z.B. erinnert an Jes xi 9b.

³⁾ WEISER betont m. E. zu einscitig den kultischen Hintergrund als Entstehungsboden des Spruches vom neuen Bunde, um den Bund mit allen Stämmen Israels in der Zeit Josias für möglich zu halten, vgl. WEISER, *op. cit.*, z. St.

⁴⁾ Die Einheit von Bund und Gesetz ist der theologisch nicht hoch genug zu schätzende Gedanke, der in der Mosezeit lebendig war — man denke besonders an das Wesen des sog. apodiktisch formulierten Rechtes — und für dessen Durchsetzung die Propheten bemüht waren. In den späteren Schriften des AT ist die Trennung der Begriffe „Bund“ und „Gesetz“ voneinander sehr auffallend, wie M. NOTH gezeigt hat (vgl. NOTH, *Die Gesetze im Pentateuch*, 1940, S. 75 ff.). Übrigens ist es sehr interessant zu bemerken, dass in den Qumrantexten der Bund bzw. der neue Bund wieder in enge Beziehung zum Gesetz gestellt wird. Aber das Gesetz ist in der Gemeinde von Qumran das alte mosaische! Vgl. z.B. IQS v 20; viii 10; 14 f.; x 10; Dam i 20; v 1 f.; vii 13 (Zahlen bei Rosr links bzw. rechts vom Text).

Zusammenbruch der alten amphiktyonischen Grundlage unabwendbar oder sogar eine historische Tatsache geworden ist, nämlich um das Jahr 587 v. Chr.¹⁾ In diesem Spruch ist vom Messias oder vom Davididen keine Spur; alles ist streng von der Idee des Sinai-bundes abhängig.

Dass Jeremia einerseits mit der Weissagung vom neuen Bunde seinen Blick auf die allerletzte Zeit gelenkt hat, schliesst freilich nicht aus, dass er andererseits daran mitarbeitet, sein Vaterland nach dem Zusammenbruch wieder aufzubauen, und zwar mit einer Idee, die wiederum auf den Sinai-bund zurückgeht. Nicht nur hat er mit der berühmten symbolischen Handlung des Ackerkaufes in Anatot (c. xxxii) auf die Zeit des Wiederaufbaus gehofft, sondern auch in der Weissagung von xxx 18-22 hat er seiner Heimat eine bessere Zeit in Aussicht gestellt, wie wir schon oben zu zeigen versuchten.

Auch das interessante Stück über Gedalja in der Baruchbiographie, xl 7-xli 18, kann hoffentlich neu verstanden werden, wenn wir die zugrunde liegende Frage genauer ins Auge fassen. WEISER schreibt mit Recht: „Dass die Wahl der Babylonier auf Gedalja fiel, bedeutet das Ende der davidischen Dynastie, das Jeremia vorausgesagt hatte“ (xxii 30; xxxvi 30)²⁾. In der langen Beschreibung xl 7-xli 18 ist von Jeremia mit keinem Wort die Rede. Manche Forscher sehen freilich darin eine Schilderung, die mit dem Zweck geschrieben ist, den Hintergrund dafür zu schaffen, dass Jeremia nach Ägypten verschleppt wurde. Aber für diesen Zweck ist sie vielleicht zu lang, von dem rätselhaften Stück xli 4 ff. abgesehen. Wir möchten in dem Scheitern des Wiederaufbaus unter Gedalja mit WEISER die innere Seite der jeremianischen Passion sehen, da es auch den Zusammenbruch der von Jeremia lange gehegten und verkündeten Heilshoffnung bedeutete³⁾. Auch für das Verständnis des rätselhaften

¹⁾ Wir stimmen CORNILL zu, wenn er schreibt: „Da es [das Orakel vom neuen Bunde] das Aufhören des alten Bundes, d.h. die Zerstörung Jerusalems und den Untergang des Volkes zu seiner Voraussetzung hat, so ist es im Jahre 586 geschrieben, gewissermassen die Frucht der Lebensarbeit und der Lebenserfahrungen des Proph., die Quintessenz seiner ganzen Theologie und einer der grössten Triumphe des Glaubens, der auf den Trümmern des alten das neue Gebäude auführt, welches die Vollendung des zerstörten alten, die verklarte Verwirklichung des in ihm nur unvollkommen zum Ausdruck Gelangten bringt“ (C. H. CORNILL, *Das Buch Jeremia*, 1905, S. 352). Aber es ist auch nicht unmöglich, als Hintergrund der in c. xxx f. gesammelten Sprüche an die Verhältnisse in Mizpa zu denken, vgl. J. SKINNER, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-309 und J. P. HYATT in *The Interpreter's Bible*, vol. V, 1956, p. 1022 f.

²⁾ WEISER, *op. cit.*, S. 361.

³⁾ WEISER, *op. cit.*, S. 364.

Geschehens, das in xli 4 ff. dargestellt ist, befindet sich wohl WEISER auf dem richtigen Weg. Nach ihm sieht Ismael in den nordisraelitischen Festpilgern Sympathien für den Statthalter und Zusammenhänge, die zwischen der Aufrechterhaltung des alten Jahwebundes und der Aussenpolitik des Gedalja bestanden haben mochten, der mit den Gedanken Jeremias arbeitete ¹⁾. Wir sind ja freilich hier auf Vermutungen angewiesen. Aber wir möchten in der Ermordung Gedaljas und der siebenzig Pilger aus dem Nordgebiet mehr sehen als den blossen Neid Ismaels dem Statthalter gegenüber und mehr als einen Widerstandsversuch gegen die Babylonier. Es geht wohl auch hier um ideologische Gegensätze. Ismael der Davidide klammerte sich krampfhaft an die Idee des Davidsbundes und beging eine hoffnungslose Tat, indem er sich gegen eine einseitige Geltung des Sinaibundes wandte.

Wir haben hoffentlich mit dem bisher Gesagten einige Fragen in der jeremianischen Prophetie beleuchtet ²⁾. Über das Verhältnis Jeremias zur josianischen Reform, die die Voraussetzung für die folgende Zeit ausmacht, stimmen wir H. H. ROWLEY zu, der jüngst ausführlichst diesem Problem nachgegangen ist ³⁾.

¹⁾ WEISER, *op. cit.*, S. 365.

²⁾ HAMMERSHAIMB hat sich im Zusammenhang mit Ezechiel über die Haltung Jeremias in Bezug auf das Königtum geäussert (vgl. E. HAMMERSHAIMB, „Ezekiel's View of the Monarchy“, *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen dicata*, 1953, p. 130 ff.). Wenn wir mit dem oben Dargestellten recht haben, muss das Problem freilich anders aufgefasst werden.

³⁾ H. H. ROWLEY, „The Prophet Jeremiah and the Book of Deuteronomy“ *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy presented to T. H. Robinson*, 1950, pp. 157-174.

LE PSAUME CXLI

PAR

R. TOURNAY

Jerusalem (Jord.)

Dans une récente étude ¹⁾, R. PAUTREL proposait pour les difficiles v. 5-6 les restitutions suivantes: „Que le juste me frappe du bâton (*bofer*) . . .; parce qu'ils ont impliqué (*inwedû*) ma prière dans leurs malices, ils sont tombés dans le faux-pas (*sela*⁴) de leurs lèvres (*sif-teyhem*).” Il s'appuyait sur des contacts avec les sentences d'Aḫiqar dont on a rapproché en effet depuis longtemps le début du v. 5: „Mon fils, que le sage te frappe de coups de bâton, mais que le fou ne t'oigne pas d'une huile délicieuse” ²⁾. Plusieurs conjectures avaient été proposées dans *Les Psaumes* ³⁾. Faut-il donc se résigner à tant corriger le texte? Assurément, aucune traduction du texte reçu n'est parvenue à lui donner quelque cohérence ⁴⁾. Mais si ces versets ne sont pas des gloses, il faut s'efforcer de les intégrer dans le mouvement de pensée du psaume.

Or, le thème central de cette supplication semble bien être la prière. Elle monte droit vers Dieu comme une colonne d'encens, tandis que s'élèvent les mains du fidèle ⁵⁾. Le psalmiste supplie Dieu de veiller sur ses lèvres et de l'empêcher de prononcer de mauvaises paroles. Plus loin, il déclare ses paroles „délectables” (6^v), mot qui correspond à „délices” (4^e) ⁶⁾. Ces délices des impies, il ne veut pas y goûter, ni recevoir sur sa tête leur huile embaumée en guise d'onction

¹⁾ *Recherches de Sciences Religieuses*, XLIV, 1956, pp. 219-228.

²⁾ Versions syriaque, arabe et slavone (cf. F. NAU, *Histoire et sagesse d'Aḫiqar l'Assyrien*, 1909, pp. 181, 184). A l'antithèse sapientielle „sage-fou”, le psalmiste substitue l'antithèse religieuse „juste-impie”.

³⁾ Cf. R. TOURNAY et R. SCHWAB, *Les Psaumes*, 2^e éd., 1955, p. 490.

⁴⁾ Ainsi dans E. KOENIG, *Die Psalmen*, 1927, p. 7; H. JUNKER, *Biblica*, XXX, 1949, pp. 204-206.

⁵⁾ L'hébreu „élévation des mains” (cf. Ps. xxviii 2; lxiii 5) correspond à l'akkadien *niš qāti* et au sumérien *šu-illa*, expressions désignant couramment la prière.

⁶⁾ Mot hapax, „friandises”. Il se trouve en phénicien dans les inscriptions de Karatépe, qui sont de la fin du VIII^e siècle; le mot *n'm* „agrément” y revient plusieurs fois (cf. A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Revue d'Assyr.*, XLII, 1948, p. 169); il équivaut en phénicien à *tb* „bon” (C. H. GORDON, *Ugaritic Manual*, 1955, p. 297, no. 1256).

parfumée ¹⁾. Bien des mss. hébreux ajoutent un *aleph* après *yâni*; le sens est le même: „refuse”, *hifil* de *mw*. David étant censé parler d’après le titre, il s’agirait ici de son onction (1 Sam. xv 13): „Que ma tête ne refuse pas une huile de tête (ou de prix; cf. *šaman rešti*, en akkadien)”. Mais la répétition de *r’s* étonne; grec et syriaque ont lu ici *ῥ’* „impie”, opposé à „juste”, et compris: „Que l’huile de l’impie n’orne pas ma tête”. Il faudrait alors lire avec KOEHLER le verbe יָנָה, *piel* hapax (pour יָנָה), de נָה, usité au *paël* et d’où dérive un adjectif verbal courant. On pourrait aussi penser au *hifil* (יָנָה). Le sens est conforme au contexte; le psalmiste évite les douceurs des impies, leurs parfums, leurs sollicitations captieuses (cf. Prov. v 3); il supplie Dieu de le garder de tout mal (cf. Ps. cxix 36), des ruses et des tentations des méchants; il sait que leurs attraits sont autant de pièges; il préfère être frappé et corrigé par un homme droit (cf. Prov. xxvii 6). Comme dit Qohélet: „Mieux vaut écouter la semonce du sage qu’écouter le chant des fous” (vii). On peut considérer *hesed* comme un accusatif adverbial „avec bonté”, plutôt que comme un attribut, „c’est une grâce”, construction moins naturelle ²⁾. Si le texte reçu peut s’expliquer par une relecture „davidique” ³⁾, celui que supposent les versions nous oriente vers la solution de l’énigmatique וְעוֹד (5°). Au lieu de ce mot, il est tout indiqué de lire וְעֲדִי ⁴⁾ „et ma parure”, suivi de l’attribut (en phrase nominale) „c’est ma prière contre leurs malices”. Si le fidèle se dérobe aux avances doucereuses des impies, il met ses délices dans la prière qui le défend contre eux; délectable pour Dieu comme un parfum d’encens, elle est pour lui un ornement et une parure qui l’enveloppent comme la fumée de l’encens ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Cf. Ps. xxiii 5; xcii 1; cxxxiii, 2; Qoh. x 1; Prov. xxvii 9. Noter que l’encens et l’huile sont nommés côte à côte dans Ez. xxiii 41.

²⁾ Cf. l’emploi analogue de *’emet* „en vérité”, *betah* „avec confiance”, etc. Le syriaque omet le mot. La lecture *hasid* (KOEHLER) „le fidèle” ne s’impose pas. Il faut comprendre: Que le juste me frappe pour me corriger. Cf. la sentence d’Ahiqar: Mon fils, frappe l’homme avec une parole sage (F. NAU, *op. cit.*, p. 170).

³⁾ Comme dans 7^b (ci-après). Sur ces relectures, cf. RB., LXIII, 1956, p. 506 sq.; *Mélanges Bibliques rédigés en l’honneur de A. Robert*, p. 203.

⁴⁾ Pour le suffixe, cf. Ps. vi 9; Prov. viii, 19. Le mot, courant, dérive de la racine verbale „passer” (cf. aussi arabe et arménien), d’où faire passer, porter, apporter, et les mots: encore (ici-même!), jusque, durée, butin, course. H. SCHMIDT avait déjà fait cette conjecture (*Die Psalmen*, 1934, p. 247), à laquelle j’ai abouti de façon indépendante; mais il ne l’avait pas exploitée.

⁵⁾ Bien des réalités spirituelles sont comparées à un vêtement: ainsi le salut et la justice (Is. lxi 10; Ps. cxxxii 16), la bénédiction et la malédiction (Ps. cix

Cette image suit bien la mention de l'onction d'huile dont les impies voudraient insidieusement parfumer la tête du fidèle. Le verbe *'dh* est pris au sens figuré dans Job xl 10: „Pare-toi donc de majesté et de grandeur”. Mieux encore, des commentaires rabbiniques rendent ainsi Ps lxxv 3: „Toi qui écoutes la prière, ta parure”. Ce contre-sens rejoint exactement notre conjecture ¹⁾. En outre, le verbe *n'h* „ornier”, lu deux mots auparavant (5^b), s'applique précisément aux prières psalmiques sous la forme de l'adjectif verbal; „Aux coeurs droits, la louange va bien” (Ps. xxxiii 1; cf. cxlvii 1). Parfum agréable à Dieu, la prière honore et embellit son auteur, le fidèle, tout en lui procurant une garantie contre les ruses et les attraites trompeurs des méchants.

Le v. 6 peut alors se comprendre de la façon suivante: „Ils (les impies) sont remis (en hébreu, parfait prophétique) à l'étreinte du Rocher leur Juge: Il exauce mes paroles car elles sont délectables (pour lui, comme pour moi)”. Les deux pluriels du texte reçu sont corrélatifs: leurs juges, ils entendent. Mais un ms. (KENNICOTT 43) lit „leur juge” au singulier. D'ailleurs, un pluriel de majesté ne serait pas impossible, puisqu'il existe dans Ps. lviii 12 en contexte semblable, „Dieu jugeant”. Il était fatal que l'on donnât aux deux verbes comme sujet unique „les impies”. Le Rocher est un appellatif traditionnel de Yahvé (cf. Deut. xxxii; Ps. xviii, etc.), en tant que sauveur; ici, c'est l'action destructrice de Yahvé qui est visée comme dans Is. viii 14. Le symbole est bien explicité au v. 7, si on lit avec grec et syriaque: *pelah* „une meule” (cf. Jud. ix 53, cité dans 2 Sam. xi 21). Cette pierre résistante (cf. Job xli 16) pulvérise tout; une fois écrasés par elle, les ossements sont dispersés sans sépulture, à l'entrée du shéol (cf. Is. v 14). Une image semblable se trouve dans Prov. xxvii 22: „Quand tu pilerais dans le mortier l'insensé, au milieu des grains avec un pilon, sa folie ne se séparerait pas de lui”. C'est aussi le thème du Ps liii 6: Dieu disperse les ossements de l'apostat ²⁾.

17-19, 29). Il serait hasardeux de voir dans עור un équivalent de l'arabe عود „bois d'aloès que l'on brûle en guise d'encens” (cf. I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, III, 1924, p. 411 sq.). Il y a un mot hébreu courant pour „aloès” (cf. Ps. xlv 9; etc.).

¹⁾ La citation se trouve dans *Exodus Rabba* 21 (83^e) à propos du midrash sur Ps. lxxv 3. (Cf. H. L. STRACK et P. BILLERBECK, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash*, III, 1926, p. 808). Dans *Meg.* 12^a, il est dit que Mardochee, en tant qu'il est appelé juif (Est. ii 5), est armé comme d'une parure (כעדר) de sa foi (cf. M. JASTROW, *A Dictionary of the Targumim*... I, 1950, p. 682). Dans 5^e, un ms. hébreu (KENNICOTT 80) porte עור „la force”.

²⁾ Cf. Ps. lx 14; cxxxvii 9; Is. lxiii 3.

La meule divine broiera les impies (cf. Is. iii 15); mais Dieu se gardera de „verser” la vie de son fidèle (8^b)¹), comme il répand celle des ouvriers de mal (4^b, 9^b). La cohérence des images et du vocabulaire est excellente.

Outre les corrections déjà signalées, on lira au v. 7, avec le syriaque: *y^hbaqqa* „broie” (cf. Os. xiii 8; 2 Reg. ii 24). Comme dans 5^e, le *waw* est à lire *yod*; ces deux lettres, on le sait, se confondaient souvent dans la graphie. Le reste est pure affaire de vocalisation. La correction la plus sérieuse, si l'on veut, concerne le changement de suffixe „leurs os”, au lieu du texte reçu „nos os” (7^b); „leurs” est attesté par des mss. grecs et le syriaque. En soi, le changement brusque de personne avec passage au style direct ne serait pas impossible (cf. Ps. xlix 19). Mais qui parlerait? Les impies, frappés par Dieu, déclareraient qu'ils ont appris ou compris à leurs dépens combien les paroles du fidèle sont bonnes, vraiment délectables, tandis que les leurs sont détestables²). Ou bien, ce serait David (en fonction du titre) qui parlerait au nom de tous les justes persécutés dont il est le type traditionnel. Cet „aimable”³) chantre d'Israël prononcerait des paroles „aimables” et parlerait ensuite de ses os broyés, comme dans Ps. li 10. Mais cette relecture davidique⁴) n'est pas naturelle et dériverait facilement d'une harmonisation des deux verbes du v. 6; on aurait donné au second le même sujet qu'au premier. Ce sujet, „les impies”, aurait été aussi l'antécédent des possessifs „leurs (juges)”, „leurs (malices)”. L'apparente cohérence grammaticale était alors obtenue aux dépens de la cohérence réelle du sens⁵).

On a discuté aussi le suffixe singulier „ses (filets)” (10^a). Le syriaque a la leçon facile „leurs filets”. Mais le sens distributif s'impose pour *yahad* „chacun”, à rattacher au stique précédent tant pour le sens que pour le rythme, en dépit de la coupe du TM: „Qu'ils tombent, les impies, chacun dans ses (propres) filets!”⁶). Le dernier stique est

¹) C'est l'équivalent de l'akkadien *tabâku napišta*,

²) Il s'agirait d'une déclaration posthume! Au lieu d'un verbe signifiant „entendre”, on attendrait alors un verbe signifiant „dire”; le v. 7^b, en style direct, suivrait aussitôt, sans le v. 7^a. Au lieu de „délectables”, on pourrait „il est vrai, traduire comme en phénicien „bonnes”, avec la nuance „justes, vraies”; mais on perd alors l'antithèse avec les „délices” des impies (4 fin).

³) Cf. 2 Sam. xxiii 1. Il vaut mieux traduire, d'après l'araméen, l'arabe et le syriaque, „le chantre des cantiques”. On propose aussi: «le préféré des chants», ou «le favori der Guerrier» (H. CAZELLES *Mélanges A. Robert*, p. 135).

⁴) La leçon „refuse” (5^b) peut s'expliquer aussi par une relecture davidique (cf. ci-dessus).

⁵) On obtenait un curieux parallèle à Jud. ii 17: „Leurs juges, ils ne les écoutaient pas”.

⁶) Les versions (syriaque, Symmaque, Hieron.) rattachent „chacun” à ce qui

souligné par une double emphase mettant en relief la finale du poème: choix du pronom long *'anoki*, et anticipation de ce pronom avant la conjonction ¹). Cette dernière peut être accentuée comme dans le parallèle du Ps. lvii 2. On obtient ainsi un grand vers élégiaque, de même structure que ceux du début (v. 1-4), avec 4 + 3 accents. Il suffit de lire dans 4^a: *לדבר-רע*. A partir de 4^e, les stiques se groupent aussi par quatre d'après le sens, mais selon le schéma 3 + 4 + 4 + 3; les *maqfeš* ne sont pas requis dans 4^a et 5^a; dans 7^b, *l'fi* „à la bouche”, assimilé aux monosyllabes, peut être proclitique et atone ²); de même *kî* (8^a), tandis que *Adonai* peut être omis (c'est le *qerê* de Yahvé; cf. Ps. cxl 8); enfin, on peut lire *yaqšu-lî* dans 9^a. Ainsi, un rythme très soigné s'ajoute à une riche imagerie, très poétique (prière-encens et parure; Dieu-rocher-meule; porte des lèvres). Le poète est attentif aux cadences, comme on le voit par exemple à la fin du v. 2 et au début du v. 4 (deux monosyllabes atones), ainsi qu'au début du v. 7 (*k'mô* accentué, choisi à dessein). Les réitérations sont nombreuses: délices-délectables, impiété-impies, ma prière (deux fois), ouvriers de mal (deux fois), à l'étreinte-de l'étreinte, mal-malices. La traduction doit les respecter autant que les effets rythmiques, dans toute la mesure du possible.

Sous les symboles apparaît clairement le sens profond du psaume. La prière confiante sera exaucée; elle hâtera le châtement des impies auxquels s'appliquera la loi du talion. Tous périront, mais le juste passera indemne au milieu des tentations. Il ne ressent de goût et d'attrait que pour la prière, délicieux parfum qu'il offre à Dieu en guise de sacrifice vespéral ³). Il en jouit lui-même et y trouve sa

précède. Ce sens distributif n'exclut pas celui de „totalité”, mis en valeur par J. C. De Moor, *VT.*, VII, 1957, pp. 351, 354. On pourrait aussi traduire „l'un après l'autre”. Plusieurs corrections ont été proposées (HERKENNE, MAYER-LAMBERT, etc.); aucune ne s'impose. Noter que le mot hébreu correspond à l'akkadien *nakmaru*, „filet” (cf. Is. ii 20).

¹) Ce pronom long est rare dans le psautier; douze fois, dont trois fois dans Ps. cxix. Sur l'anticipation du sujet (cf. Ps. cxv 7; Ez. xlvii 11), voir E. KÖNIG, *Historisch-comparative Syntax der hebräischen Sprache*, 1897, p. 444; GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 28^e éd., 1909, § 135^e.

²) D'où la traduction proposée, „face au shéol”, pour n'avoir qu'un seul appui en français.

³) Cf. Ps. l 14; li 19; lxix 31-32. L'assimilation de la prière à un sacrifice est attestée dans le Testament de Lévi (iii 6), le Document de Damas (CD, XI 20), la Règle de la communauté de Qumrân (1 QS, IX 5), qui citent Prov. xv 8. Dans le judaïsme, la prière est appelée *'abôdâ*, comme le culte officiel du Temple (cf. J. BONSIRVEN, *Le Judaïsme palestinien*, II, 1935, p. 152). Noter que la Règle de Qumrân s'inspire peut-être du v. 4^b dans IV, 21; l'*hitpoël* de 'll a ici la nuance de l'*hitpaël*: agir méchamment, selon son caprice.

fiercé. La prière qui s'exhale de ses lèvres comme un encens l'enveloppe comme d'une splendide parure. L'image sera reprise dans l'Apocalypse (v 18; ix 3), à propos des prières des saints. On a vu qu'elle n'est pas inconnue du rabbinisme. Le psaume cxli provient, comme tant d'autres, d'un milieu didactique; son auteur sait combien le *mûsâr*, la „correction” est nécessaire, et il l'accepte volontiers quand elle est justifiée et modérée. Il a conscience de sa faiblesse et redoute les paroles inconsidérées, répréhensibles (cf. Ps. xxxiv 14). Un de ses successeurs, le maître de sagesse Ben Sira, lui fera écho (xxii 27 sq.; xxviii 25).

Nous voici loin de l'interprétation magique jadis proposée par N. NICOLSKY ¹⁾. Quant au caractère „cananéen” du style, souligné par GINSBERG et ALBRIGHT ²⁾, il appelle quelques remarques. L'hapax *dal* „vantail” (3^b) serait attesté en phénicien ³⁾, comme au v. 4 מוֹעַם (cf. ci-dessus), le pluriel אַשִּׁם (normal en phénicien), la négation בִּל (commune en phénicien). Ces rapprochements n'impliquent aucune date reculée de composition, bien au contraire. Le procédé d'archaïsation est devenu courant à partir de l'exil ⁴⁾. Surtout, de semblables contacts avec le phénicien sont signalés pour Qohéleth, généralement daté du III^e siècle ⁵⁾. D'autre part, le psaume semble dépendre des sentences d'Aḥiqar, dont dépendent aussi Tobie (III^e siècle) et Ben Sira (vers 180). Il pourrait donc être daté approximativement du III^e siècle et semble provenir du même cercle littéraire que le psaume précédent; proche de Prov. xv 26-32, son vocabulaire l'est encore plus de celui du Ps. cxl ⁶⁾; les deux psames appartiennent au même genre littéraire des supplications de „pauvres” et obéissent au même rythme fondamental, déterminé par une suite de grands vers élégiaques (4 + 3 accents). Ceux-ci sont rares dans le psautier; or, ils se trouvent également dans le Ps. ix-x qui développe les mêmes thèmes ⁷⁾; les „pauvres de Yahvé”, nommés souvent dans ce psaume, comme dans Ps. cxl 13, supplient Dieu de les protéger contre les pièges des impies. On peut conjecturer que ces trois psaumes sont

¹⁾ Thèse critiquée par E. PODECHARD dans *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* (Strasbourg), X, 1930, p. 508.

²⁾ Cf. BASOR., 1938, no 70, p. 23, note 22. J'utilise ici quelques suggestions de J. T. MLLIK.

³⁾ Sous la forme הַדְלָהַת (inscription d'Umm el-Awamid, CIS., I, 4, 3, p. 30).

⁴⁾ Cf. RB., LXIII, 1955, p. 176.

⁵⁾ Cf. RB., LXIV, 1956, p. 172, note 2, et les remarques de R. GORDIS contre la thèse de DAHOOD (JBL., LXXIV, 1955, p. 103 sq.).

⁶⁾ Celui-ci présente aussi des mots rares aux v. 11^b et 12^b.

⁷⁾ Cf. RB., LXIV, 1956, p. 162.

de la même époque. Comme le dit E. PODECHARD ¹⁾, nous sommes déjà assez loin des premiers temps du retour; les croyants luttent au milieu d'un monde païen hostile et incrédule pour préserver leur foi, bafouée par les apostats et menacée mille dangers. Leur seule arme est la prière confiante au Dieu fidèle. Jadis récitée chaque soir à l'office des vêpres (d'où son nom de Lucernaire), la prière ici étudiée n'a rien perdu de son actualité . . .

TRADUCTION

- 1 Yahvé, je t'appelle, accours vers moi,
écoute mon appel quand je t'invoque;
- 2 que ma prière devant toi se dresse comme un encens,
mes mains levées, comme l'offrande du soir!
- 3 Établis, Yahvé, une garde à ma bouche
et veille sur la porte de mes lèvres;
- 4 ne pousse pas mon cœur à mal parler, à agir en pervers,
dans l'impiété, avec les ouvriers de mal!

Non, je ne goûterai pas à leurs délices:

- 5 que le juste me frappe avec bonté pour me corriger,
mais que l'huile de l'impie jamais n'orne ma tête,
car ma parure, c'est ma prière contre leurs malices.
- 6 Ils sont remis à l'étreinte du Rocher, leur juge:
il exaucera mes paroles, car elles sont délectables.
- 7 Ainsi qu'une meule broie contre la terre,
leurs os sont dispersés face au shéol.

- 8 Vers toi, Yahvé, mes yeux,
en toi je m'abrite, ne répands pas mon âme;
- 9 garde-moi de l'étreinte du piège qu'on me tend,
du traquenard des ouvriers de mal!

- 10 Qu'ils tombent, les impies, chacun dans ses filets,
tandis que moi, je passe mon chemin.

¹⁾ *Le Psautier*, I, Psaumes 1-75, 1949, p. 54.

PRE-MISHNAIC JEWISH WORSHIP AND THE PHYLACTERIES FROM THE DEAD SEA

BY

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The fragments of several phylacteries discovered at Qumran and at Murabba'at constitute important material for the historical study of tefillin¹⁾. Those found in the first and fourth caves of Qumran differ in their content both from the phylactery of Murabba'at, and from the tefillah as described in rabbinic literature. The editors of the Dead Sea texts, however, confine themselves to emphasizing these differences without attempting to discuss their historical significance. They do not try to judge whether the discrepancies found in the documents represent a custom peculiar to the Community of Qumran, or whether they comply with the rules generally observed by the Jews before the promulgation of Mishnaic legislation. The purpose of the present study is to survey this problem²⁾ from its

¹⁾ Published texts may be found in the following: D. BARTHÉLEMY and J. T. MILIK, *Qumran Cave I*, Oxford, 1955, pp. 72-76 and Pl. xiii. K. G. KUHN, *Phylakterien aus Höhle 4 von Qumran*. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Heidelberg, 1957. R. DE VAUX, „Les grottes de Murabba'at et leurs documents”, *R.B.*, 1953, pp. 263, 269 and Pl. xii b.

²⁾ This survey of variations in ancient Jewish liturgy appears necessary because of the difficulty of access to some of the studies devoted to the history of tefillin. In any case, they all appeared before the publication of the Qumran texts.

A recent and well documented discussion is due to A. M. HABERMANN, *Al-tefillin bīmē qedem* (The phylacteries in antiquity) in *Eres Yisrael*, 3, 1954, pp. 174-177. J. MANN's contributions, although written more than thirty years ago, still retain all their value: *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fātimid Caliphs*, vol. I, Oxford, 1920, pp. 222 f.; „Genizah Fragments of the Palestinian Order of Service”, *H.U.C.A.*, vol. 2, 1925, pp. 269-338; and above all, „Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue due to religious Persecutions”, *ibid.*, vol. 4, 1927, pp. 241-310, — especially pp. 287-292. See also I. ELBOGEN, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 3rd ed., Frankfurt am Main, 1931, pp. 24, 238, 242; G. F. MOORE, *Judaism*, vol. III, Cambridge (Mass.), 1940, pp. 95 f.; P. KAHLE, *Die hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle*, Stuttgart, 1951, pp. 5 f.

L. BLAU's article in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. X, s.v. *Phylacteries* (Historical View) offers little help. Especially misleading, however, is *Die T^ophillin oder Gebetsriemen*, 11. Excurs., in H. L. STRACK-P. BILLERBECK, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. IV, München, 1928, pp. 250-276. From the length of this article one would presume it to be complete, but the historical problem is not even mentioned.

most important aspect, that is to say the choice of texts ¹⁾, and to indicate a solution.

Although no document prior to the Mishnah gives any detailed information concerning the texts contained in a phylactery, it is known that these were always passages from Scripture. The author of the *Letter of Aristaeas* (§ 159), writing in the 2nd century BC, states that Moses, the Lawgiver, commanded that "oracles" (λόγια) should be fastened upon the hands ²⁾. The required number of these "oracles", i.e. biblical sections, is given by the Mishnah as four ³⁾—not five ⁴⁾—but no further direction is made concerning their selection. It appears, however, that already in the Tannaitic period (2nd century AD), the four obligatory passages were:

Ex.	xiii	1-10;
	xiii	11-16;
Deut.	vi	4-9 (the Shema ⁵⁾ ;
	xi	13-21 ⁶⁾ .

Each section,—namely, Ex. xiii 9, Ex. xiii 16, Deut vi 8, and Deut. xi 18,—contains the biblical admonition commonly interpreted as prescribing the wearing of phylacteries, and the texts were arranged, in conformity with rabbinic rules, according to their respective places in Scripture. The order of the two last sections was, however, sometimes reversed, so that the Shema⁵, the prayer *par excellence*, might be placed at the end. Such phylacteries were known in the Middle Ages as *tefillin of Rabbenu Tam*, whereas those with their texts disposed in the usual way were called *tefillin of Rashi* ⁶⁾.

Except that Deut. vi 4-9 is written on a separate piece of leather ⁷⁾, the texts inscribed on the tefillah of Murabba^{at} are identical with those of the rabbinic tefillah, but arranged in the order of a phy-

¹⁾ Discrepancies of form, script, etc. have been discussed by Professor KUHN (*op. cit.*, pp. 25 f.). Rabbinic rules, which were not observed in the Qumran tefillin, prohibited the omission of a single letter from the scriptural texts. They prescribed the distinct writing of all the letters, without ligatures; the correct use of the final letters; indication of the parashiyoth; and the employment of only one side of the leather.

²⁾ Another pre-Mishnaic reference to the custom of wearing phylacteries, appears in Matth. xxiii 5.

³⁾ *Menahoth* iii 7; *Kelim* xviii 8.

⁴⁾ *Sanhedrin* xi 3.

⁵⁾ Cf. *Sifre* on Deut. § 35.

⁶⁾ Cf. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. X, s.v. *Phylacteries*.

⁷⁾ Cf. R. DE VAUX, *art. cit.*, pp. 263, 269.

lactery of R. Tam. A second still unpublished phylactery, whose provenance has not yet been disclosed, is said to correspond exactly to that of Murabba'at, and to date from the same period (before AD 135)¹⁾.

In Qumran Cave 1, 58 phylactery fragments were discovered, covering Deut. v 1-27; x 17-xi 12; Ex. xiii 2-9; and also probably xiii 15-16.

Fragments of four different phylacteries were found in Cave 4, with their contents as follows:

- 4Q phyl^a . . . Deut. v 1-vi 3
- 4Q phyl^b . . . Deut. v 1-22 and Ex. xiii 9-16
- 4Q phyl^c . . . Deut. xi 10-17
- 4Q phyl^d . . . Deut. v 22-vi 5 and Ex. xiii 14-16

Needless to say, this list indicates only the known limits of the extant portions of the texts, without consideration of the numerous lacunae within them.

All the passages contained in the rabbinic phylactery are, therefore, at least partly represented:

- Ex. xiii 1-10 . . . 1Q phyl, 4Q phyl^b
- xiii 11-16 . . . 1Q phyl(?), 4Q phyl^{bd}
- Deut. vi 4-9 . . . 4Q phyl^d
- xi 13-21 . . . 1Q phyl(?), 4Q phyl^c

As the following table will show, both Deuteronomy sections are longer than in their Tannaitic counterparts:

- Deut. vi 4-9*
- 1Q phyl . . . Deut. v 1-27 (ff)
- 4Q phyl^a . . . v 1-vi 3 (ff)
- 4Q phyl^b . . . v 1-22 (ff)
- 4Q phyl^d . . . v 22-vi 5 (ff)
- Deut. xi 13-21*
- 1Q phyl . . . Deut. x 17-xi 12 (ff)
- 4Q phyl^c . . . xi 10-17 (ff)

It should be noted that the first section obviously begins with Deut. v 1, but owing to the poor state of preservation, it cannot exactly be determined where the second section should commence. Deut. x 17 does not appear to be a suitable opening verse.

¹⁾ *Ibid.*

Professor KUHN suggests that the longer passages are to be explained by a desire to present the verses upon which the institution of the tefillin was based, within their larger context. The sections were cut, not according to the smallest parashah units, as in the rabbinic phylactery, but to conform with the sense of the whole narrative (Sinnzusammenhang) ¹⁾. In consequence, the four scriptural sections of the Qumran phylacteries would be:

Deut. v	1-vi	9
	x	12-xi
Ex.	xiii	1-10
	xiii	11-16 ²⁾ .

This theory requires further investigation for two reasons. Firstly, the presence of Deut. v 1 ff. in the Qumran phylacteries would appear to be related to the daily recitation of the Decalogue (Deut. v 6-21) at the time of the Second Temple. Secondly, it seems almost certain that before the Mishnaic legislation, phylacteries contained not four, but five sections ³⁾, one of them the Decalogue. In order to form a satisfactory judgment of the nature of the newly discovered documents, it is necessary to compare them with all the available evidence concerning the liturgical use of the Decalogue before the Mishnaic reform.

According to the Mishnah ⁴⁾, the priestly morning office in the sanctuary of Jerusalem at the time of the Second Temple consisted of the following biblical passages: the Decalogue (Deut. v 6-21 or Ex. xx 2-17), the Shema' (Deut. vi 4-9), Deut. xi 13-21, and Num. xv 37-41. There is reason to believe that these same scriptural texts were recited not only in the Temple, but outside its boundaries also ⁵⁾. Before the destruction of the Temple therefore, Palestinian Jews repeated the Decalogue as a regular daily prayer.

This ancient custom is reflected in the Nash Papyrus ⁶⁾ which

¹⁾ Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 29.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³⁾ Cf. *Sanhedrin* xi 3.

⁴⁾ *Tamid* v 1.

⁵⁾ *J. Berakhoth* 3c.

⁶⁾ Edited by S. A. COOK, „A Pre-Massoretic Biblical Papyrus”, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xxv, 1903, pp. 34-56. For an easily accessible photocopy with appended transcription, see E. WÜRTHEIN, *The Text of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1957, p. 92 and plate 5.

contains the Decalogue ¹⁾ followed by the Shema', the latter being preceded by an introductory formula which has disappeared from the Massoretic Text, but is found in the LXX: "These are the statutes and the judgments which Moses commanded to the children of Israel in the wilderness when they came out of the land of Egypt". The liturgical character of this papyrus,—the juxtaposition of the Ten Commandments and the Shema'—has long been recognised by students of early Jewish worship ²⁾. It may, therefore, safely be concluded from the evidence which it furnishes, that the Decalogue was part of the liturgy not only in Palestine, but even among the Jews in Egypt.

Despite its age and wide acceptance however, the custom of incorporating the Decalogue into the daily morning prayer ceased before the end of the 2nd century AD. The object of this change, as given in both the Palestinian and the Babylonian Talmuds ³⁾, was to counter the attack of the *Minim* (heretics) against the divine origin of the entire Torah, "so that they may not say, 'Only these words (the Ten Commandments) were given by God to Moses on Sinai' " ⁴⁾. Accordingly, the Tannaitic midrash *Sifre* on Deuteronomy (§ 34) insists on the obligatory elimination of the Decalogue from both the morning prayer preceding the Shema', and (§ 35) the phylacteries.

The simultaneous exclusion of the Decalogue from the daily recital and the tefillin, is sufficient to show that prior to the "cavils of the Minim" the Ten Commandments were a constitutive part of both, and were followed in both by the Shema' and Deut. xi 13-21. Even the Hebrew word for phylactery—tefillah = prayer—indicates

¹⁾ The text of the Ten Commandments is a mixed version containing elements from both Exodus and Deuteronomy.

²⁾ Cf. F. C. BURKITT, „The Hebrew Papyrus of the Ten Commandments," *J.Q.R.*, xv, 1903, pp. 392-408, — especially p. 398; I. LEVI, „Un papyrus biblique," *R.E.J.*, xlvi 1903, pp. 212-217; J. MANN, „Changes in the Divine Service . .," *H.U.C.A.*, iv, 1927, p. 288; I. ELBOGEN, *op. cit.*, p. 24; P. KAHLE, *op. cit.*, p. 6. It is surprising that Professor KUHN (*op. cit.*, p. 28, n. 43) has not judged it necessary to give at least some explanation for his rejection of the Nash Papyrus as a liturgical document.

³⁾ Cf. *J. Berakhoth* 3c and *Ber.* 12a.

⁴⁾ The identity of these Minim has never been seriously discussed. G. F. MOORE, *op. cit.*, III, p. 96, confesses his ignorance concerning their identity. J. MANN was inclined tentatively to identify them with some gnostic group (*The Jews in Egypt* . . I, p. 223). I think, however, that F. C. BURKITT and I. LEVI were much nearer to the truth in supposing that the heretics against whom the new legislation was directed were Christians, or Judeo-Christians, (cf. *art. cit.*, *J.Q.R.*, xv, 1903, pp. 398 f.; *R.E.J.*, xlvi, 1903, p. 214).

its connection with a ceremony of prayer ¹⁾. It is consequently not surprising that when the Decalogue was withdrawn from one, it had to disappear from the other also.

How deep-rooted the liturgical use of the Ten Commandments in Jewish tradition must have been, may be deduced from the repeated attempts to reintroduce them to the daily service and consequently, to the phylactery. Already in the 4th and 5th centuries AD echoes reach us of such attempts. Influential teachers in Babylonia, such as Rabbah bar Bar Ḥanah, and Amemar, respectively presidents of the famous academies of Sura and Nehardea, were severely criticised for seeking to resuscitate a practice suppressed because of the *Mi nim* ²⁾. Their efforts failed, but news of the dispute must have reached Palestine since it came to the knowledge of St Jerome. He was aware that the Babylonian doctors of his time inserted the Decalogue into their phylacteries, and that the same custom was common practice among the Pharisees at the time of Christ:

Aiunt Hebraei hucusque Babylonios magistros, Legis praecepta servantes, decalogum scriptum in membranulis circumdare capiti suo, et haec esse quae iubeantur ante oculos et in fronte pendere, ut semper videant quae praecepta sunt ³⁾.

Hoc ⁴⁾ Pharisei male interpretantes scribebant in membranulis decalogum Moysi, id est decem verba legis, complicantes ea, et ligantes in fronte, et quasi coronam capitis facientes, ut semper ante oculos moverentur ⁵⁾.

After the collapse of the unsuccessful reforms of Rabbah bar Bar Ḥanah and Amemar, the Tannaitic law was no more challenged in Babylonia. It was however, disobeyed in Egypt, and probably in Palestine also. While editing the Geniza documents, J. MANN discovered that in the synagogue of Fuṣṭāṭ, in Old Cairo, the Decalogue was again included in the morning service during the Muslim period ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Cf. J. MANN, *H.U.C.A.*, 4, 1927, p. 289.

²⁾ Cf. *Berakboth* 12a.

³⁾ Commentary on Ezechiel xxiv 15. (MIGNE, *P.L.*, vol. 25, col. 230). Both texts of Jerome are quoted by MANN and HABERMANN.

⁴⁾ The text of Deut. vi 8.

⁵⁾ Commentary on Matthew xxiii 5 (*ibid.*, vol. 26, col. 174). Jerome's evidence is dismissed as irrelevant by L. BLAU, who thinks that he confused the phylactery of a heretic with that of an orthodox Jew. (Cf., *art. cit.*, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. X, p. 27). But BLAU is obviously wrong, as J. MANN has pointed out (*art. cit.*, *H.U.C.A.*, 4, 1927, p. 291, note 104).

⁶⁾ Cf. *art. cit.*, *H.U.C.A.*, ii, 1925, p. 283. See in the same paper (pp. 294 f. and 323) two Geniza fragments belonging to the Taylor-Schechter collection of the Cambridge University Library. Cf. also *H.U.C.A.*, 4, 1927, pp. 288 f.

The custom had been reintroduced several generations before Sa'adia (died 942). Since the synagogue of Fustât was the synagogue of the Palestinians, it would appear reasonable to infer with MANN that the same ritual was employed in the Holy Land also.

To conclude this short survey, the following principal facts emerge from a comparison of recent discoveries with rabbinic sources:

1. The phylactery from Murabba'at proves that the Mishnaic reform was already in practice at the time of the Bar Kokhba rising (AD 132-135).

2. The phylacteries of Qumran provide the earliest evidence of the strong tradition ascribing a prominent place to the Decalogue in Jewish worship. Despite their divergences from the Mishnaic rules, they must be considered as representing the common Jewish custom from the time of the Second Temple.

3. It would be more exact to count five sections in the Qumran tefillin, not four:

Deut. v 1-vi 3
 vi 4-9
 x 12-xi 21
 Ex. xiii 1-10
 xiii 11-16.

The division of the first Deuteronomy section (v 1-vi 9) into two, is based on the Jewish tradition which considered both the Shema¹ and the Decalogue as separate units. This is the most obvious way to account for the Mishnaic mention of a phylactery with five compartments.

4. Before Qumran, the contents of a pre-Mishnaic phylactery were merely conjectural. J. MANN assumed that they consisted of the Decalogue, and of the four scriptural passages mentioning the 'sign' and the 'memorials', i.e. the four sections of the rabbinic phylactery ¹). A. M. HABERMANN, on the other hand, suggests that the phylacteries of the time of the Second Temple contained the biblical texts used for the priestly morning service, i.e. Decalogue, Shema², Deut. xi 13-21, and Num. xv 37-41 ²). On the whole, the tefillin of Qumran confirm MANN's hypothesis ³).

¹) Cf. *art. cit.*, *H.U.C.A.*, 4, 1927, p. 291.

²) Cf. *art. cit.*, p. 174.

³) The principal a priori argument against HABERMANN's hypothesis that

5. Finally, by establishing a precise *terminus ante quem* for the Mishnaic reform (before AD 135), the identification of the Minim, the heretics who provoked the suppression of the Decalogue from the daily liturgy, becomes simpler. It is to be hoped that before long, light may be thrown upon this last obscure detail connected with the Mishnaic reform of tefillin.

Num. xv 37-41 was included in the phylacteries, is that this biblical passage has no connection with the tefillin; it refers to the fringes. This section of the priestly morning service was replaced by the more fitting passages from Exodus. Cf. J. MANN, *art. cit.*, *H.U.C.A.* 4, 1927, p. 291.

SOME EARLY PHILISTINE HISTORY

BY

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In an article entitled *Caphtor-Cappadocia* published in *VT* vi (1956), pp. 199-210 the present writer brought together a quantity of information to show that Caphtor, the well-known homeland of the Philistines, was in Cilicia Tracheia. It was of course from there that these people poured out over the Levant to be repulsed by Ramesses III about the year 1162 B.C., and finally to settle in Philistia on the coast of Palestine.

In the present article other evidence is brought to show that the Philistines were not aborigines in Caphtor but had entered the country from elsewhere and at a much earlier date. It is also evident that they were Illyrians, and of the Illyrian tribes they prove to have been Dardanians. Their relatives, the Dardanians themselves, appeared on the Egyptian scene, as did their close associates the Zakkal-Zakkar-Teukroi. Further than that PHYTHIAN-ADAMS has shown that a third of the confederacy that Ramsesses II encountered at the Battle of Kadesh, c. 1285 B.C., bore names that can be matched by those of the allies of the Trojans ¹). Among them were the *Drdny*-Dardanians who only appear this once ²).

We have further evidence that even the later attacks of the Peoples of the Sea ³) originated in the repercussions of the Trojan War, for

¹) PHYTHIAN-ADAMS, „Hittite and Trojan Allies” in *Bulletin* No. 1, pp. 3-7 (British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1922). They are the Dardeny (Dardanians), Luka (Lycians), Pedes (Leleges of Pedasos), Kelekes (Cilicians of Thebe), Masa (Mysians) (and Iliunna? or Mawunna? = Ilium? or Maiones?).

²) Though relatives of the Philistines their history is very different. Instead of being in south-western Asia Minor already about 1600 B.C., as were the Philistines, they did not move from the Troad until the thirteenth century. They then moved, not southwards, but eastwards to the Hittites, whence they went with them to Kadesh, where they had arrived by about 1285 B.C., The Philistines on the other hand did not appear in Egyptian history until c. 1162 B.C.

³) As Egyptologists are accustomed to call these invaders. In this they follow Ramesses II, Merneptah and Ramesses III, who each speak of them in such terms as coming ‘from the ends of the sea’, as being ‘of the countries of the sea’, ‘in their isles’, ‘in their isles in the midst of the sea’. The various invasions and the participants in each are sorted out in *J.E.A.* xxv (1939), pp. 148-153.

Herodotus (iv, 191) gives us what is practically a definite statement to that effect. He says that the Maxyes, a tribe of Libya, claimed descent from men from Troy. These Maxyes cannot be other than the Meshwesh who joined the Libyans in their attack on Merneptah in his fifth year, *c.* 1219 B.C., and again on Ramesses III in his fifth and eleventh years, *c.* 1165 and 1159 B.C. .

This is of interest to our argument, for it was in Ramesses III's eighth year, *c.* 1162 B.C., that the Philistines and Zakkal appeared on his northern border. The two attacks were, thus, contemporary. Hence, as the one migration was induced by the Trojan War and its long continued repercussions, the other would have been also. Certainly the Philistines and the Zakkal-Zakkar had, or rather had had, connections with the Troad. Moreover, the Dardanians, relatives of the Philistines, had left the Troad and had already reached Kadesh in Syria a hundred years earlier, in Ramesses II's fifth year, *c.* 1285 B.C. They, therefore, reached Kadesh very shortly after the Trojan War.

Now a word about the dates used here. The Fall of Troy must now be dated to the years immediately after 1300 B.C. ¹⁾. This is some hundred years or so earlier than that of 1183 B.C. which has been accepted until recently. Again, among Egyptologists opinion had settled down to the years around 1200 B.C. for the accession of Ramesses III, but now ROWTON's elaborate study of Manetho's chronology shows excellent reasons for putting it at *c.* 1170 B.C. ²⁾. Ramesses II's accession is less in dispute, ROWTON only bringing it down from 1298 to 1290 B.C. ³⁾.

Enough is now known about the Philistines to ensure that originally they had evidently passed through the Troad like others of those whom the Egyptians called 'The Peoples of the Sea'. They were late

¹⁾ About or not long after 1300: — BLEGEN in *B.S.A.*, xxxvii (1936-37), pp. 11, 12; BLEGEN, CASKEY and RAWSON, *Troy*, iii (1953), p. 20; SCHACHERMEYER, *Poseidon und die Entstehung des griechischen Götterglaubens*, p. 197; DUSSAUD in *Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 1951, pp. 182, 183; cf. SCHAEFFER, *Enkomi-Alasia* i, pp. 368, 369; cf. GURNEY, *The Hittites*, p. 58.

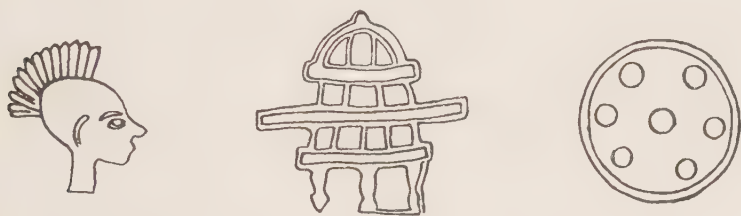
About 1280 B.C.: — GLOTZ, *La civilisation égéenne*, p. 67; HANFMANN in *A.J.A.* lii (1948) p. 143 note 36; BRONEER in *Antiquity*, xxx (1956), pp. 16, 17.

About 1230 or 1280 B.C. SCHAEFFER, *Stratigraphie comparée*, p. 262. It is coming to be appreciated once more that Troy vi must have been the Homeric city and not Troy vii A.

²⁾ ROWTON in *J.E.A.*, xxxiv (1948), pp. 61 ff. See especially p. 72, where he answers possible objections to so low a date.

³⁾ Id., *loc. cit.* .

in appearing in Egyptian history, which they only entered in Rameses III's reign about 1162 B.C. Actually they stand apart from the other Peoples of the Sea, for late as they were in joining them, Philistine-like people are by far the earliest of these peoples of whom we have any knowledge today. The Philistines' distinguishing mark was the feather headdress and the round shield¹⁾, and these had already appeared on the Phaistos Disc, a foreign import into Crete dating to the late Middle Minoan iii Period, and, therefore to about 1600 B.C.²⁾. Even then these Philistine-like people seem to have had 'Lycian', i.e. southern Asianic, connections, for there also ap-



pear on the Disc houses which have a very 'Lycian' look, Fig. 1³⁾. 'Lycian' also is the feather headdress, for long afterwards Herodotus, (vii, 92) says that the Lycians were still wearing caps encircled with feathers. Similarly he also says (i, 171) that a handle to the shield was a Carian invention. The Philistines used a handle to their round

¹⁾ See for instance figs. 1-3 in my article „Caphtor-Cappadocia” in *V.T.*, vi (1956), pp. 202, 203. They share the round shield with the Sherden and the Shakalsha but not the feather headdress.

²⁾ Sir Arthur EVANS, *The Palace of Minos* i, pp. 647 ff. The Disc remains unique today. It is not of Cretan workmanship, but is, as is commonly agreed, an import from some neighbouring civilization of western Asia Minor which is as yet still undiscovered.

³⁾ Id., *op. cit.* i, fig. 485, nos. f, n, for the feather headdress and the house; fig. 483, no. 12 for the shield, and pp. 647-657 for the discussion. See fig. 488 for the frequent combination of the head with the shield. Actually of the nineteen appearances of the head and the seventeen of the shield fourteen of them are in combination with each other, p. 663. It will be noted that the shield has bosses on it, and this was a feature occasionally to be seen on the Sherden shield three hundred years or so later. In one of Rameses III's scenes at Medinet Habu they are clearly shown (NELSON and others, *Medinet Habu* ii, Pl. 72 bottom right hand corner). A careful study of the much damaged scene of the assault on Dapur by Rameses II discovers a few bosses in the general confusion (W. Max MÜLLER, *Egyptological Researches* ii, Pl. 45). They do not exist on the shields of the Sherden bodyguard at Abu Simbel, and CHAMPOLLION's and ROSELLINI's highly coloured drawings are entirely imaginary in this and other respects (BREASTED in *A.J.S.* L., xxiii (1906), p. 2, fig. 1).

shields¹⁾ as well as wearing the feather cap. Caria and Lycia are in the neighbourhood of Cilicia Tracheia, Lycaonia and Isauria, the country which proves to have been Caphtor whence the Philistines invaded Palestine and were repulsed by Ramesses III, c. 1162 B.C. Hence, the Philistines had already reached the neighbourhood of Caphtor, if not Caphtor itself, by about 1600 B.C.

The Philistine name 'Ākîš or Achish (as the Authorized Version spells it) which was that of the king of Gath, or Ἀγχούς (as the Septuagint writes it), Ikausu (as the Assyrians spelt the name of a king of Ekron) appears as Αχχισις (F) near Palaia Isaura in Isauria on the north-west border of Cilicia Tracheia. As ʔkš (M), ʔkšt (F), the name also appears in an Egyptian list of names of Keftiu dating to about 1500 B.C.²⁾, and Keftiu-Caphtor, as I have brought much evidence to show, was Cilicia Tracheia³⁾. The Philistines, therefore, were already in Keftiu-Caphtor by about 1500 B.C.

As 'Ākîš (Achish) proves to have been an Isaurian name, it seems likely that Ma'akāb (Maachah) the name of his father (I Kings ii 39) or Mā'ôq (Maach) (1 Sam. xxvii 2) originated in the same area⁴⁾. Enquiry shows that a form *maka* is to be found all round about that part of the world. In its Greek dress it appears as Μαχας in Lycia, Pisidia and Lycaonia, and as Μαχα in Lycia again. Many compound names are also formed upon it in this area⁵⁾. In the same district there is also a form *mika* reproduced in Greek letters as Μικαα (F), Μικκος (M), and again a number of other names are compounded with it⁶⁾. A form *muka* seems to exist, but the simple name has

¹⁾ WAINWRIGHT, *op. cit.*, figs. 2, 3. One was carried by one of the defenders of Ascalon against Ramesses II, c. 1282 B.C., The man seems to be clean-shaven and wears what might perhaps represent the Philistine feather headdress (WRESZINSKI, *Atlas zur altägyptische Kulturgeschichte* ii, Pl. 58 bottom). At some time before about 1150 B.C. a round shield with central handle was in use at Megiddo (LOUD, *The Megiddo Ivories*, Pl. 4, fig. 2b and p. 10 for the limits of the dating of the group of ivories).

²⁾ WAINWRIGHT in *J.E.A.*, xvii (1931), pp. 35, 36; Id. in *A.J.A.*, lvi (1952), p. 201; Id. in *V.T.*, vi (1956), p. 204. That ʔkš was the same name as Achish-Ἀγχούς was first recognized by Max MÜLLER in *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie*, ix (1894), pp. 394 f.

³⁾ Besides the articles mentioned in the previous note, the other recent article is „Keftiu and Karamania (Asia Minor)” in *Anatolian Studies*, iv (1954), pp. 33-48.

⁴⁾ In *AfO*, xiii (1939-41), p. 227, BORK discusses the name Ma'ôq, but arrives at no conclusion except that it is of foreign origin, and says that the Philistine names are non-Semitic and non-Aryan, pp. 228, 230.

⁵⁾ SUNDWALL, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier*, p. 138 (*Klio*, Beiheft xi, (1913)).

⁶⁾ Id., *op. cit.*, p. 148.

not been reported. It enters into the composition of a number of names mostly Carian ¹). Lycia, Pisidia and Caria are the very countries surrounding Cabalia where, as will be seen on p. 81, there is evidence of the presence of Mopsus who led away his followers on their journeys and finally conquered Askalon. If this comparison between these Asianic and the Philistine names could be accepted, it would provide one more link between all this country on beyond the western end of Cilicia Tracheia and Caphtor whence came the Philistines.

To return to 'Αἰῖς (Achish). As has been accepted ever since REINACH pointed out the resemblance ²), Achish, 'Αγχούς, Ikausu can hardly be other than forms of Anchises, the name famous at Troy as that of the father of Aeneas. And since then Ἀκκισς has come to strengthen the resemblance. Anchises was a Dardanian (Il. xx 215 ff) and Aeneas led the Dardanians in the Trojan War (Il. ii 819). The Dardanians were an Illyrian tribe (Strabo, VII, v, 6), and it has recently been shown that the Philistines were Indo-Europeans and more accurately Illyrians ³), and the personal name 'Αἰῖς-Anchises suggests that more accurately still they were Dardanians.

Another connection between the Philistines and the Troad is to be seen in their action after they had been smitten with emerods. They not only sent away their golden emerods but also golden mice (1 Sam. vi 4). This combination is very suggestive of Apollo Smintheus to whom mice were sacred near Hamaxitus in the Troad ⁴). Smintheus was a god who sent disease, and his name was of pre-

¹) Id., *op. cit.*, p. 152.

²) REINACH in *Revue archéologique*, xv (1910), p. 41.

³) BONFANTE in *A.J.A.*, I (1946), pp. 251-262, where full references are given. Studying the diffusion of a certain type of 'Philistine' bowl PHYTHIAN-ADAMS was led to derive the Philistines from Illyria, where there was in classical times a Dardania and a tribe of 'Pirustae' (PHYTHIAN-ADAMS in *Brit. School of Arch. in Jerusalem*, Bulletin, No. 3 (1923), p. 26). In view of the evidence as to where Caphtor lay this is going too far. These names, however, would represent the western branch of the Dardanians while the Philistines represented the eastern branch. The Pirustae of Illyria are matched by the Prostanna of Pisidia. The name of this city is built up from *prusttā-(a)āna* (SUNDWALL, *op. cit.*, p. 187), of which the first portion looks very like *plst*-Philistine.

⁴) Taking up the hoary theory once more Bérard shows this time that the name *plst* (Philistine) proves likely to be the same word as Pelasgoi (*Revue archéologique*, xxxvii (1951), p. 132). If this were to be accepted, it could bring the Philistines into connection once more with Hamaxitus and its neighbourhood. For passing from that city along the southern coast of the Troad, we come to Antandros which Herodotus calls a Pelasgian city (vii, 42), and in the Iliad Pelasgoi were one of the peoples allied to the Trojans.

Greek origin¹). It was at Hamaxitus that the Teucrians settled on their arrival in the Troad (Strabo, xiii, i, 48)²), and under the name of Zakkar the Teucrians were companions of the Philistines both in their attack upon Egypt and in their colonization of the Palestinian coastland at Dor. One cannot but think that the Philistine city of Ziklag preserved their name under the form Zakkal, although the Hebrew spells the name with *k*, instead of the Egyptian *k*. Ziklag, it will be remembered belonged to Achish.

Yet again, as may be seen in my earlier article³), the Philistines fought three men in a chariot. This unusual, but Hittite custom⁴), is to be found occasionally among the Trojans. Thus, we read of Hector and Polydamas and Kebriones in their chariot. Other groups of three warriors, though not stated to be chariot riders, were Paris and his two companions, Helenos son of Priam and his two companions, Aeneas and his two friends, and Sarpedon and his two comrades (Il. xii 88 ff; cf. also viii 312 ff). It should be noted that all these triads are on the Trojan side, not the Achaean. But still in the Odyssey (xiv 470 ff) Odysseus recounts how that three of them, himself, Menelaos and another had led an ambush against the Trojans. It is no doubt this custom of the Philistines that introduced into Hebrew the curious military title *šālîš* which seems to be applied to chariot-warriors (Ex. xiv 7), hence indicating three men to the chariot⁵).

There is, thus, much to connect the Philistines with Dardanians and originally at some time with the Troad.

It has often been pointed out that a number of words which are

¹) ROSCHER, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, s.v. „Smintheus”.

²) For the Teucrians in the Troad see GJERSTAD „The Colonization of Cyprus in Greek Legend” in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, iii (1944), pp. 114, 116, 117.

³) *V.T.*, vi (1956), p. 202, fig. 1.

⁴) See any of the sculptures of the Battle of Kadesh, for instance, LESIUS, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* iii, Pls. 157-61, 164, 165 bottom register.

⁵) GORDON in *Antiquity*, xxx (1956), p. 24, includes this Biblical detail among others which can be paralleled by Homeric ones, but is apparently unaware that driving three men in a chariot was a Philistine and Hittite custom. It should be added that at the beginning of the Iron Age, say about 1125 B.C., the custom of driving three men in a chariot was introduced into Cyprus in the Cypro-Geometric Period (*The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* ii, Pls. ccxxxiv, ccxxxv, and pp. 711, 714, 740, 766, and 789 Type 15). The custom was not the same as that of the Hittites and Philistines for the chariots were four-horsed, not two-horsed as the others had been.

evidently Philistine are of Indo-European origin ¹⁾. Here it will suffice to mention the well-known equation between *seren*, the title of the lords of the Philistines and the Greek word *τύραννος*. The Greeks looked upon this as a Lydian word ²⁾, and the name Goliath has been compared to that of the Lydian king Alyattes ³⁾. Besides this there will be found in the next pages much other connection with Lydia at Askalon.

Again, it has often been pointed out that Goliath's challenge to single combat between the opposing hosts is reminiscent of the activities of the heroes at Troy. But too much must not be made of this, for it must not be forgotten that a thousand years earlier Sinuhe, an Egyptian, had had just such a single combat with the mighty man of Retjenu. Indeed, the parallels between Sinuhe's victory and David's are striking. Just as did David so did Sinuhe strike down his adversary from a distance and then finally killed him with his own weapon. Each of them stood upon his fallen enemy ⁴⁾.

Goliath of Gath was living about 1025 B.C., some one hundred and fifty years after his ancestors had appeared in the Egyptian records, and by that time various changes had taken place. This would be on the supposition that he was a Philistine and not one of the native Rephaim-Anakim ⁵⁾. In his story there is no suggestion of the feather headdress so distinctive of the earlier Philistines. His spear head was made of iron ⁶⁾ instead of bronze. He wore greaves,

¹⁾ BONFANTE has collected and discussed a number of them in *op. cit.*, pp. 254-260.

²⁾ G. RADET, *La Lydie et le monde grec*, pp. 146 ff. W. PRELLWITZ, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1905), p. 471 would see in it a Phrygian root. BOISACQ, *Dictionnaire étymologique* (1916), p. 992 considers this conjectural. In any case Phrygia borders on Lydia. MYRES, *Who were the Greeks?*, p. 118 returns to the old correlation with *χοιρανός* equating both words with the Hittite *kuirvanas*. But see GÖRZE, *Mad-duwattaš*, p. 140 (*M.V.Ä.G.*, xxxii (1927), Heft iii).

³⁾ By G. HÜSING according to BORK in *AfO*, xiii (1939-41), p. 227.

⁴⁾ Compare 1 Sam. xvii 51 with A. ERMAN, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (tr. BLACKMAN), p. 21. But apparently standing on the body of the enemy was the common way of exulting over him in the ancient Near East, for half way between the two episodes Amon-Rê likens the victorious Tuthmosis III to 'an avenger, who rises upon the back of his slain victim' BREASTED, *Ancient Records* ii, § 660. But perhaps this is only a habit natural to all humanity. Today we still uncommonly see photographs of big game hunters standing on their victim.

⁵⁾ MACALISTER, *The Philistines*, p. 60.

⁶⁾ 1 Sam. xvii 7. In 2 Sam. xxi 16 the spear head of one of Goliath's sons, Ishbi-benob as the Authorized Version has it, is said to have been of bronze and only to have weighed 300 shekels. For the difficulties of the passages, see MACALISTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 ff.

whereas no such thing is shown on his ancestors, and his armour is specially described as being of 'scales' (*gašgaššim*). So, by that time the Philistines had given up the laminated armour that they had been wearing at the time of the Great Migrations. Coats of mail were an Asiatic invention. Bronze scales for such coats dating to the middle of the fifteenth century were found at Nuzi in northern Mesopotamia¹). About 1481 B.C. Tuthmosis III records in his booty 'a beautiful suit of armour belonging to the chief of Megiddo' and '200 suits armour belonging to his wretched army'²). Hence, it is evident that by Goliath's time the Philistines had become Semitized as Zakkar-Baal already had at Byblos a generation before then.

The stories of events at another Philistine town, Askalon, are instructive, and once again they point back to the effects of the Trojan War and to Lydia. The first ones concern the famous Mopsus who was priest at the Lydian city of Clarus (Strabo, xiv, i, 27). When Calchas died at that city Mopsus took over the leadership of the people who were 'returning from Troy', and these people 'were scattered in Cilicia and Syria and even as far as Phoenicia'³). When they got to Syria and Phoenicia we are told by the Lydian historian, Xanthus, that Mopsus, here called 'the Lydian', captured Atargatis the goddess of Askalon and cast her and her son into the sacred lake where they were devoured by fishes⁴). The tradition of Lydian connections with Askalon was strong enough to provide Ascalus, the eponymous hero, with Lydian relations. He is said to have been the brother

¹) STARR, *Nuzi* i, Pl. 126, figs. A, B, D-L, O and pp. 341, 342, 343, 475-480, 540 f.

²) BREASTED, *op. cit.* ii, p. 187 § 435. In the next reign, that of Amenhotep II two such coats are represented in a tomb painting (N. de G. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes*, pp. 27 f, nos. 43, 44 and Pls. xvi. xxiv a), and in the next reign again a Syrian is shown wearing one (W. WOLF, *Die Bewaffnung des alt-ägyptischen Heeres*, p. 96, fig. 67. It is taken from Howard CARTER and NEWBERRY, *The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV*, Pl. x, where, however, the scales are not shown). From the fourteenth century onwards bronze scales for armour were the most common things found in the palace at Ras Shamra-Ugarit (SCHAEFFER in *Syria*, xxxi (1954), p. 25, and for an illustration and the date see Id. in *Syria*, xviii (1937), p. 144, fig. 9). The picture of one of these corselets in the tomb of Ramesses III is well known (WOLF, *op. cit.*, p. 97, fig. 69).

³) Strabo, xiv, iv, 3. Concrete evidence for the general correctness of the traditions is provided by the fact that the 'Philistine' pottery is now known to be most nearly related to that of the regional Myc. iii, C, 1 style of Cilicia (FURUMARK in *Opuscula Archaeologica* iii (1944), pp. 264 f. See also Id., *The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery* (1941), p. 122).

⁴) Quoted by Athenaeus, viii, 37 (C. and T. MÜLLER, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* i, p. 38, Fragment xi).

of one king of Lydia, the well-known Tantalus, and the general of another, a certain Akiamus¹⁾. Here, then, we have accounts of an invasion of what was to become a Philistine city by people 'returning from Troy' under west Asianic, in this case Lydian, leadership. The resemblance has just been noted between the Philistine word *seren* and the Lydian *ὑράνωος*, and perhaps between the name of Goliath and that of Alyattes the Lydian king.

Mopsus turns out to have been a real person, for under the form Mukšuš he is mentioned as a contemporary of Madduwattaš somewhere in western Asia Minor. This was in the period 1220-1190 B.C., for it was the Hittite king Arnuwandas III who speaks of him²⁾. GÖTZE compares the form of the name Madduwattaš to those of the Lydian kings Alyattes and Sadyattes³⁾, and for Mukšuš-Mopsus he points to the city Moxoupolis in Cabalia⁴⁾. Cabalia was the country south-east of Lydia lying between Caria, Lycia and Pisidia, and, as was seen on p. 76 these countries were those where names were used like that of Maacah-Maoch the father of the Philistine king Achish. Achish's own name is found as *Αχκισς* in Isauria which borders on Pisidia.

We hear of Mopsus-Mukšuš once more and in another and different context from the capture of Askalon. This time he is brought very near the Philistines themselves, for he is recorded as the progenitor of a subordinate ruler in the kingdom of the Danuniyim of Adana. He lived at a place now called Karatepe on the western frontier of eastern Cilicia, and, therefore, just outside western Cilicia which, as there is much evidence to show, was Caphtor. There, in Cilicia, the late eighth century king, Azitawadda, prides himself on his descent from this ancestor⁵⁾. These Danuniyim cannot be other than the Dainiuna who accompanied the Philistines in their attack on Ramesses III in 1162 B.C.⁶⁾. The Dainiuna must have been closely

¹⁾ For references see ROSCHER, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, s.v. *Askalos*, col. 611.

²⁾ GÖTZE, *Madduwattaš*, p. 37, and p. 158 for Arnuwandas (*M.V.-Ä.G.*, xxxii (1927) Heft iii). For Arnuwandas' date see GURNEY, *The Hittites* (2nd edn), pp. 38, 216.

³⁾ GÖTZE, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁴⁾ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

⁵⁾ BARNETT in *J.H.S.*, lxxiii (1953), p. 142.

⁶⁾ BREASTED, *Ancient Records* iv, §§ 64, 81, 82, 403. However, the Dainiuna had been about the Levant some two hundred years before their attack on Ramesses III (KNUDTZON, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* i, Letter no. 151, ll. 50 ff). About 1375 B.C. news of them is reported in that from Kinaḫna-Canaan, but this Ca-

related to the Philistines, for Ramesses shows them as indistinguishable the one from the other, and both of them from the Zakkal ¹⁾. Indeed the Philistines, Dainiuna and Zakkal form one group within the general horde of the Sea Peoples ²⁾. It looks, therefore, as if the stories of Mopsus and his conquest of Askalon refer to the final and Philistine conquest of that city rather than to any of the earlier troubles there.

We have one more tradition about Askalon. It says that that city attacked Sidon in 'the year before the Fall of Troy' ³⁾, and therefore, in the reign of Ramesses II on the reckoning adopted here. From these traditions we now come to history. Tradition tells that Mopsus' people were scattered in 'Syria even as far as Phoenicia'. They were said to be returning from Troy and historically it has been seen (p. 73 note 3) that Ramesses II encountered many of these Trojan peoples at Kadesh. This was in his fifth year, and therefore, about 1285 B.C. Immediately afterwards, in or before the eighth year ⁴⁾, and therefore, about 1282 B.C. Ramesses had to quell Askalon. It was evidently an important affair for he had the picture of the assault sculptured at Karnak ⁵⁾. All of this was two or even three generations before Arnuwandas wrote of Mukšuš-Mopsus near Lydia, so it could hardly have been his invasion that was the cause of it.

Yet again, some sixty years later we hear once more of Askalon having to be suppressed. It was about 1220 B.C. that Merneptah

naan included all the Syrian coast (WEBER in KNUDTZON, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 1252). So it does not necessarily mean that they were invading Philistia as early as that. As news from Kinaḥna includes some about the Hittite armies and about Ugarit, it may easily have included some from Cilicia across the narrow sea and within the Hittite area.

¹⁾ NELSON and others, *Medinet Habu* i, Pl. 44 for the Dainiuna and Philistines and Pl. 43 for the Zakkal.

²⁾ The other groups are that of the Teresh and Shekelesh and lastly that of the Sherden. This is all worked out in an article to appear shortly in the *J.E.A.*

³⁾ Justin Martyr xviii 3. Askalon was always a turbulent place. It figures largely in the Tell el-Amarna Letters, c. 1375 B.C., where it is accused of aiding the enemies of Jerusalem which was loyal to Egypt, while Widia king of Askalon was sending numerous letters full of vague assurances of devoted loyalty (KNUDTZON, *op. cit.* i, nos. 285-290 Jerusalem's letters; Askalon's letters nos. 320-326). Gezer & Lachish were similarly hostile to Jerusalem. Much earlier than this Askalon is mentioned as *ṯsk3nw* as one of the states hostile to Egypt at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, say about 1800 B.C. (POSENER, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, p. 35).

⁴⁾ BREASTED, *op. cit.*, iii, § 352.

⁵⁾ LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* iii, Pl. 145, c; WRZESINSKI, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* ii, 58.

had to subjugate that city and Gezer as well¹⁾, which latter place was on the borders of what was later to become Philistine territory. But seeing that Mopsus was actually in the Lydian neighbourhood at that time even this trouble can hardly have been due to his people²⁾. Yet another sixty years had to pass before the Philistines & the Zakkal-Zakkar-Teukroi arrived about 1162 B.C. and brought the long drawn out turmoil to a close. The Philistines certainly came from somewhere not far from Lydia whence Mopsus is said to have started out and in the neighbourhood of which we have evidence of his existence.

The Philistines were Indo-Europeans, Dardaniams of Illyrian stock, and had clearly at one time had to do with the Troad. Otherwise it is in the far south that we hear of them and in countries that are contiguous the one to the other.

Pisidia, Isauria and south-western Lycaconia are on beyond Cilicia Tracheia and round the headwaters of its river, the Calycadnus. Lycia, Caria and Cabalia, which have come into the discussion, form an outer fringe on the south and west of these countries. Thus, there is a solid block of countries which are concerned in some way with the Philistines.

Western Cilicia, or Tracheia as it is otherwise called, is easily reached from such places as Isauria, Pisidia and Cabalia, for, going in the opposite direction, Strabo (XII, vi, 4) reports how the Cilicians and Pisidians were overrunning the country as far as Antiocheia, Apamea Cibotus and Lycaconia. It was no doubt down the Calycadnus River that the Philistines would have come to reach the $\pi\acute{\iota}$, the coastland, of Caphtor-Keftiu-Kaptara whence they finally invaded Palestine.

Post Scriptum. Apart from the Philistinian evidence there is still more for a connection between the coast of Philistia and the country which seems to be Caphtor. That country is Cilicia Tracheia and its hinterland, and the further connection is supplied by Perseus. A strong tradition in antiquity placed his well-known deliverance of Andromeda at Joppa³⁾, a town on the coast some thirty miles north of

¹⁾ BREASTED, *op. cit.*, iii, § 606. His conquests of these two cities are recorded on the famous Israel Stela dated in his fifth year (*Id.*, *op. cit.*, § 617).

²⁾ Perhaps, however, Mopsus is not to be taken too literally. It is of course possible, and indeed probable, that the activities later associated with his name cover the whole of these movements in post-Trojan War times.

³⁾ ROSCHER, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, s.v. *Iope*, cols. 293, 294.

Askalon. Back in Asia Minor he was an important figure, whither he brought an image of Medusa to Iconium. There he figured as one of the chief types on the coinage ¹⁾. To the south-west Karalia put his figure on its coins. This was on beyond Isaura and the headwaters of the Calycadnus River. Coming down the river we find that Koropissos also put his figure on its coins. On the coastland of Cilicia Tracheia Iotape did likewise ²⁾, and Anemourion used him as one of its most important types ³⁾.

Perseus was also said to have founded Tarsus, on the coins of which he once again provided one of the most important types ⁴⁾. But that may perhaps only have been due to a *Volksetymologie*, a play upon the name of the city & that of his well-known sandal, τάρσος.

Perseus, therefore, reached Joppa from the country of Caphtor and from somewhat the same direction as that whence Mopsus came, and passed along much the same route. The travels & activities of the two are very comparable, for Mopsus also founded cities in Cilicia (Mopsouestia, Mopsoukrene) and had violent dealings on the coast of Palestine, in his case at Askalon.

¹⁾ G. F. HILL, *British Museum Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia*, pp. xxiii, xxiv.

²⁾ For all these cities see HILL, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvii, lvii and p. 47 note 1.

³⁾ Id., *op. cit.*, p. xli.

⁴⁾ Id., *op. cit.*, p. xcvi.

Post Scriptum

Further study of the "Hittite and Trojan Allies" of note 1, p. 72 suggests that the Kelckesh may perhaps not have been Cilicians of Thebe but Carians. The name could equally well, or perhaps better, be read as Kerekesh, when it would be the Hittite Karkiša. In his map in his new edition of *Kleinasien* GÖTZE puts Karkiša in Caria, though on p. 180 he says that no name for the Carians appears in the Hittite documents. The final *-sh* of Kerekesh is the ethnic termination leaving *Kerekē* as the name of the people. HERZFELD in his *Altpersische Inschriften*, p. 32, l. 28 = p. 34 § 3 translates the Persian *Krkā* as „die Karer". If these views should be correct, we should be brought back to Caria a country which has already entered the discussion and to the neighbourhood of Caphtor.

Since writing the foregoing article I have also found an article by G. L. HUXLEY in *The Institute of Classical Studies* (University of London), *Bulletin* No. 3 (1956), pp. 91-31. He there accepts Troy vii A as the Homeric city, and brings together much evidence for a date of about 1240 B.C. for the mustering of the Achaeans and about 1230 B.C. for the Fall of Troy. His evidence seems to be very strong.

HUXLEY (p. 23) has much to say supporting BÉRARD's equation of the *plst*-Philistines with the Pelasgoi mentioned in note 4, p. 76.

SHORT NOTES

GEN. iv 1

Die in Gen. iv 1 enthaltene Begründung, warum Eva ihren erstgeborenen Sohn Qain nannte, ist bekanntlich in verschiedener Hinsicht schwierig. Vier vorgeschlagene Emendationen seien hier kurz zusammengestellt:

- 1) אַת statt אָת (MARTI u.a.);
- 2) אֶת־יְהוָה „JHWH ist mit mir“, statt אֶת־יְהוָה (Haplographie; so L. H. K. BLEEKER, *Theologische Studien* 27 (1909), S. 289 ff.).
- 3) מֵאֵת statt אֶת (unter Berufung auf T^o);
- 4) אֶת־יְהוָה „den ich mir wünschte“, statt אֶת־יְהוָה (GUNKEL).

Die Kommentare bieten keine Parallelen.

Ich möchte nun versuchen, durch einen Hinweis auf zwei assyrische Eigennamen die fragliche Stelle ihrer Lösung näherzubringen. Für eine ausgezeichnete, wenn auch nicht ganz vollständige Behandlung der babylonisch-assyrischen Eigennamen s. J. STAMM, *Die akkadische Namengebung* (1939), mit nachträglichen Bemerkungen in *Welt des Orients* 2/II (1955), S. 111 ff.; die hier zu behandelnden Namen fehlen allerdings bei STAMM.

Bei E. EBELING, B. MEISSNER und E. WEIDNER, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige* (1926), S. 88, Variante a und Anmerkung 3 (Keilschrifttext bei L. MESSERSCHMIDT, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts* I (1911), S. 11*, Anm. 2) findet sich der Eigenname *It-ti-ili-a-Ū-šū*. Die einzig mögliche sinnreiche Lesung und Übersetzung lautet: *It-ti-ili-a-šam-šū*, *Itti-ili-ašāmšū*, „Ich-habe-ihn-von-Gott-gekauft“¹⁾; *šāmu itti* ist eine in Kaufkontrakten häufige Verbindung mit der Bedeutung „kaufen von“ (eigentlich: „bei“). Lesung und Übersetzung werden weiterhin gesichert durch den zweiten Namen: *Is-tu/Ištu-Aš-sur/dA-šur-a-šam/ašām-šū/šú*, „Ich-habe-ihn-von-Gott-Assur-gekauft“, wofür man die Belege findet bei WEIDNER, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 13 (1939/40), S. 315a und 16 (1952/3), S. 214²⁾. Das heisst also, dass in der zweiten Hälfte des

¹⁾ Nicht mit A. UNGNAD, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* II, S. 449 *Itti-ilija-šamšū* zu lesen.

²⁾ Bei WEIDNER, *AFO* 16, Tf. XII, Rs. 21 möchte ich das Zeichen ŠAM ideographisch lesen.

zweiten Jahrtausends vor Chr. nachweislich wenigstens zwei assyrische Elternpaare durch den Namen, den sie ihrem neugeborenen Sohne gaben, ihre Ansicht, dass das Kind von (einem) Gott „gekauft“ worden sei, zum Ausdruck gebracht haben. Man wird mir wohl kaum bestreiten, dass hier eine genaue Parallele zu Gen. iv 1 vorliegt, wenn es sich auch in Gen. iv 1 um ein volksetymologisches Wortspiel in einer mythischen Erzählung handelt. Welchen „Preis“ die fraglichen assyrischen Eltern für ihren Sohn bezahlt haben, vernehmen wir nicht. Dürften wir annehmen, dass es sich um eine schwere Geburt handelte? Das würde in Gen. iv 1, wenige Verse nach der Verfluchung der Frau (iii 16; beide Stellen J), ausgezeichnet passen.

Damit wären die oben unter 1), 2) und 4) aufgeführten Lösungen wohl erledigt. Die unter 3) gebuchte Emendation $\text{אח} < \text{מ} >$ trifft jedenfalls sinngemäss das Richtige. אח ist tatsächlich in der Bedeutung „von“ nicht belegt, $\text{קנה} + \text{מאת}$ kommt dagegen öfter vor. Da man jedoch, wie wir sahen, im Akkadischen für „(kaufen) von“ die mit hebr. אח etymologisch identische Präposition *itti* gebrauchen kann, ist die Frage vielleicht erlaubt, ob das Fehlen der Verbindung $\text{קנה} + \text{אח}$ nicht ein durch den verhältnismässig geringen Umfang des hebräischen Textmaterials bedingter Zufall sein könnte. Dann hätte man das alte Problem ohne jede Emendation gelöst.

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R. BORGER

EXODUS xxi 6

The procedure mentioned in Exodus xxi 6 has been interpreted by many commentators but it contains still some dark points. According to this passage a Hebrew bondman may become a permanent slave if his master brings him before God and perforates his ear at the door post. BAENTSCH and lately DRAFFKORN¹⁾ explain the ceremony as a way of bringing the slave under the authority of the house god which was followed by the creation of a permanent slave mark.

The function of God in the ceremony was already omitted in Deuteronomium xv 17 because, as G. A. SMITH puts it, local sanctuaries had meanwhile been abolished and domestic images of deity were being prohibited. Both LXX and the Jewish interpreters render the word „judges“ instead of ‘God’, be it because they are considered His representatives or because they sit in His sanctuary. The necessity to bring the matter before a court of justice seems, however,

¹⁾ Cf. *JBL*, LXXVI (1957), p. 223.

unwarranted. The Patriarch Juda (200 C.E.) applies the provision only to the case where the bondman has been sold for his theft by the judges (Exodus xxii 2)¹⁾. It is they who have sold the man for six years and they, therefore, have to be consulted before his service can be extended.

As to the reason for punching the slave's ear there are two versions ascribed to Joḥanan ben Zakkai (circ. 70 C.E.): "His ear had heard 'Thou shalt not steal' (Exodus xx 13) and yet he went and stole, therefore it shall be pierced through", and : "His ear had heard 'For they are my servants' (Levit. xxv 42) and not the servants of servants, and yet he went and acquired himself a master, therefore it shall be pierced through"²⁾. The perforation of the ear is, thus, considered a punishment rather than a mark of slavery.

Looking, however, at the ceremonies in other legal systems we may come to different conclusions as to the origin of our law. In Babylonian documents slaves were said to be released before the God Šamaš and usually the ceremony took place in his temple³⁾. Similar modes of manumission were employed in the Greek cities. A slave could be consecrated as an offering to God like a bowl or a statue and he thereby became free. In later times one used to liberate slaves by a fictitious sale to a temple, the price being said to have been received from God while actually paid by the slave or by one of his friends. Finally the manumission was effected by a mere invocation of divine protection for the new freedman, while in civil manumissions the protection of the magistrate took the place of that of God⁴⁾.

Roman Civil Law knew of several methods to effect a manumission. One of them, "vindicta" consisted of a fictitious law suit between the owner and a friend of the slave who claimed the latter's freedom, The master admitting the claim by silence, a declaration was given by the magistrate that the man was free. From certain non-legal texts we also learn that the master gave the slave a box on the ear which has been explained as a last assertion of ownership⁵⁾.

In the light of these analogies the following interpretation of our

1) *Mehilta* ad Exodus xxi 6.

2) *Mehilta ibid.*, Bab. Talmud, *Qidusbin*, 22b.

3) DRIVER-MILES, *The Babylonian Laws* I, v. 226 (Oxford, 1952).

4) J. WALTER JONES, *The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks* (Oxford, 1956)

p. 284.

5) H. F. JOLOWICZ, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law* (Cambridge, 1952) p. 136.

passage is proposed. In Israel as well as in Babylonia and Greece, God was considered to be concerned with the manumission of slaves, all the more since He had liberated the whole people from the serfdom of Egypt, in order to make them his own servants. Whenever a slave was entitled to receive his freedom, the master was liable to suffer divine punishment if he did not let him go. Our case where the service should be extended by consent *ad infinitum* was, consequently, of divine concern and had to be settled in His presence.

The ceremony probably consisted just of the opposite elements of the Roman *vindicta*. The master asserted that the time of service was up while the slave confirmed his willingness to stay. The result being a divine decision to extend the service, the master punched the slave's ear in the presence of God as a sign of his dominium. It was thereby that the servant became a permanent slave and forfeited the right to demand his freedom.

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Z. W. FALK

EZRA VII 26

Among the powers conferred upon Ezra by the Persian King the jurisdiction to pass sentence *šeroši* or *šerošu* is mentioned (Ezra vii 26). Having shown the similarity of this term to the word *serošita* (punishment) mentioned in an Aramaic letter from Egypt ¹⁾, RUNDGREN accepts the interpretation of LXX and 3 Ezra viii 24 referring to punishment of whipping ²⁾. Instead of *serošu*, as it should have been in his view, the Masora had formed the term *šerošu* supposedly derived from Hebrew *šareš* (to uproot) and giving rise to the interpretation of Vulgata *exilium*.

It is, however, worthwhile mentioning that similar doubts existed also in the traditional Rabbinic interpretation. The Babylonian Juda (3rd. Cent. C.E.) being asked about the meaning of *šeroši* translated it by *hardapah*. When the latter word itself had become doubtful in meaning, it was interpreted either as anathema or, according to another version of the text, as imprisonment within a narrow enclosure of reeds or poles ³⁾.

The original meaning, however, seems to be near to the term *murdap* (Is. xiv 6) the context of which refers to strokes; later on,

¹⁾ G. R. DRIVER, *Aramaic documents of the 5th Cent.*, 1954, p. 13.

²⁾ *VT*, VII, p. 400.

³⁾ Bab. Talmud *Moed Qatan* 16a, *Ošar Hagaonim* ad loc. JASTROW, *Dictionary*: „hardapah”.

however, the word *hardapa* as well as *šeroši* became subject to different interpretations according to the forensic usage of the time ¹⁾.

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THE COPTOS DECREE AND 2 SAM XII 14

2 Sam xii 1-14 is the story of the accusation of David by the prophet Nathan because of his behaviour in the case of Bath-sheba and Uriah. David confesses his sin and Nathan absolves him of capital punishment. Yet, we are told in verse 14, he will not escape unpunished:

Howbeit, because by this deed thou hast greatly blasphemed the enemies of the Lord, the child also that is born unto thee shall surely die.

The Targum, the Vulgate, Luther and the Authorized Version all take *ni'eš ni'ašta* as causative, that is they render "thou hast caused the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme", hast given them occasion to do so. This interpretation, postulating for *ni'eš* a meaning not evidenced elsewhere, is rejected not only by modern scholars; already the traditional Jewish exegesis, while quoting the Targum, prefers to regard the phrase "the enemies of the Lord" as what it indeed is, as a euphemism.

Ever since GEIGER ²⁾ it has been unhesitatingly accepted by scholars in introductions ³⁾ and in commentaries on the Book of Samuel ⁴⁾, that the word *'oyebbe* "the enemies of" is a late emendation, a Sophistic alteration of the text. It is submitted that this equation, euphemism = emendation, is unwarranted. No proof has been offered for the assumption underlying it, that euphemisms of this kind reflect the religious apprehensions of a later time, alien to the thought of the man who first wrote down the verse.

Better than abstract argument, there is actual evidence for a similar usage preceding the Book of Samuel by many centuries. The Coptos Decree ⁵⁾, of the 13th dynasty (18th century B.C.), deals with the punishment meted out to a rebellious feudal lord, Teti son of Min-hotep, count of Coptos. Line 6f. of the inscription reads:

¹⁾ Cf. *šertum* in Cod. Hammurabi, XXVII, 43, 48 (DRIVER-MILES, II, p. 298).

²⁾ *Urschrift und Übersetzung der Bibel* (1857), p. 267; cf. p. 268, n. 2.

³⁾ E.g., C. D. GINSBURG, p. 363 ff.; R. H. PFEIFFER, p. 86.

⁴⁾ E.g., H. P. SMITH, in *ICC*; A. SCHULZ in *Exegetisches Handbuch*, W. NOWACK in *HKAT*.

⁵⁾ BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt* I, sec. 773-780.

His name shall not be remembered in this temple, according as it is done toward one like him, who is hostile toward the enemies of his god.

With regard to "who is hostile toward the enemies of his god" BREASTED remarks in a footnote that "there are no difficulties of lexicon or grammar in this clause, but the meaning when rendered is uncertain."

The eminent Egyptologist's difficulty is of course resolved by comparison with the Biblical text. More interesting here are the conclusions to be drawn in the Biblical sphere. A more conservative approach to the question of editorial changes seems to be indicated. Interference must not be taken for granted merely on the ground that a text is not as blunt and straightforward as it might have been. What is to be proved in each case is that the word or words criticized cannot possibly be, or at least very probably are not, from the hand of the author.

Similarly there is no proof for the assumption that the euphemistic substitution of *berekh*—"to bless" for expressions meaning "to curse" or "to blaspheme" is due to subsequent emendation. Such substitution occurs on two occasions: once in the story of Ahab and Naboth (1 K xxi 10, 13), the other time in the introductory part of the Book of Job (i 5, 11; ii 5, 9). The apprehension against uttering an express blasphemy may go back to very early times. It is in no way incongruous within the story of Naboth, and fits well indeed into the popular story about the righteous Job.

GEIGER, and following him GINSBURG and PFEIFFER, attach much weight to a third alleged instance of *berekh* for "to curse", in Ps. x 3. There "the original text ('he despises') and the euphemism ('he blesses') are both preserved in the text, showing perhaps that the correction was written originally between the lines over the objectionable word" ¹). However, the genuineness of *berekh* is supported by the synonymous *hillel* in the parallel verse 3a. The pair *berekh-hillel* occurs also in other texts ²). Hence GEIGER is led to suggest that *hillel* also, in verse 3a, is an emendation of an original *hillel* or *qillel*, but he is not followed by commentators of the Psalms. Whatever the correct interpretation of the difficult verse 3b, the solution is apparently not to be sought in the omission of *berekh*.

¹) PFEIFFER, *Introduction*, p. 86.

²) Jer. iv 2, Ps. cxiii 1-3, cxv 17-18, cxlv 2.

One aspect that has been stressed by GEIGER and echoed by others, is the clumsiness of expression. This is supposed to show that we have before us a late emendation. If the authors of Samuel and of other books where comparable blasphemous expressions occur had felt repelled by them, *so hätten ihnen weit bessere Mittel zu Gebote gestanden, als gerade das Umgekehrte zu sagen*¹⁾. Similarly GINSBURG remarks that 2 Sam xii 14 as it now stands "is nonsense"²⁾. SCHULZ, referring to the scribe who allegedly inserted 'oyebbe, says: *Dass er dadurch den Sinn in das Gegenteil verkehrt, ja gerade alles andere als einen Sinn geschaffen hat, kümmert ihn nicht*³⁾.

The Coptos Decree of course disposes of all this. But even apart from it the argument seems rather artless and pedantic. After all what matters is not the literal meaning of an expression, but what the reader of average intelligence and knowledge will understand by it. Euphemisms, quite generally speaking, serve to render innocuous what would otherwise be reprehensible. It is of no importance what actual form they take, as long as they are not unintelligible. If this test is applied, there seems to be no ground for objection to the genuineness of the expressions discussed.

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THE REPENTANCE OF JOB

The solution of the problem in the book of Job, however that problem is conceived, seems to be arrived at in xlii 5.6.

I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear,
but now my eye sees thee;
therefore I despise myself,⁴⁾
and repent in dust and ashes. (RSV).

In these lines Job has come to a spirit of repentance. However, it is not immediately apparent of what he repents. Our common translations imply that Job finally has yielded to the remonstrances

¹⁾ *Op.cit.*, p. 268, n. 2.

²⁾ *Introduction*, p. 365.

³⁾ *Exegetisches Handbuch*, ad 2 Sam xii 14.

⁴⁾ „Therefore I abhor myself” (AV, ARV); „Daarom verfoei ik mij” (Dutch). These renderings follow the line of the LXX, εφωλίσα εμαυτον, “I disparage myself”, and of the Vulg. “*Iipse me reprehendo*”, “I myself abhor myself.” Luther’s translation gives, “*Darum spreche ich mich schuldig.*”

of his friends that he repent before God. To do this would be the first step toward restoration before God and man. If this is the meaning of his repentance, then our translations are correct.

However, the author does not so present Job's repentance. Throughout the poem there is no doubt that Job has the better of the argument with the friends; and to make this sure, the epilogue adds that the Lord's wrath is kindled against the friends because they have not spoken what is right as Job has. Job's repentance is not that which his friends have urged.

The key to the proper understanding of our problem, i.e., the reason for Job's repentance, is in the understanding and translation of **אָמַס** (v.6). The verb occurs in nine other passages in our book. A study of the meaning in these cases will give us insight for the translation here.¹⁾

v 17 **וּמוֹסֵר שְׂדֵי אֵל תִּמָּס** Eliphaz sets forth the purpose of affliction as the Almighty's device for Job's instruction. Let not Job *reject* it! "Therefore the discipline of the Almighty do not *reject*."

vii 16 **מֵאֲסִי לֹא לְעַלְמִי אַחִיָּה** The difficulty of supplying the object for **מֵאֲסִי** is evident from the different results of scholars. DRIVER²⁾ favors "my life", HIRTZIG³⁾ and DUHM⁴⁾ "death", TERRIEN⁵⁾ and WEISER⁶⁾ associate the verb with **מָסַס**, "I pine away" (cf. ARV margin). Here I accept HIRTZIG's object—not his translation, *Ich verschmäh' es*—and render the verb, "I *reject* it", i.e., death, a possibility contemplated in v 15. Job rejects death (**מוֹת**), even though he knows that he shall not live forever.⁷⁾

viii 20 **הֵן אֵל לֹא יִמָּס תָּם** "Behold God will not *reject* a blameless man" is the first half of the retribution doctrine which Bildad summarizes here. The sense of the verb is well expressed by *reject*.⁸⁾

ix 21 **תָּם אֲנִי לֹא אֲדַע נִפְשִׁי אִמָּס חַי** Because Job knows that, even though he is confident of his integrity, in contending with God he

¹⁾ The **יִמָּס** in vii 5 is another root and is so acknowledged by BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, *Lexicon of the OT* (New York, 1906), p. 549b; GESENIUS-BUHL, *Handwörterbuch über d. AT* (Leipzig, 1915), p. 394a; and KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon in VT Libros* (Leiden, 1953), p. 490b.

²⁾ *The Book of Job* (Edinburgh, 1950), I, p. 72.

³⁾ *Das Buch Hiob* (Leipzig, 1874), pp. 57 f.

⁴⁾ *Das Buch Hiob* (Leipzig, 1874), p. 44.

⁵⁾ *The Interpreter's Bible* (New York, 1954), p. 965.

⁶⁾ *Das Buch Hiob* (Göttingen, 1956), pp. 57, 63.

⁷⁾ Cf. further HIRTZIG's comment that Job knows that death will without his doing overtake him. Now he wants God to leave him alone, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 f.

⁸⁾ Cf. here LXX ἀποποιεῖται, "put away", and Vulg. *proiciet*, "throw away".

cannot be in the right, he therefore sinks into an abyss of frustration and takes "out of play" (WEISER, *op. cit.*, p. 75) his "soul" or his "life". The translation can then be, "Though I am blameless, I do not regard myself, I *reject* (cast aside) my life".

x 3 כפך יויע תמאס כי תעשק in This passage in the expression, יויע כפך "work of thy hands", anticipates the formation of the embryo described in vv. 8-11. Job questions whether God realized any good in oppressing or in rejecting that which he made. The translation, "that thou shouldest oppress, that thou shouldest *reject* the work of thy hands", renders the thought accurately.

xix 18 גם עוילים מאסי בי אקומה וידברו בי In this context Job laments the turning away of friends and family because of his loathsome disease. The verse is usually translated, "Even children *despise*¹⁾ me; when I rise, they talk against me." One can sense that we need a stronger verb than "reject" here. However, children are not emotionally capable of despising someone; rather they would show disrespect. Formerly Job had the respect of children and youth (xxix 5.8). Now they disrespect him by talking against him. Therefore, it may be translated, "Even children disrespect me..."

xxx 1 אשר מאסתי אבותם לשית עם כלבי צאני The riffraff who now mock Job came from low families. He regarded their fathers on the level with dogs, even lower. The verb has here the nuance of regarding of little value which leads to rejecting. The rendering may be, "Whose fathers I found unworthy to set with the dogs of my flock."²⁾

xxxi 13 אם אמאס משפט עבדי ואמתי ברבם עמדי "If I *disregarded* the right of my slave and my maid when they took issue with me". The slave, although given rights in Mosaic law (Ex. xxi 1 ff.), was at the mercy of the whims of his master. Job here asserts that he did not disregard these rights. The sense of the verb suggests something less violent than "reject", yet "disregard" would lead to it.

xxxvi 5 הן אל כביר ולא ימאס Elihu declares, if the MT is kept, that since God is mighty, especially in intelligence, he casts aside nothing beyond his attention. "Behold God is mighty, he does not *reject* (anything)". DUHM emends and translates, "*Siehe, Gott vernirft den Starrsinnigen*".³⁾

¹⁾ "Verachten" in New Dutch Version, also thus by HITZIG, DUHM, and WEISER *in loco*.

²⁾ NDV, "Wier vaders ik te min vond", and WEISER's translation, "deren Väter ich nicht würdig hielt", *op. cit.*, p. 202.

³⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

From this survey of the verb **מָאָס** we observe that (1) the main interpretation is "to reject", (2) a weakening of this concept to "to regard of little value" (xxx 1), or "to disregard" (xxxi 13) seems permissible, and (3) a stronger emphasis, "to disrespect" (xix 18), may be allowed. The usage hardly allows the extreme emphasis of "to despise, to abhor".¹⁾

If we have rightly discovered the meaning of our verb, the translation of xlii 6a will be, "Therefore I reject." The MT offers no object for this verb. Every translation must supply one. The context, "Therefore I have uttered what I did not understand, things too wonderful for me, which I did not know" (v. 3bc), suggests that Job now, after his encounter with the Lord from the whirlwind, is painfully aware of the inadequacy of his arguments and demands before God. Furthermore these arguments and demands were based on the traditional reward-retribution theology to which he refers in v 5a, "I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear." This theology he abandons since now with the eye of faith he encounters God, "but now eye sees thee" (v 5b). Job now discerns his folly in employing words or arguments within a moralistic, reward-retribution framework. These words he now rejects as worthless and repents of his folly in using them "therefore I reject (my words), an I repent in dust and ashes."²⁾

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¹⁾ The uses of **מָאָס** in Qumran literature confirm our interpretation of "to reject." In the "Habakkuk Commentary" 1,10, **מָאָסוּ בְּתוֹרַת אֵל** (here **ש** is a variant for **ס**, cf. G-K, 6k), "They rejected the law of God"; 5,11, **אֲשֶׁר מָאָס אֶת הַתּוֹרָה**, "who rejected the law." *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* (New Haven, 1950), Vol. I, plates LV, LVII. In the "Manual of Discipline" 2,25, **וְכֹל הַמּוֹאֵס לְבוֹא**, "And everyone who refuses to enter"; 3,5, **כֹּל יוֹמֵי מָאָסוּ בְּמִשְׁפַּטֵּי אֵל**, "All the days of his rejecting the ordinances of God." *Ibid.*, (New Haven, 1951), Vol. II. In the "Thanksgiving Psalms" 1,37, . . . **וְאֵל תִּמְאָסוּ בָּכ**, "And do not reject(?)"—lacunal 4,8, **כֹּי נִמְאָסוּ לְמֹו**, "For they have become loathsome to themselves." The niphal reflexive, "to reject oneself", may well become "to loathe oneself." 15,18, **וַיִּמְאָסוּ בָּב**, "And they reject [the covenant]", so GASTER, *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect* (London, 1957), p. 189. 17,24] **וְלִמְאֹס שְׂכֹל אֲשֶׁר שָׂנְאָת**, "And to reject all that thou hatest." *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem, 1955). In a "Collection of Liturgical Prayers" 3, 11, 4, **וְתִמְאָסוּ בָּם**, "And thou didst reject them", i.e. the wicked. *Discoveries in the Judean Desert I, Qumran Cave I* (Oxford, 1956), p. 154. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Sylvio SCORZA for the above references supplied to me from his unpublished doctoral dissertation, *An Analytical Concordance of the Published Non-Biblical Documents from Qumran Cave One*, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1956.

²⁾ The LXX renders our verb variously from ἀποποιεῖσθαι (3) "to reject" to φαυλιζέω (2), "to hold in contempt"; the Vulg. uses different verbs in each instance from *proicere* and *abicere* "to reject" to *contemnere* and *reprehendere* "to

JEREMIAS VI 27-30

EINIGE TEXTKRITISCHE BEMERKUNGEN

Die Schwierigkeit der genannten Stelle ist genügend bekannt, um eine neue Untersuchung derselben zu rechtfertigen. Ich werde für jeden Vers eine kurze Textanalyse darbieten, gefolgt von einer neuen Übersetzung.

Zu Vers 27.

מִבְצָר = „Festung“ wird heute noch, wenigstens in seiner masoretischen Vokalisierung, von den Meisten stark angefochten. RUDOLPH (*HAT* 12, 1947) sieht entweder eine Glosse zu einem falsch als „Wachturm“ verstandenen *bāhôn*, oder zu einem richtig verstandenen *bāhôn*, und schlägt im letzten Falle, nach B. DUHM (*KHCAT* XI, 1901 „als Synonym zu *bāhôn*“) eine neue Vokalisierung vor: מִבְצָר. Ähnlich ROTHSTEIN (*HSAT*⁴ I, 1922), H. SCHMIDT (*SAT*² II 2, 1923), L. KÖHLER (*Lexicon*, 1953), vgl. *BH*³; ROTHSTEIN, SCHMIDT, VOLZ (*KAT* X², 1928), WEISER (*ATD* 21, 1952) und PENNA (*La S. Bibbia* 1952) möchten den Terminus sogar tilgen.

Der Ausdruck wurde aber schon von den alten Übersetzungen als schwierig empfunden: LXX lesen: ἐν λαοῖς δεδοκιμασμένοις, also etwas wie בְּעַמִּים בְּצוּרִים „über geprüften Völkern“, was jedoch eher sinnlos scheint; die Vulgate hat „*Probatores robustum*“, verbindet also auch die beiden Wörter (vergl. oben zu RUDOLPH), welches mir jedoch eher ein Ausweg, mittels einer sehr freien adjektivischen Übersetzung des Substantives, zu sein scheint. Die Unverständlichkeit des Textes ist also schon sehr alt; ein Ding sollte man aber m.E. sehr beachten: bei aller Unklarheit, haben die älteren Übersetzungen hier etwas dem MT sehr Ähnliches gelesen, weswegen man *mibṣār* nicht ohne Weiteres streichen dürfte.

Eine gute Lösung scheint mir die von G. R. DRIVER in einem

despise.” The Syriac ܡܠܐ, used throughout, possesses the same nuances of the Hebrew verb for which the LXX and Vulg. employ different verbs.

Lexicons rendering the verb similarly as I have done are: BUHL, “widerrufen”; KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER, “reject, retract.” Cf. also translations of scholars: GRAY, “I repudiate (what I have said)” *The Book of Job* (Edinburgh, 1950), I, p. 373; DAVIDSON, “I retract or repudiate”, (Cambridge, 1891), p. 187; HITZIG, “Darum nehm’ ich zurück”, *op. cit.*, p. 312; SELIN, “Darum widerrufe ich ‘mein Worte’”, *Das Problem des Hiobbuches* (Leipzig, 1919), p. 21; SMITH, “I retract”, in *The complete Bible, an American Translation*. The New Dutch version has “*Daarom herroep ik.*”

technisch ausserordentlichen und überhaupt sehr anregenden Aufsatz (*Two misunderstood passages of the O.T.*, in *JTS* VI, 1955, S. 84 ff.) vorgeschlagene Änderung, den Satz מְבַצֵּר תִּדְעַה zu lesen. Das genannte Wort wäre dann ein aramäisierender Inf. qal (vgl. Ges. K. § 45e), von einem Verbe בצר, im Arabischen und Ugaritischen direkt, auch im Hebräischen vielleicht indirekt belegt (vgl. *bécer*, „geprüftes Metall“). Also: „dessen Prüfung du kennen wirst“. Damit will natürlich nicht gesagt werden, dass die Schwierigkeiten dieses 27. Verses ohne Weiteres aufgehoben wären, ist doch ein solcher ἀπαξ λεγ., besonders in einer Konjektur, schon immer ein Problem für sich selbst; wohl aber wäre damit ein neuer Weg für weitere Untersuchungen geschaffen.

תִּדְעַה will ROTHSTEIN tilgen, da ein „Erkennen vor der Prüfung sehr auffällig“ ist. Abgesehen von der Tatsache, dass dieses für einen Propheten nicht notwendigerweise zutrifft, ist dieser Vorschlag von dem im DRIVER'schen Aufsatz vorgeschlagenen überholt.

Die LXX haben hier eine merkwürdige Variante: καὶ γινώσκῃ με ἐν τῷ δοκιμάσαι με τῇν ἔδον αὐτῶν, also so etwas wie בִּבְחֹנִי = „du wirst mich kennen, indem ich sie prüfe“. Der MT gibt aber doch wohl den besseren Sinn.

Die ganze Übersetzung dieses Textes durch die LXX scheint mir stark eschatologisch betont zu sein, in einem viel schärferen Sinn als der MT.

נִדְרָכֶם. DUHM schlägt hier עֲרָכֶם vor = „Wert“, von VOLZ gefolgt. Die Änderung ist aber unnötig, da es sich letzten Endes um Menschen, nicht um Metalle handelt (so vgl. unten V. 29b, falls der MT richtig ist).

Die Übersetzung lautet also: „Zum Prüfer in meinem Volke habe ich dich bestellt; du sollst wissen wie es zu prüfen und seinen Wandel zu erforschen“.

Zu Vers 28.

Dies Wort wird von allen Kommentaren ausser DUHM, der es gänzlich ändert, und H. SCHMIDT, und auch von der BH³, nach LXX gestrichen als eine klare Dittographie; es findet sich aber unter der Variante שְׂרִי in einigen alten Übersetzungen und Paraphrasen (A, Vg, Syr, Tg.). Im MT handelt es sich um einen Superlativ (ROTHSTEIN, RUDOLPH), den die LXX nicht als solchen übersetzt haben, der das hohe Mass der Verderbtheit hervorheben soll; falls es eine

Glosse wäre, so wäre diese nicht später als die Übersetzung des Aquila (\pm 130 n.C.) in den Text eingedrungen. Da jedoch ein Superlativ hier gar nicht störend wirkt, möchte ich mich nicht für eine Tilgung einsetzen (so auch DRIVER, *a.a.O.* und im IV Jahrgang dieser Zeitschrift, S. 242 ff.).

נְחֹשֶׁת וּבְרָזָל. Diese beiden Wörter finden sich in den alten Übersetzungen, werden aber von allen Kommentaren und von BH³ als störend empfunden und deshalb gestrichen. Es kann natürlich eine ganz alte Glosse sein, die auf V. 29 hinweist (ROTHSTEIN, RUDOLPH); sind aber Kupfer und Eisen solch unedle Metalle, dass man sie als Glosse zum „Blei“ von V. 29 aufnehmen kann? Es ist deshalb nicht leicht festzustellen, wie eine derartige Glosse in den Text geriet. Wieder scheint mir DRIVER's Aufsatz recht zu haben, indem er die beiden Wörter in v. 29 nach 'ôfâre- stellt: siehe unten.

מְשֻׁחָתִים. Es sei hier nur bemerkt, dass die LXX, gegen den Aktiv des MT, den Med.-Pass. übersetzt haben: διεφθαρμένοι εἰσίν.

Die Übersetzung wäre also: „Sie alle sind Erzmissmutige, Leute die Verleumdung treiben . . . (zu V. 29) . . ., alle handeln sie verderbt“.

Zu Vers 29.

נָחַר. Die Möglichkeit, dass dieses Verb von חָרַר (verbrennen, glühen) komme, wird heute allgemein aufgegeben: ein Blasbalg bläst, glüht oder verbrennt nicht, damit wäre ja seine Aufgabe zu Ende (DRIVER), (gegen LXX mit ἐξέλιπεν und Vg mit *deficit*). Dieses und das folgende Wort sind ferner ἄπαζ.λεγ.

מֵאֲשֶׁתָּם. Das K. ist hier gänzlich unverständlich, sodass die Teilung in **תָּם מֵאֲשֶׁתָּם** des Q. schon von der LXX vorgenommen wurde (ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἐξέλιπεν . . ., mit einer variante ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς in A), von der Vg gefolgt; heute wird sie allgemein angenommen. Die LXX haben das *tam* als 3. Pers. mask. des Pf.qal angesehen und mit dem Folgenden verbunden: „Verschwunden ist das Blei“ (oder „Fertig ist das Blei“); Vg hat „*In igne consumptum est plumbum*“, in dem das Ganze zum Nächsten gesetzt ist. Letztere Übersetzung hat den Passiv gelesen, und rechtfertigt also den Vorschlag von GRAF und ROTHSTEIN, gefolgt mit einiger Zurückhaltung von RUDOLPH, **תָּתֵם** zu lesen, als Haplographie des *t* also „Verzehrt wurde das Blei“. Diese beiden alten Übersetzungen bezeugen ein starkes Ringen mit

dem Text. DRIVER schlägt hier, weil der Satz s.E., wie er im MT steht, unverständlich ist, vor, *māpūāḥ* als Dual zu lesen, indem er das folgende Mem dazu nimmt. Er übersetzt also: „Die (beiden) Blasbälge blasen, das Feuer ist fertig gemacht . . .“. Dabei scheint mir jedoch eine grosse Schwierigkeit die Singularform des Verbes zu sein. Aber ist diese Änderung nötig? Der Text lautet ja: „Es schnaubt der Blasbalg, wegen des Feuers ist Blei fertig, ebenso Kupfer und Eisen“ (Siehe das zu V. 28 gesagte), hat also doch einen ganz guten Sinn! „Kupfer und Eisen“ wären dann entweder zwei weitere Subjekte (in diesem Fall müsste man aber תמו *tāmū* lesen), oder eine (diesmal richtig erklärende) Glosse. Falls dieser neue Text richtig wäre, würden sich die Übersetzungen und Kommentare in Zukunft in einer ganz anderen Richtung bewegen müssen.

Eine andere Übersetzung schlägt WEISER vor: „... bleibt unberührt das Blei, aus dem Feuer“ also: „nur Blei geht aus dem Feuer hervor“. Dies könnte man auch leicht mit dem vorher Gesagten verbinden.

צורף *ṣūrf* ist nach allen Kommentaren kein Inf. abs., sondern ein Substantiv „der Schmelzer“.

רעים *re'im* hiesse nach VOLZ („ein Glossenwort“), PENNA und DRIVER nicht „die Bösen“, sondern „die Schlacken“; nach DRIVER müsste dann hier der Sing. gelesen werden. Eine solche Bedeutung von *rā'im* ist aber nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten, sodass viele Kommentare statt dessen וסיים *uṣi'im* vorgeschlagen haben (ROTHSTEIN und SCHMIDT nach EHRLICH). Ist es aber wirklich so, dass man nicht „die Bösen“ lesen kann? RUDOLPH und WEISER behalten es; haben wir doch eine ähnliche Form im vorhergehenden V. 27, zu *darkām* (siehe aber die dort vorgeschlagenen Änderungen). Wie es denn auch sei, der Sinn bleibt durch die eine oder die andere Lesart derselbe, ob nun im Schmelzergleichnis weitergegangen oder ob zum Volk zurückgegangen wird.

Verse 29b und 30 bieten keine Schwierigkeiten.

Die Übersetzung wäre also: „Es schnaubt (oder: „bläst“) der Blasbalg, wegen des Feuers ist das Blei fertig, ebenso Kupfer und Eisen (oder: „nur Blei, Kupfer und Eisen gehen aus dem Feuer hervor“). Umsonst hat der Schmelzer geschmolzen: die Schlechten (oder: „die Schlacken“) liessen sich nicht ausscheiden!“

ZU VET. TEST. VIII S. 297 ff. (HENRI MICHAUD, UN PASSAGE DIFFICILE DANS L'INSCRIPTION DE SILOE)

Henri MICHAUD hat für das umstrittene $\text{z} d b$ in Zeile 3 der Siloainschrift eine neue Deutung vorgeschlagen, derart, dass er dieses Wort auf die Wurzel $\text{z} y d$ zurückführt; von da aus übersetzt er die fragliche Stelle: *car il y avait de l'animation (ou de l'ardeur) à l'intérieur du rocher à droite (et à gauche)*. Zweifellos bietet diese Übersetzung Vorteile; sie könnte tatsächlich einen Teil der Schwierigkeiten beseitigen, die einer befriedigenden und allgemein anerkannten Erklärung dieser Stelle bisher entgegenstehen, wenigstens soweit diese Schwierigkeiten aus der Auffassung von $\text{z} d b$ als „Riss, „Spalt“, „fissure“, „overlap“, „chevauchement“ und dergleichen herrühren. Sie hebt aber nicht alle Anstösse auf, und wesentliche, m. E. entscheidende Fragen beantwortet sie nicht. Ich sehe davon ab, ob $\text{z} r$ hier die von MICHAUD angenommene Bedeutung (Fels=Berg, Inneres des Berges) haben kann, und ob nicht gerade Z. 6 für $\text{z} r$ das Verständnis „gewachsener, noch nicht ausgehauener Fels“ näher legt. Darüber hinaus muss er das *mymn wm[bśm]*¹ wieder von der Nord-Südrichtung verstehen. Diese Bestimmung ist aber nicht absolut, sondern steht in enger Beziehung zu der Person, die die Aussage macht; das sind in unserem Fall die Arbeiter, die in der Längsrichtung des Tunnels einander entgegenarbeiten. Rechts und Links sind für sie die Seitenwände des Kanals. Deswegen kann auch 2 Chr iii 17 für unseren Zusammenhang nichts beweisen.

Da die Etymologie des Wortes $\text{z} d b$ nicht so klar ist¹⁾, dass man von ihr aus zu sicheren Schlüssen kommen kann, empfiehlt es sich, nicht von ihr auszugehen, sondern von allgemeinen Erwägungen über Zweck und Absicht der Inschrift. Offenbar will sie den Vorgang der tatsächlichen Vereinigung beider Gänge schildern und damit zugleich die Schwierigkeit des technischen Problems würdigen, das zu lösen war. Diese Zielsetzung ist wohl so klar, dass man bei ihr ansetzen kann. Die Gefahr einer Verzeichnung ist damit nicht grösser, eher geringer, als wenn man seinen Ausgangspunkt bei einer strittigen Etymologie nimmt.

Die Zeilen 5 und 6 unterstreichen die physische Leistung, die die Herstellung des Tunnels erforderte; sie weisen damit zugleich auf

¹⁾ Ich selber bin geneigt, mit F. R. BLAKE an eine Ableitung von der Wurzel $\text{z} n d$ zu denken und $\text{z} d b$ als enge Stelle, Berührungspunkt zu verstehen (H. J. STOEBE „Überlegungen zur Siloainschrift“, ZDPV 71/1955, S. 124 ff.

die Einsatzfreudigkeit der Arbeiter hin. Von daher erscheint es mir freilich nicht recht einleuchtend, dass darüber hinaus Z. 3 noch von einer besonderen Anfeuerung bei der Arbeit sprechen sollte, zumal diese für das Zustandekommen der Durchbohrung keine entscheidende Bedeutung gehabt hätte. Derselbe Einwand muss ja auch gegen die Deutungen von $\alpha d b$ auf einen Spalt im Felsen, eine Carverne oder dergleichen erhoben werden. Die Inschrift will das Zustandekommen einer beachtlichen technischen Leistung schildern; Zufälligkeiten, ob sie nun näher oder weiter liegen, fallen da nicht ins Gewicht. Ausserdem wäre nicht einzusehen, warum diese „Belebung“ gerade dann eingesetzt hätte — denn das heisst ja doch das $b y t$ der Inschrift — als man noch drei Ellen von einander entfernt sich entgegenarbeitete. Das Arbeitsgeräusch hörte man natürlich schon viel länger, dagegen konnte man ein gesprochenes oder gerufenes Wort — denn um dieses handelt es sich ja — auch dann nicht verstehen, wenn nur noch eine drei Ellen breite Zwischenwand stand, zumal ja die menschliche Stimme durch den Lärm des eigentlichen Arbeitsvorganges übertönt wurde. Ausserdem bliebe die Frage offen, woher die Arbeiter wissen konnten, dass gerade noch drei Ellen weggeräumt werden mussten, wenn die Arbeit noch nicht zum Abschluss gekommen war, bzw. woher sie später nach Vollendung der Arbeit noch angeben konnten, wann diese „animation“ eingetreten sei. Ich gebe zu, dass dies letzte kein entscheidender Einwand ist, und dass man genügend Gründe dafür anführen kann, dass eine solche Bestimmung auch in der Rückschau mit leidlicher Genauigkeit möglich war. Entscheidend bleibt aber der Einwand, der hier vom archaologischen Befund her erhoben werden muss. Der Trakt des Kanals weist ebenso vom Norden wie vom Süden her Richtungskorrekturen auf, die beginnen, als man auf jeder Seite noch mindestens drei Ellen von dem mutmasslichen Vereinigungspunkt entfernt war. Mindestens da muss man also die Arbeit der Gegengruppe so deutlich gehört haben, dass man sich direkt nach ihr richten konnte. Diese Steigerung des Arbeitseifers hätte also wesentlich eher einsetzen müssen. Die Angabe der drei Ellen bleibt unter der Voraussetzung unverständlich, dass $\alpha d b$ animation, ardeur bedeutet. Ich würde daher meinen, dass gegen den Erklärungsversuch MICHAUD's doch gewichtige Bedenken bestehen bleiben, und dass es trotz aller Schwierigkeiten näher liegt, bei $\alpha d b$ an etwas zu denken, was als Folge der Arbeit und zugleich als sichtbares Zeichen des Abschlusses und endgültigen Erfolges eintrat. Ich kann mich hier nicht auf die

einzelnen, damit zusammenhängenden Fragen einlassen; ich merke nur aus der oben genannten Arbeit an, dass es mir doch am wahrscheinlichsten ist, dass die drei Ellen als je drei Ellen von beiden Seiten her gerechnet sind, und dass man im letzten Augenblick vor dem endgültigen Zusammentreffen nicht mehr in der ganzen Tunnelbreite vorgearbeitet, sondern nur noch einen schmaleren Sondierungsstollen vorgetrieben hatte, um erst einmal möglichst schnell die Vereinigung zu erreichen.

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THE PALAEOGRAPHY OF THE *ZAYIN* IN THE HYMNS SCROLL WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE INTERPRETATION OF RELATED OBSCURE PASSAGES ¹⁾

S. A. BIRNBAUM in examining the script of the Hymns Scroll ²⁾, confined as he was at the time to the scanty material given in *Megilloth Genuzoth* ³⁾, states about the shape of its *zayins* that it "is a downstroke of line height, practically straight, with a very slight indication of waviness, and with or without a very slight thickening on the right side of the top" ⁴⁾. N. AVIGAD who had more material at hand for his study ⁵⁾, and was therefore in a position to discern things not discerned by BIRNBAUM, draws attention to a new development which is making its way in the Hymns Scroll ⁶⁾, namely the thickening of heads of its various letters—a feature which is later to become striking in the Hebrew square alphabet. AVIGAD makes special reference in this respect to the letters '*aleph*, '*lamedh*, '*nun*, '*ayin* and '*shin* but not to the *zayin* ⁷⁾. In the chart (following p. 74), col. XIII, however, 5 types of *zayins* are reproduced, some of which with heads slightly thickened. Yet it appears to me that some of the *zayins* that have their heads even more markedly thickened have escaped his eye. The following instances which have invited my

¹⁾ See *V.T.*, IV pp. 211-14 and VIII pp. 209-13.

²⁾ "The date of the Hymns Scroll" in *P.E.Q.*, May-Oct., 1952 (= BIRNBAUM), pp. 94-103.

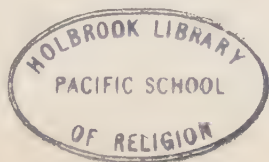
³⁾ E. L. SUKENIK, *Megilloth Genuzoth*, First Survey, Pl. XII and XIII.

⁴⁾ Page 95.

⁵⁾ "The Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls . . ." in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. IV, pp. 56-87.

⁶⁾ There are two distinct hands in the Hymns, the one being cultured and the other crude; AVIGAD's assertion refers to the first.

⁷⁾ P. 76.



attention, mainly owing to the obscurity of their related contexts, are offered for consideration: —

a. 'Ozar¹), pl. XLV, 5, third letter of second word. This looks to be a *ṣayin* with a rather extra pronounced top (its approaching likeness, without the extra thickness, is to be observed, inter alia, in the non-disputed *ṣayins* of pll. XXXVIII, 20, 6th word; XXXIX, 20, 8th word; XL, 25, 4th word). The word in which this letter is included is transcribed by SUKENIK וּמול—a transcription followed usually by the various scholars who have dealt with the Hymns²). There is, however, a difficulty in explaining וּמול in its context; the citation of some of its preceding and succeeding words will make it apparent

... ותתן בפי הודות
ובלשוני [תדל]ה
ומול שפתי במכון רנה
ואזמרה בחסדיכה

The sudden lapse into וּמול ("and circumcise"), an imperative with the *waw*-conjunctive, looks out of key here. GASTER's translation of וּמול שפתי "and lips unmarred" certainly makes good sense but does not seem to be inherent in the Hebrew. The reading, however, of וּמִזָּל שפתי (מִזָּל being a *miqṭal*-pattern noun³) from the root נזל, "to flow") will remove the difficulty. Phrases similar to מִזָּל שפתים are a favourite with the hymnologist⁴). He thus uses פרי שפתים (pl. XXXV, 28, for which cf. ניב שפתים (Is. lvii 19) and מבע שפתים⁵) (ib. 29, for

¹) 'Ozar *ba-Megilloth ha-Genuzoth*, by E. L. SUKENIK, (Jerusalem, 1956).

²) See, e.g., LICHT's *Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem, 1957) (= LICHT), p. 161; T. H. GASTER, *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect* (London, 1957), (= GASTER), p. 175; DUPONT-SOMMER, *Le Livre des Hymnes*, (Paris, 1957) (= DUPONT-SOMMER), p. 78. The only scholar, as far as I could ascertain, who deviates from this reading is H. BARDTKE (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, (= T. L.), Dec. 1956, p. 722). His reading מול is, in my opinion, justified. See further in the article.

³) It is interesting to note here that medieval Jewish commentators take מולות of 2 Kings xxviii 5 as being from the root נזל. See, e.g., *Sepher ha-Shorashim LaRaDaQ*, v. נזל. See also Rashi on Job xxxviii 32. A noun of the same root and of a similar pattern seems to be contained in the Aramaic מזליהו "its running motion" (*Pesahim* 40a), (wrongly recorded מדליהו in the current editions of the Talmud; see *Musaph He-Arukh* by R. Nathan of Romi v. זול, p. 62b (Amsterdam, 1655).

⁴) Is the very same phrase contained in the last 2 words of line 36, pl. XLII, the first one of which is damaged?

⁵) מבע being also a noun derived from a *pe-nun* verb of the *maḳtal* ground-form (preference is given in the Hymns for similar nouns with preformative *mems*. See my *Nezer and Suffering Hymn* . . ., Leiden, 1957, p. 21, n. 167). For a similar

which cf. תבענה שפתי (Ps. cxix 171)). In the hymnological utterances closing the Manual of Discipline ¹⁾ which so strikingly resemble the peculiar characteristics of many passages of the Hymns Scroll we have additional expressions such as תרומת שפתים (pl. X, 6); וּמַנַּת שַׁפְּתַי (ib. 8). (Cf. also ib. 9 and 14). The actual phrase שַׁפְּתֵיכִי מִזֶּמֶר occurs in a Qumran fragment ²⁾. Underlying מִזֶּמֶר שַׁפְּתֵי seems to be the Biblical תֹּזֶל (Deut. xxxii 2) ³⁾. The translation of the whole passage quoted above is:

“... And Thou hast put in my mouth lauds ⁴⁾

And on my tongue [prai]se ⁵⁾;

Thus there is utterance of my lips in the place ⁶⁾ of prayer ⁷⁾,

And I praise Thee in song because of ⁸⁾ Thy kindness.

b. ⁹⁾ *Oẓar*, pl. XL, 14, 4th letter of first word. Though differing a little in shape from that observed in the *ẓayin* discussed above is deprived of a pronounced feature which excludes it from being a *waw* (— a letter which suggests itself at first sight), its top not possessing the acute angle so much evidenced in the *waws* of the Hymns (and for that matter, perhaps, that of the *waws* of the other Qumran documents— with the likely exception of the Habakkuk Scroll). In fact, its top is rectangular and the greater part of the right side is thickened. We

noun the root of which is also sometimes connected in Biblical Hebrew with liquid, (as are the roots נבע and נוזל), cf. מתך חמה ‘outpour of wrath’ (pl. XXXVII, 28).

¹⁾ M. BURROWS, *The Dead Sea Scrolls II* (New Haven, 1951). I am inclined to say that the familiar hymnological style begins somewhere in the lacuna preceding the word שַׁפְּתֵי, bottom pl. IX.

²⁾ See *Qumran, Cave I*, by BARTHÉLEMY and MILIK (Oxford, 1955) (= 1Q), pl. XXVII, fragment 19 (last line but one), (transcribed in p. 124, line 27).

³⁾ Bearing this Biblical phrase in mind, cf. זה מזיל... דבר (Mid. Cant. on Cant. iv 15).

⁴⁾ The form הודות, plural of the non-existent הודה, is peculiar to the “later” books of the Bible (cf., e.g., Ezra iii 11; Neh. xii 46; 1 Ch. xxv 3. Cf. also Ben Sira xvii 27; xlvii 8). In the Talmudic literature, however, the form is either הודיות or הודאות.

⁵⁾ A likely restoration, being parallel with הודות. The last lines, though in wording echoing Biblical phrases (cf., e.g., Ps. xxxiv 2; xl 4; cix 30), savour of a familiar peculiar sectarian notion (cf., e.g., pl. XLIII 11).

⁶⁾ For מכון “place”. Cf. Dan. viii 11. Cf. also Manual of Discipline (see n. 1), pl. X 15, where it is parallel with רשות “domain”. (Cf. the Talmudic היחיד, רשות הרבים). BURROWS reads רשית.

⁷⁾ For רנה “Prayer”, cf., e.g., Jer. vii 16; Ps. xvii 1; lxi 2, where it seems to be a synonym with תפלה. Do we have here an allusion to some sort of a house of prayer of the Sect?

⁸⁾ The *beth* has here the force of a causal conjunction. Similarly Gen. xix 6.

may than have here a *ṣayin* ¹⁾). SUKENIK, being apparently struck by the somewhat unfamiliar shape of this letter, placed an horizontal stroke in its place indicating doubt. BARDTKE ²⁾ reads פריי. So do, hesitatingly, LICHT ³⁾ and DUPONT-SOMMER ⁴⁾. GASTER ⁵⁾, without apparently taking the letter as a *ṣayin*, guesses ⁶⁾ soundly and renders "to bring them back Thy word" ⁷⁾.

Here is the full Hebrew passage according to my reading and restoration

כי הביאותה [את כבודכה לכול אנשי עצתכה] ⁽⁸⁾
ובגורל יחד עם מלאכי פנים ⁽⁹⁾
ואין מליץ בנים ⁽¹⁰⁾ לקנהלכה ⁽¹¹⁾
ואין משיב כרוז ...

If the reading of the last 2 words be accepted they are well fitted as a parallel to ואין מליץ בנים ¹²⁾, for משיב כרוז may well be a sectarian variation of משיב דבר of Ez. ix 11 which refers to the reporting angel. It is perhaps of interest in this connection to note that מליץ... of Job xxxviii 23 (see end of n. 10) is taken as an equivalent of כרוז... ¹³⁾ in Mid. Tan. (end of Mishpaṭim).

¹⁾ I have taken it thus in my "A Striking Hymn..." (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 38, I, 1955, p. 247, line 103), without, however, examining it palaeographically.

²⁾ *T.L.*, (1956), p. 599.

³⁾ P. 113.

⁴⁾ P. 53, n. (4).

⁵⁾ P. 156.

⁶⁾ "The rendering is largely a guess". Thus in n. 29.

⁷⁾ M. MANSOOR, who is one of the translators of the hymn included in pl. XL of the *ṾOzar*. (See *J.B.L.*, vol. LXXXVI, 1957, p. 142), refers to my "A Striking Hymn..." (see n. 1), but puts, for some unexplained reason, the *ṣayin* in brackets.

⁸⁾ Viz. the members of the Sect (cf., e.g., *ṾOzar — Hodayoth* — pl. XL, 11; Manual of Discipline pl. VI, 13).

⁹⁾ Cf. Is. lxiii 9. Here, however, as is the case in 1Q pl. XXVIII, fragment 24 (transcribed in p. 126, lines 25-26) and in the Apocalyptic literature (cf., e.g., Jub. i 27, 31, Test. Jud. xxv 2; 1 En. xl 2) it implies a distinctive and apparently cherished belief that the members of the Sect appear together with the Angels of Presence before God. Cf. *ṾOzar — Hodayoth* — pl. XXXVII, 22-23; XLV, 13.

¹⁰⁾ A defective script of בנינים. Similarly, 1 Sam. iv 23. For a similar phrase, cf. Gen. xlii 23, but here the reference is to an angel. Cf. מלאך מליץ (Job xxxiii 23) which has perhaps hovered in the hymnologist's mind.

¹¹⁾ A likely restoration. For קהל as referring to the Sect, cf., e.g., 1Q, pl. XXIV, 4 (transcribed in p. 110). Cf. perhaps also *ṾOzar — Hodayoth* — pl. XXXVI, 30.

¹²⁾ See n. 10.

¹³⁾ Another related word may be, according to a suggestion made to me tentatively by Ch. RABIN, the one occurring in *ṾOzar — Hodayoth* — pl. XXXIX, 36. Here we may read כרוזי פשע "angels of sin", כרוזי being the construct plural of

c. 'Ozar, pl. XXXIX, 9, 3rd letter of 6th word. SUKENIK's transcription here is *yodh*, and the whole word reads ומיה—a word contextually perplexing. This transcription was followed by J. BAUMGARTEN etc.¹⁾, LICHT²⁾, BURROWS³⁾ and myself⁴⁾. VERMÈS⁵⁾ reads מזה, from the root נוה, “asperse”, “besprinkle”. BARDTKE⁶⁾ reads מזה = מה-זה. GASTER's exact reading is hard to follow owing to his free translation⁷⁾.

Now, after closer examination of the palaeographical features of the letter under review it looks to me that it lacks some of the more conspicuous features observed in most of the *yodhs* of the (first hand⁸⁾ of the) Hymns Scroll⁹⁾. Suffice it to examine the obvious *yodhs* written by the same hand on the same line to see how much it differs from them in shape¹⁰⁾. On the other hand, it is not unlike some of the indubitable *zayins* recorded in the same plate¹¹⁾.

The reading therefore is מזה—a noun with preformative *mem* from the root זוה, which (following the Arabic (زى)) means “put away”, “put aside”. As a noun it appears to mean here a place into which something is put aside. Figuratively, however, the thing put aside, or stored, is not necessarily provision as seems to be the case

כרו a noun of the *qattal* pattern, which connotes some of the functions inherent in כרו (= כרווא. Cf. Dan. iii 4), a noun of the *qatôl* pattern. The phrase (echoing מלאכי חבל of 'Ozar — War Scroll — pl. XXVIII, 12; Manual of Discipline, pl. IV, 12; Zadoqite Document, II, 6 and מלאך משטמה of 'Ozar — War Scroll — pl. XXVIII, 11; cf. Jub. x 8) thus read would somewhat improve the sense of the context of the difficult passage in which it is embodied. As to the root כרו, it is found both in Aramaic and in Post-Biblical Hebrew (not “only in Aramaic”—wrongly attributed to me in *J.B.L.* Cf. p. 104, n. 7 above). Its origin is, however, in doubt. (See *BDB* v. כרו, p. 1097b).

¹⁾ *J.B.L.*, vol. LXXIV, part 3 (1955), p. 193. The transcription, however, here (owing, as it would appear, to ALBRIGHT's reading; see n. 43 *ad hoc*) is ומוזה which is translated “and (verily) from this”. DUPONT-SOMMER (p. 47) also reads ומוזה and translates (doubtfully) “et c'est d'ici”.

²⁾ P. 100.

³⁾ *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (1955), p. 408.

⁴⁾ *V.T.*, vol. V (1955), p. 280, n. 9. A possible Aramaic influence (ומיה = ומיא) was here suggested.

⁵⁾ *Discovery in the Judean Desert*, p. 218. See his note 65, p. 217.

⁶⁾ *T.L.*, (1956), p. 597.

⁷⁾ “Thou bindest Thyself in pledge” (p. 150).

⁸⁾ See p. 101 n. 6.

⁹⁾ See BIRNBAUM, p. 97.

¹⁰⁾ Cf., e.g., the three *yodhs* occurring in the last two words but one as well as the *yodh* in לדורשיה.

¹¹⁾ Cf., e.g., the *zayins* of עזבתני בזמות, line 6.

with a similar noun (מוֹן) contained in מוֹיִנו of Ps. cxliv 13, which is commonly translated "our garner¹".

The idea expressed here is in harmony with the context, paralleling as it does that which is contained in the words that precede it, as the following will show

וסוד אמת אמצתה בלבבי
מוֹנָה ברית לדורשיה

"And Thou hast enshrined²) within my heart a true secret
And (made me) repository of the covenant for those who seek it³)"

The idea seems to repeat itself in the same hymn [בִּי] ותורתכה חבתה "and Thou hast hidden within [me] Thy Law ('Oẓar, pl. XXXIX, 11). Elsewhere in the Hymns similar ideas are to be found. For instance וברו חבתה בי "and in the secret that Thou hast hidden within me" ('Oẓar, pl. XXXIX, 25). The line that follows it, סתרת מעין בינה וסוד אמת "Thou hast hidden a source of understanding and a true secret", seems also, according to the context, to refer to the hymnologist. The following quotations are of the same nature:

ותלמדני בינה, שמתה בלבבי "And Thou hast taught me understanding; Thou hast placed it⁴) within my heart" ('Oẓar, pl. XXXVI, 17-18)⁵).

¹) Another noun, derived from the same root, זוֹית, is used in the plural in Zech. ix 15 to indicate some sort of enclosed hollow angles provided in an altar into which fluid etc. collects, its partial synonym being מוֹרֵק, "bowl", "basin". (Of some interest here is that מוֹרִים is used by R. Nehemyah b. . . . Haiṃan Hannasi², an outstanding *payṭan* of the 10th century with a great mastery of the Hebrew language, in the sense of "reservoir of water". (See M. ZULAY, *Studies of the Research Institute for Heb. Poetry*, vol. IV, p. 108, line 110)). In the light of the suggested reading מוֹנָה as well as the suggested connotations, it is, one feels, worth while reexamining the controversial word מוֹנָה of ostracon III, 18 in the Lachish letters (see TORCZYNER, *Lachish I*, 1938, p. 51). For a comparatively recent contribution concerning this word, see D. W. THOMAS, *P.E.Q.*, July-Oct., 1948, p. 134.

²) עִמָּץ in the Talmudic literature (sometimes spelled אִמָּץ) in the Pi'el has also the meaning "to close". Cf., e.g., Toseph. *Shab.* xviii, 19, which is perhaps a development of the Biblical root as inherent in, e.g., Deut. xv 7 (where it is parallel with "and do not *shut* your hand"). I have, however, rendered it figuratively, and in keeping with similar phrases in the Hymns.

³) Note that מוֹנָה is treated here as a feminine noun, as are sometimes nouns ending in ה־. (Cf. מוֹנָה in Gen. xxxii 9; Ps. xxvii 3; 1 Ch. xi 15. Cf. also שְׂדֵה in the Mishnah which is almost invariably feminine). It is, however, possible that the feminine is due here to the proximity of בְּרִית which serves as an essential part of the notion conveyed here. For a somewhat similar case, cf. Zech. viii 10. Cf. also 1 Sam. ii 4; Is. xxi 17.

⁴) Taking the *be* of שְׂמַתָּה as if having a *mappiq*.

⁵) Note that my reading here differs from that of SUKENIK's Cf. the original.

תורתכה אשר שנתה בלבבי "Thy Law that 'Thou hast engraved¹⁾ in my heart" ('Oẓar pl. XXXVIII, 10). Perhaps also the syntactically difficult פתחתה לתוכי דעת ('Oẓar, pl. XLVI, 13) may be freely translated "'Thou hast engraved (or imprinted²⁾ knowledge within me"³⁾. Cf., however, 'Oẓar, pl. XLIV, 39 and fragment 4, 12.

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¹⁾ Taking שִׁנָּה ב in its primary sense "to incise", "to cut in".

²⁾ Reading פתחתה in the Pi'el. Cf., for the meaning, Zech. iii 9, for instance.

³⁾ בִּי לְתוֹכִי equals here בִּי.

REVIEWS

Ginze Russiyah contains facsimiles of Genizah Manuscripts of Bible, Mishnah; Talmud, Midrashim, Halakah, Liturgy and Judeo-Arabic from the Antonin Cairo Genizah Collection in Leningrad. Includes part of Ben Asher's Bible Codex (B 19a) of the Firkowitch Collection which was copied in Old Cairo in 1008/9 A.D.

Compiled, Arranged and Identified by Pr. Abraham I. KATSCH, New York. University Library of Judaica and Hebraica, N.Y., 1958, Part II. x + 138 pp.

VT avait déjà signalé l'intérêt du travail du Professeur KATSCH (VT VIII, 321). Ce second volume commence par une brève introduction de huit pages et donne ensuite une série de facsimilés, plus ou moins lisibles mais toujours intéressants, de manuscrits bibliques, mishnaïques, talmudiques, midrashiques, haggadiques, liturgiques et divers. Pour les biblistes les plus importants se trouvent p. 1-14 (Gen. xxi 1-17, 17-27; xlvii 17-24; xlvii 25-xlviii 4; xlix 33-1 9; l, 10-20; 1 Reg. ix 9-15, 16-22; xi, 11-17, 18-23; 2 Reg. xv 23-29; xvi 3-17; xvi 17-xvii 20; Ps. cxix 22-40, 52-103 (mutilé); Pr. xxv 16-xxvi 18; Dn. v 16-vi 17; viii 25-x 1, tirés de six manuscrits plus des *haftarôt* sur la Genèse, l'Exode et le Deutéronome tirés de deux manuscrits. Les numéros (166-173) sont ceux que leur a donnés la bibliothèque de New York et non ceux de la collection Antonin d'où ces textes ont été microfilmés. Sous le numéro 246 A.I.K. donne ensuite 44 folios de célèbre codex de Ben Asher, B 19a (Esdras, Néhémie, massore finale, illustrations et colophon) qui a servi à P. KAHLE pour l'édition de *BH*³ (L). Un troisième volume nous est promis, remercions l'auteur.

Paris

H. CAZELLES

Joseph SCHREINER, *Septuaginta-Massora des Buches der Richter*. — *Analecta Biblica*, Roma (Pontificio Istituto Biblico), 1957, XI, 137 pp. Price: \$ 5.—.

This study is a collection of examples from the LXX Judges chosen to illustrate its relationships with the Masoretic Hebrew text. It originated in a prize essay in the Theological Faculty of the University of Würzburg on the theme: „Septuaginta-Massora der Bücher Josue, Richter, 1 und 2 Samuel, 1 und 2 Könige“. Judges alone was treated, as the whole subject was too vast. In a brief introduction the author mentions some of the previous work and explains that his own contribution does not deal with the problems of the Greek Judges generally. The following pages are fully within these prescribed limits and incidentally illustrate the difficulties of trying to treat only one aspect of a very knotty problem. Each chapter is devoted to one topic: the rendering of frequently recurring words and expressions, passages presupposing a Hebrew text better than the Masoretic,

doublets, misreadings, etc. The chapters are divided into sections, each of which begins with a sentence or two explaining the point illustrated by the following examples. These examples are arranged in a careful sequence: ones found in all the MSS. are put together and those found only in certain groups of MSS. are arranged by group. Explanatory comments are given with each example, varying from a single word to a whole paragraph. No end of trouble has been expended on the selection and presentation of examples, and the mastery of the apparatus of BROOKE-MCLEAN is no small achievement.

Any who wish to know the results of this study will be disappointed, for the author draws no conclusions from this Gargantuan feast of material. With the citation of the last example the study finishes. This does not mean that everything is known about the relationships of Greek and Hebrew (one can imagine what RAHLFS would have made of this theme!), but the scope of the work did not require more than examples. In many cases the comments contain valuable observations, and the author makes good use of his knowledge of Aramaic and Syriac.

One feature of the work is very surprising. The author seems to have read very little not in German. One could imagine that he did not even know of BURNEY's commentary or THACKERAY's *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*. BILLEN's work on the Greek and Old Latin is similarly neglected ¹). It comes as no surprise after this to note that the latest comments on *par^{se}dōn* ²), for example, are not known (p. 115, on iii 22), and that the Dead Sea scrolls have made no impact.

An even more fundamental lack than literature is the absence of a serious attempt to face the issues involved in the relationship of Greek to Hebrew. In this inquiry so much depends on whether the Hebrew original used by the translator can be discerned from the rendering. When it is completely uncertain if the translator is slavishly following his original or freely handling it, the Greek is an unknown quantity for comparison with the Masoretic Hebrew. Unfortunately for LXX critics this problem has usually been the occupation of students of the Hebrew text wanting to prove that the LXX does, or does not, offer a superior reading. WELLHAUSEN in his *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* was a most outstanding exception to this, in that he laid down and illustrated the principles which apply to a scientific use of the LXX for the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. By now it is generally recognized that the LXX, unlike Aquila, cannot necessarily be put back word for word into Hebrew. SCHREINER, however, is of the opinion that in xiii 21 the translator read *lbr't*, not the Masoretic *lbr'b*, because he translates *ἐφθῆναι* (p. 41), and affirms that in xviii 1 an awkward occurrence of the preposition *b^e* was not read by the translator because he omits it from his rendering (p. 41). So do all other translators! The recognition that the LXX often has free and careless renderings has, however, led to an extreme in which confidence in the Masoretic text has

¹) A. V. BILLEN, *The Old Latin Texts of the Heptateuch*, and articles in *JTS* 43 (1942) pp. 12 ff. and pp. 140 ff.

²) W. VON SODEN, *Orientalia*, NS 24 (1955) pp. 144-145.

been excessive, and far too much has been attributed to the free hand of the LXX translators. A necessary corrective has come from the Dead Sea scrolls. As pointed out by Moshe GREENBERG in a penetrating analysis ¹⁾, this new evidence shows the existence of two kinds of Hebrew text of the Bible, an austere variety, the progenitor of our Hebrew text, and a popular edition, glossed and smoothed for common use. The Samaritan text of the Pentateuch belongs to the latter type, and the scroll Isaiah A has the same characteristics. More relevant for Judges is the fragment of Samuel ²⁾ which contains in Hebrew glosses and stylistic improvements known previously from the LXX, which scholars have most naturally taken as the work of the translator. The whole field of "free translations" in the LXX needs to be re-examined in this light. Some, because of their essentially Greek idiom, must still be regarded as products of the translators, but with others a decision is hard to reach, and the possibility of a stylistically edited Hebrew original must be allowed. SCHREINER in chapters III-VI normally states or assumes that all such improvements spring from the translator, but in one case (iv 8 on p. 49) the possibility of a gloss in the Hebrew original is mentioned. The Masoretic text now appears very much like the „neutral" text of the New Testament: a relatively good text, but not nearly so original as appears on the surface, and by no means to be preferred in all instances.

The difficulty of commenting on examples without considering general problems is noticeable in other connections. On p. 124 it is stated that ῥάβδος in the B text of v 14 comes from Theodotion. In view of the few alternatives for 'rod' in Greek this can only be affirmed if a general study reveals Theodotionic influence in the B text, which is not the case. In the discussion of v 14-15 on p. 119 the author fails to notice that the Old Latin alone has a third understanding of *mškyṃ*: in *Sychem* (= *bškm*). Anyone who studies the LXX Judges as a whole would not miss such an important reading. On p. 46 the Lucianic text of ix 16 is classed under omissions. A systematic study of the whole verse in the light of the problems of the LXX Judges shows that there is no omission, but several important conclusions emerge, which are not mentioned by SCHREINER:

MT	AOR	Lucian	Old Latin
ועתה	καὶ νῦν	καὶ νῦν	<i>et nunc</i>
אם באמת	εἰ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ	εἰ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ	<i>si in veritate</i>
ובתמים	καὶ ἐν τελειότητι	καὶ ἐν ὁσιότητι	<i>et iustitia</i>
עשיתם	ἐποιήσατε	ἐποιήσατε	<i>fecistis</i>
		μετὰ τοῦ πατρός μου	<i>cum Ieroboam patre meo</i>
		καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ	<i>et cum domo eius</i>
ותמליכו	καὶ ἐβασилεύσατε	καὶ ἐβασилεύσατε	<i>et regem facitis</i>
את-אבימלך	τὸν Αβιμελεχ	τὸν Αβιμελεχ	<i>Abimelech</i>

¹⁾ "The Stabilization of the Text of the Hebrew Bible, reviewed in the light of the Biblical Materials from the Judean Desert" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 76 p. 157 ff.

²⁾ Published by F. M. CROSS, Jr. in *BASOR*, 132 p. 15 ff.

MT

AOR

Lucian

Old Latin

ואם טובה	καὶ εἰ καθὼς		
עשיתם	ἐποιήσατε		
עם ירבעל	μετὰ Ιεροβααλ		
ועם ביתו	καὶ μετὰ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ		
ואם-כנומול	καὶ εἰ κατὰ τὸ ἀντ- απόδομα	καὶ εἰ κατὰ τὸ ἀντ- απόδομα	<i>et si secundum retributionem</i>
ידיו	(τῆς) χειρὸς αὐτοῦ	τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ	<i>manu<u>></u>m eius</i>
עשיתם לו	ἐποιήσατε αὐτῷ	ἐποιήσατε αὐτῷ	<i>sicut fecit vobiscum retribuistis ei</i>

In this passage the B text offers only one important variant reading: instead of καθὼς it has ἀγαθωσύνην, agreeing with the Hebrew. The ‘omission’ in the Lucianic group is compensated for by an ‘addition’ in the earlier part of the verse, but as the Old Latin supports this text it would be more correct to describe it as a variant form of the text, and with the support of these two witnesses it has every claim to be considered the earliest LXX reading. This form of the text is certainly an improvement on the repetitive Hebrew, and since the reading of Lucian and the Old Latin can easily be put into Hebrew this is one of those cases where stylistic improvements in the Hebrew original can be suspected. In the text of A and its allies the καθὼς reads very peculiarly, and since this appears to be part of a Masoretic correction the emendation καλῶς, which SCHREINER accepts (p. 129), is attractive. However, there are two objections to this emendation, which has had a wide circulation in editions from the Complutensian Polyglott onwards. The first is that neither καλός nor καλῶς is used elsewhere in Judges, either for the Hebrew *ṭwb* or for anything else. The second objection is that καθὼς is represented in the Old Latin, and in a meaningful context. The additional phrase *sicut fecit vobiscum retribuistis ei*, when the previous *et si* is read with it, is plainly another, and a free rendering of the Hebrew *w'm kgmwl ydyw 'šytm lw*. The attestation of this in the Old Latin, and the occurrence of a fragment from it in the greater part of the MSS. of the A text strongly support it as the earliest LXX reading for the particular phrase. The curious thing is that in this case Lucian omitted the early reading instead of creating a doublet, and in the other witnesses of the A text just one fragment got telescoped with a Masoretic correction of the preceding part of the verse. To sum up. This verse provides examples of the way in which the early LXX readings of Judges have often disappeared in whole or part from the better known MSS., and in the first part of the verse the divergencies of the early LXX from the Masoretic Hebrew are perhaps due to a different Hebrew text, while in the second part of the verse the translator has rendered freely.

Despite the limitations in the scope of the work, the author is to be thanked for collecting such a wealth of material, and for some wise comments on it.

BOOK LIST¹⁾

- Documents of Old Testament Times.* Translated with introduction and notes by members of the Society for Old Testament Study and edited by D. WINTON THOMAS. London, Th. Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1958. xxvi + 302 pp. Price 18/-.
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- La „Bible de Jérusalem”* en volumes séparés. Éd. du Cerf, Paris 1958. 2^e édition revue de l'Exode (COUROYER), les Nombres (CAZELLES), le Lévitique (CAZELLES), le Deutéronome (CAZELLES), Juges et Ruth (VINCENT), les Rois (DE VAUX), Isaïe (AUVRAY-STEINMANN), Ezéchiel (AUVRAY), Michée, Sophonie, Nahum (GEORGE), Jonas (FEUILLET), Job (LARCHER), les Psaumes (TOURNAY-SCHWAB, et GELINEAU-CHIFFLOT), l'Ecclésiaste (PAUTREL, 3^e éd.), le Cantique des Cantiques (ROBERT), la Sagesse (OSTY), l'Ecclésiastique (DUESBERG-AUVRAY).
- LEO BAECK, *Aus drei Jahrtausenden.* Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des jüdischen Glaubens. Mit einer Einführung von H. LIEBESCHÜTZ. vi + 402 pp. Mohr, Tübingen 1958. Brosch. D.M. 17,50; Lw. D.M. 21,—.
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- P. BUIS, *Josias*, coll. Témoin de Dieu, Paris 1958. 114 p.
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- Le Antiche Divinità Semitiche* Studi semitici Università di Roma. Editor S. MOSCATI. „Les divinités sémitiques anciennes en Mésopotamie” par J. BOTTÉRO; „Ancient Semitic Deities in Syria and Palestine” by M. J. DAHOOD; „Die alten semitischen Gottheiten in Arabien” von W. CASKEL; „La questione delle antiche divinità semitiche” e „Considerazioni conclusive” di S. MOSCATI. 147 pp. Roma 1958. Price: L. 3000,— \$ 5.—; bound L. 3500,— \$ 6.—.
- C. ROTH, *The historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls.* Blackwell, Oxford 1958, viii + 87 pp. 10 s. 6 d.
- R. B. Y. SCOTT, *The Psalms as Christian Praise.* Lutterworth Press, London 1958. 88 pp. Price 2 s. 6 d.

¹⁾ The mention of books in this list neither implies nor precludes subsequent review at length.

DER WECHSEL DES JAHRES-ANFANGS IN JUDA IM LICHTE DER NEUGEFOUNDENEN BABYLONISCHEN CHRONIK

VON

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In einer kurzen Arbeit („Die babylonische Datierung im Pentateuch und das Alter des Priesterkodex” *VT*, 1952, H. 4) habe ich nachgewiesen, dass die Zeitrechnung nach dem babylonischen Jahr (Jahres-Anfang am 1. nisan) im Pentateuch ein sicheres Kennzeichen für die späte Zusammenstellung des Priesterkodex ist, da sie erst nach dem Deuteronomium eingeführt sein kann. Über die Ursache dieses Wechsels im Jahresanfang stellte ich die Hypothese auf, dass er die Folge der Schlacht bei Carchemis war, nach der Juda unter König Jojakim Vasall Babylons wurde; die Einführung des neuen Kalenders wäre also nach 605 erfolgt, vermutlich im folgenden Jahre 604.

Jetzt, nach der Auffindung neuer Stücke der Babylonischen Chronik durch D. J. WISEMAN (*Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings in the British Museum*, London, 1956), die grade diese Jahre umfassen, steht vor uns die Aufgabe, an der Hand dieser authentischen und genau datierenden Quelle die Hypothese von der Einführung des Babylonischen Kalenders in Juda im Jahre 604 nachzuprüfen und zu sehen, ob sie mit dem Ablauf der bekannten Ereignisse übereinstimmt, und ob sie vielleicht das Nacheinander des Geschehens besser erklärt als es bisher möglich war.

Das Problem von einem Übergang vom Jahr mit Herbstanfang zum Jahr mit Frühjahrsanfang scheint bisher nirgends in voller Schärfe erfasst worden zu sein: noch sehen alle chronologischen Arbeiten über Israel und Juda es auch für die ältere Zeit als selbstverständlich an, das Jahr mit dem 1. nisan beginnen zu lassen. Dass das „alte” Jahr seinen Anfang im Herbst hatte, kann jetzt als sicher betrachtet werden¹⁾; der Übergang zu einem Jahr mit Frühlings-

¹⁾ S. m. ob. zit. Arb. Die Gründe sind: 1) Das Herbstfest liegt „am Ausgang des Jahres”, also ist der Jahresanfang *nach ihm*, am 1. ḥešwan (früher: bul). —

Anfang *muss* also irgendwelche Spuren hinterlassen haben. — Ebenso wenig ist bisher die Tatsache gebührend beachtet worden, dass die *Rechnung der Königsjahre mit der Kalender-Rechnung verknüpft* ist, indem natürlich das Königsjahr mit dem Kalenderjahr zusammenfiel. Auch hierbei, und grade hierbei, muss also der Übergang zu einem neuen Kalender seine Spur hinterlassen haben.

Wenn unsre Hypothese über die Zeit des Überganges vom Herbst-Kalender zum Frühjahrs-Kalender in Juda (604) richtig ist, *müssen alle Königsjahre vor 604 von Herbst zu Herbst rechnen*, und der Übergang zur Frühjahrs-Rechnung *muss* sich in dem neuen Material der Babylonischen Chronik irgendwie bemerkbar machen.

E. VOGT, in einem bedeutsamen Vortrag auf dem Strasbourger Congress für AT-Wissenschaft (*Volume du Congrès de Strasbourg* 1956, S. 67-96), hat zuerst den dankenswerten Versuch gemacht, die Ergebnisse der neuen Chronik für die Festlegung bestimmter in der Bibel erwähnter Ereignisse darzulegen. Solche Ereignisse und ihre zeitliche Bestimmung durch E. VOGT auf Grund der Chronik Wiseman sind nach Königsjahren geordnet in der folgenden Tabelle I zusammengestellt.

Wie alle Früheren rechnet V. alle Königsjahre von nisan zu nisan.

TABELLE I

Königs-Jahr	Zeit des Königs-Jahres (nach E. VOGT)	Ereignisse (nach E. VOGT)
Anf. J. Jojakims	Sommer 609 - 1. nisan 608	
1. Jahr „	1. nisan 608 - 1. nisan 607	
2. — —	1. — 607 - 1. — 606	
3. — —	1. — 606 - 1. — 605	
4. — —	1. — 605 - 1. — 604	Schl. b. Carchemiš Mai/Jun. 605
(Anf. J. Nebuk.	1. elul 605 - 1. nisan 604)	<i>Dikt.</i> d. Rolle Jer. bis März 604
5. — Jojakims	1. nisan 604 - 1. nisan 603	Ankft. Nebuk. i. Ribla Juni 604
		<i>Verlesg.</i> d. Buchrolle Dec. 604
		Zerstörg. Askalons Dec. 604
		Unterwerf. Joj. Jan./Feb. 603

Gegen diese Reihenfolge der Ereignisse und die Aufteilung der Zeit unter sie habe ich zum Teil starke Bedenken.

Zunächst scheint es mir nicht geraten, sich auf die „Rede“ Jere-

2) s.u. die Jahres-Rechnung im 18. Jahre Josia's. — Dass das neue Jahr nicht am 1. tišrē, sondern erst am 1. ḥešwan begann, folgt aus der bekannten Reihenfolge der drei Feste: pessah, šabu'ot, sukkot.

mias Jer xxv 2 ff. zu stützen. Die Einleitung xxv 1 mit ihrer historischen Angabe ist ganz in Ordnung, nur hat sie nichts mit dem folgenden zu tun. Aus dem in v. 1 angekündigten *Gotteswort* wird plötzlich in v. 2 eine *Jeremia*-Rede, und diese Rede trägt in der Einführung durch v. 2 und dann in Stil, Wortwahl und Inhalt ganz typisch den Charakter einer viel späteren Epoche (etwa der Esras); ausserdem findet sich in ihr in v. 11 eine exakt befristete Vorhersage, wie sie charakteristisch ist für ein *vaticinium ex eventu*, das auf die Zeit nach 539 führt. Lassen wir also die „Rede“ aus unseren Überlegungen besser fort.

Wichtiger und richtiger ist es, sich die Frage vorzulegen: Was hat Jeremia zu dem ungewöhnlichen Schritt veranlasst, seine Gedichte auf eine Sammelrolle zu diktieren? Wir könnten uns formal mit der Antwort begnügen: weil ihm das Reden im Tempel verboten worden war (Jer xxxvi 5) ¹⁾. Sachlich aber lautet die Frage: Welches grosse Ereignis hat den Propheten dazu gebracht, einen konzentrierten Angriff durch seine gesammelten Prophetien zu versuchen?

Hier scheint VOGT an den bevorstehenden Feldzug Nebukadresars im Spätsommer 604 gegen Askalon zu denken. Aber ein Blick auf unsere Tabelle zeigt, dass das nicht möglich ist. Eben, Februar 604, war der Babylonier aus Syrien nach Babel zurückmarschiert und brach erst im Juni 604 (WISEMAN, S. 68, Z. 15-20) wieder nach dem Westen auf. Jeremia kann also nicht im Februar oder März dadurch in solche Erregung versetzt worden sein, dass er seine Drohungen ²⁾ sammelte und diktierte.

Hier erhebt sich der Verdacht, dass die Datierung der Niederschrift auf „spätestens März 604“ (VOGT) nicht richtig sein kann.

Aber es kommt eine zweite Unwahrscheinlichkeit hinzu. Die *Verlesung* der Rolle datiert VOGT sehr bestimmt (S. 85 oben) auf Dezember (kislew) 604, „im 5. Jahr des Jojakim“ (Jer xxxvi 9); und das scheint unausweichlich, *wenn man dieses 5. J. Joj. auf 1. nisan 604-1. nisan 603 ansetzt*, wie das allgemein und auch von VOGT geschieht. Dann wären *zwischen der Niederschrift und der Verlesung 9-10 Monate* vergangen.

¹⁾ Seit wann es ihm verboten war, ist hier nicht gesagt. VOGT vermutet offenbar, eben wegen der Rede xxv 3-14 — wenn diese überhaupt gehalten wurde, was ich bezweifle. Meine abweichende Meinung dazu s.u., wo ich eine bestimmte andere Deutung des Rede-Verbots gebe.

²⁾ Drohungen, die deutlich auf umwälzende Ereignisse anspielen (xiii 17-21; xvii 4).

Eine Bombe wie die Buchrolle legt der Prophet nicht für 9-10 Monate auf Eis!

VOGT äussert die Vorstellung (S. 89, Z. 10), dass Jeremia die Rolle spätestens im März diktiert hätte, „damit¹⁾ sie an einem Fasttage dem Volk verlesen würde.“ Aber der in xxxvi 9 erwähnte Fasttag im 9. Monat kann kein regulärer, turnusmässiger gewesen sein, *denn dergleichen gab es damals nicht*, und daher heisst es an der Stelle korrekt, „sie riefen (ad hoc!) einen Fasttag aus“. Das aber konnte Jeremia im März nicht wissen. Also ist das „im Hause Gottes an einem Fasttag“ in v. 6, wo es ungeschickt zwischen „vor den Ohren des Volkes“ und „vor den Ohren ganz Judas“ steht, ein späterer harmonisierender Zusatz.

Wenn man bedenkt, dass im gleichen Monat, Dezember 604, in dem angeblich die Verlesung und Verbrennung der Jeremia-Rolle stattgefunden hat, auch die *Einnahme und völlige Zerstörung Askalons* durch Nebukadresar erfolgte, kann man die Haltung Jojakims wohl kaum damit kennzeichnen (VOGT), dass er „sich sicher fühlte“ (S. 89 unt.). Es wäre Wahnsinn gewesen, wenn er in diesem Zeitpunkt sich noch nicht unterworfen hätte. Vielmehr muss die Verbrennung der Rolle lange vor der Unterwerfung Jojakims unter Babel, und beides lange vor dem Zug gegen Askalon gewesen sein. Man stelle sich vor: Nebukadresar stand 65 km von Jerusalem entfernt, entweder unmittelbar vor oder unmittelbar nach dem Fall Askalons, und er war schwer erzürnt wegen des Widerstandes der Stadt (völlige Zerstörung der grossen Stadt!). Als sein nächstes Unternehmen *musste* er planen, gegen Jerusalem zu ziehen und ihr das Schicksal Askalons zu bereiten, das dann erst 586 die Stadt wirklich traf.

Nein, *Jojakim hatte sich bereits unterworfen*, solange es noch Zeit war. *Und wir wissen jetzt auch, wann:* Im Juni 604 „kamen alle Könige von Hattu vor ihn (Nebuk.) und zahlten schweren Tribut“ (Chronik Wiseman, S. 68, Z. 15-20). Vielleicht waren es, wie VOGT mit Recht sagt, nicht alle; der von Askalon war nicht dabei; aber *Jojakim* (oder sein Gesandter) *war sicher unter ihnen*, wie der Vergleich der Daten uns lehrt.

Und nun kommt die Hauptsache. Nehmen wir einmal argumenti causa an, Jeremia hätte die Rolle (wie VOGT angibt) im März 604 (4. J. Joj.) diktiert; wenn sich nun Jojakim (nach *unserer* Annahme!) im Juni 604 (5. J. Joj.) unterwarf — *wozu sollte Jeremia im Dezember*

¹⁾ Von mir gesperrt.

604 die Rolle noch verlesen lassen? Warum sollte Jojakim sie noch verbrennen? Ist hier nicht ein entscheidendes Argument gegen meinen frühen Zeitansatz für die Unterwerfung Jojakims unter Babel?

Ganz im Gegenteil. Hier liegt der Kern meiner Darlegungen. Es beweist, dass weder die Niederschrift im März 604 noch die Verlesung im Dezember 604 stattgefunden hat, und dass beide Dinge nichts mit dem Fall von Askalon zu tun haben, sondern viel früher liegen. Schuld an allen Schwierigkeiten ist nur die übliche, aber nun nicht mehr haltbare chronologische Rechnung der Königs-Jahre in Juda von nisan zu nisan.

Königs-Jahre und Kalender-Jahre müssen natürlich übereinstimmen, sonst liesse sich auf die Dauer keine Rechnung durchführen. In der eingangs zitierten Arbeit habe ich gezeigt, dass in Israel und Juda, mindestens bis zur Veröffentlichung des Deuteronomiums, das Jahr im Herbst begann, und zwar am 1. ḥešwan (Okt/Nov). *Am selben Datum musste das Königs-Jahr beginnen.*

Glücklicherweise haben wir dafür grade für die entscheidende Zeit, das Jahr des Deuteronomiums, einen sicheren Beweis.

Für das 18. *Regierungs-Jahr des Jošia* sind zwei Ereignisse mit dem Jahres-Datum bezeugt: 1) die Auffindung des Gesetzbuchs (2 R xxii 3.8), 2) die Feier des pessah-Festes (2 R xxiii 23). — Das pessah Fest können wir genau datieren: es wird am 14. nisan abends begonnen, wenigstens nach der bisher allgemeinen Annahme¹⁾. Die Auffindung des Buches war vorher; aber wann?

Zwischen diesen beiden Zeitpunkten spielen sich folgende Vorgänge ab:

1. Auffindung des Buches.
2. Lesung durch Ḥilkia, Lesung durch Šafan (xxii 8).
3. Lesung vor dem König (xxii 10).
4. Befragung der Prophetin Ḥulda (xxii 14) und ihr Bescheid.
5. Berufung der „Ältesten von ganz Juda“ nach Jerusalem (xxiii 1).
6. Volksversammlung im Tempelvorhof, Verlesung des Buches, Opfer und „Bundesschluss“ (xxiii 3).
7. Reinigung des Tempels von den Emblemen des assyrischen Gottesdienstes und deren Verbrennung (xxiii 4).

¹⁾ In einer eben im VT (1958, H. 1) erschienenen Arbeit habe ich erwiesen, dass „ḥodeš ha-ʾabib“ im Gesetz Dt xvi den Neumond des ʾabib bezeichnet, also den späteren 1. nisan. Trotzdem gebe ich absichtlich die Beweisführung hier für den 14. d.M.; sie gilt natürlich ganz gewiss für den 1.d.M. Die Folgerung ist um so mehr gesichert.

8. Niederreissung der Häuser der Kedešen beim Tempel (xxiii 7).
9. Schliessung u. Zerstörung aller bamot „von Geba‘ bis Beerseba“ (xxiii 8).
10. Überführung aller bamot-Priester nach Jerusalem (xxiii 8).
11. Aufruf an ganz Juda, zur pessah-Feier nach Jerus. zu kommen (xxiii 21).
12. Feier des pessah-Festes nach neuem Ritus.

Es ist ganz unmöglich, alle diese 12 Phasen des Geschehens in 2 Wochen (1. bis 14. nisan) unterzubringen. Allein 5., 9., 10., 11. verlangen mehr als diese Zeitspanne. Die Auffindung des Buches muss vor dem 1. nisan stattgefunden haben.

Die Folgerung ist klar: *Die beiden datierten Ereignisse, Auffindung und Festfeier, müssten — bei Jahres-Anfang im nisan — in zwei verschiedenen Königs-Jahren liegen.* Wenn das pessah im 18. Jahr des Jošia war (xxiii 23), so wäre die Auffindung des Buches im 17. Jahre; wenn nach xxii 3.8 die Auffindung im 18. Jahre war, wäre das pessah im 19. Jahre des Jošia.

Da beide Ereignisse in dasselbe 18. Jahr datiert sind, ist damit der bündige Beweis geliefert, dass das Königs-Jahr zur Zeit Jošias ein Herbstjahr war, vom 1. hešwan bis zum 1. hešwan.

Cuius regio eius calendarium. Josia blieb bis zu seinem Tode unabhängig, und so lag kein Grund vor zur Einführung des babylonischen Kalenders und des Königs-Jahrs vom 1. nisan an. Aber wir müssen jetzt mit aller Schärfe danach suchen, welcher Zeitpunkt für diese Kalender-Änderung in Frage kommt.

Das erste Mal, dass in einem geschichtlichen Bericht der Bibel nach babylonischem Kalender datiert wird, ist Jer xxxvi 22. Hier wird berichtet, dass der 9. Monat ein kalter Wintermonat ist, an dem ein Feuerbecken brennt ¹⁾. Dies ist also der terminus post quem non für die Einführung des babylonischen Kalenders in Juda.

Wenn wir jetzt mit voller Sicherheit annehmen, dass bei der Thronbesteigung Jojakims noch das alte Herbstjahr in Geltung war, so erhalten wir folgendes Chronologie-Bild.

Das letzte (31.) Jahr des Jōsia läuft vom 1. hešwan (Okt/Nov) 610 bis zu seinem Tode bei Megiddo, wahrscheinlich Mai/Juni 609. Sein Sohn Joahaz regiert 3 Monate (2 R xxiii 31), also bis Aug/Sept 609.

¹⁾ Dieser Baruch-Bericht ist gewiss erst etwas später niedergeschrieben, zu einer Zeit, wo das babylonische Datum schon gebräuchlich war, während es zur Zeit des Ereignisses (s.u.: Dezember 605) in Juda noch nicht eingeführt war, sondern n.m.M. erst $\frac{1}{2}$ Jahr später.

Ihm folgt Jojakim, dessen „Anfangs-Jahr“ (Jer xxvi 1 rešit mamlekut) erwähnt ist. Es ist sehr kurz, von Aug/Sept 609 bis 1. ḥeswan (Okt/Nov) 609, also etwa 2 Monate. In diese kurze Zeit fällt nach Jer xxvi 1 die grosse Tempelrede von Jer vii. Sie und nicht die imaginäre Rede von Jer xxv ist die Ursache, warum dem Propheten das Betreten des Tempels verboten wurde, offenbar auf Betreiben der Priesterschaft. Als Jeremia einmal versuchte, dieses Verbot zu durchbrechen, wurde er von den Priestern misshandelt (xx 2).

Nach dieser Rechnung läuft das 4. Jahr des Jojakim vom Okt/Nov 606 bis Okt/Nov 605; und jetzt müssen wir die Ereignisse und ihren gegenseitigen Zusammenhang sorgfältig registrieren.

Im Mai/Juni 605 (4. J. Joj.) ist die *Schlacht bei Carchemiš* (Chronik Wiseman), und *dieses* umwälzende Ereignis, das noch im Juli in Jerusalem bekannt werden konnte, ist die Ursache für die Erregung des Propheten und für das *Diktat der Buchrolle*. Das Diktat muss vor dem 4. Nov 605 (Ende des 4. J. Joj.) fertig gewesen sein, und nun sucht Jeremia eine geeignete Gelegenheit zur Verlesung der Rolle. Diese findet sich *bald, nach 1-1 1/2 Monaten, im Dezember 605*¹⁾, durch die Ausrufung eines Fasttages. In diesem Winter 605 ist der Fasttag sehr verständlich: er ist Ausdruck der Furcht Jojakims, des Parteigängers Necho's, vor dem Anrücken des Siegers Nebukadresar. Aber noch bleibt er hartnäckig bei seiner pro-ägyptischen Politik und verbrennt die Rolle.

Am 1. elul 605 (7. Sept. nach WISEMAN-VOGT) besteigt Nebukadresar den Thron Babels. Sein „Anfangs-Jahr“ reicht bis 1. nisan 604. Das 4. Jahr Jojakims fällt mit ihm zusammen nur für 2 Monate, bis zum 1. ḥeswan (in jenem Jahr 5. Nov.) 605.

Damit sind wir bereits im 5. *Jahr Jojakims*, und dieses ist das *entscheidende Jahr auch für die Chronologie*. Es würde unter normalen Verhältnissen vom 5. Nov. 605 bis 25. Okt. (1. ḥeswan) 604 reichen. Aber inzwischen erfolgt die *entscheidende Veränderung*. Nebukadresar erobert einen grossen Teil Syriens, kehrt Febr. 604 nach Babel zurück und empfängt im Juni 604 in Ribla die Unterwerfung zahlreicher Könige, unter ihnen, nach unserer Meinung, *auch des Jojakim von Juda*.

Juda wird so babylonischer Vasall. *Als Zeichen der Oberhoheit Babels wird der Babylonische Kalender in Juda eingeführt*. (Genau so erlebten wir es in Palästina seit 1914 dreimal: den türkischen, englischen, jüdischen Kalender).

¹⁾ Der 1. des 9. Monats fiel im Jahre 605 auf den 4. Dezember.

TABELLE II

Königs-Jahr	Zeit des Königs-Jahres (nach AUERBACH)	Ereignisse (nach AUERBACH)
18. J. Josias 31. J. —	1. hesw. 623 - 1. hesw. 622 1. — 610 - Mai/Jun 609	Fund d. Dt. Pessah-Feier i. Jerus. Tod Josias b. Megiddo Mai/Jun 609
Joahaz Anf. - J. Jojakim	Mai/Jun. - Aug./Sept. 609 Aug./Sep 609-1. hesw. 609	Temple-Rede Jeremias. Rede- Verbot
1. J. Jojakims	1. hesw. 609 - 1. — 608	
2. — —	1. — 608 - 1. — 607	
3. — —	1. — 607 - 1. — 606	
4. — —	1. — 606 - 1. — 605	Mai/Jun 605 Schl. b. Carchemis
(Antr. J. Nebuk.)	1. elul 605 - 1. nis. 604)	7. Sept. Thronbest. Nebukad. vor 5. Nov.: <i>Diktat d. Buchrolle Jer.</i> <i>Dez. 605 Verlesg d. Buchrolle Jerem.</i>
5. J. Jojakims (1. J. Nebuk.)	1. hesw. 605 - 1. nis. 603 1. nis. 604 - 1. nis. 603)	Jun. 604 Aufbr. Nebuk. nach Ribla <i>Jojakim unterwirft sich</i> <i>Einf. d. babyl. Kalend. i.</i> <i>Juda</i>
6. J. Jojakims (=2. J. Neb.)	1. — 603 - 1. — 602	Tribut-Zahlung Jojakims
7. J. Joj. (=3. J. Neb.)	1. — 602 - 1. — 601	
8. J. Joj. (=4. J. Neb.)	1. — 601 - 1. — 600	
9. J. Joj. (=5. J. Neb.)	1. — 600 - 1. — 599	Niederlage Neb., Abfall Jojakims
10. J. Joj. (=5. J. Neb.)	1. — 599 - 1. — 598	
10. J. Joj. (=6. J. Neb.)	1. — 599 - 1. — 598	
11. J. Joj. (=7. J. Neb.) Jojachin	1. — 598 - Jan/Feb. 597 Jan/Feb 597 bis nach 14. IV.597 (3 Mon. 10 Tg.)	
		Einnahme Jerus. 16.III.597. Ab- transp. Jojachins nach 1. nis. (14.IV.) 597 (8. J. Nebuk.)

Was war die Wirkung auf die chronologische Rechnung? Der Oberherr verlangt, dass der Vasall sein Königs-Jahr dem des Oberherrn anpasst. *Das geht nur so, dass Jojakims fünftes Jahr nicht am 1. heswan 604 zu Ende geht, sondern bis zum 1. nisan 603 verlängert wird.* Es dauert also fünf Monate länger.

In diesem 5. Königs-Jahr Jojakims gibt es *zweimal einen Monat kislew*. Die Verlesung und Verbrennung der Buchrolle fand nach VOGT im kislew 604 statt, nach meiner Theorie im kislew 605.

Jojaķim zahlt in Ribla „schweren Tribut“ (Wiseman-Chronik) bei der Unterwerfung. Drei Jahre zahlt er — leichteren — Tribut als Vasall (603/02, 602/01, 601/00); nach der Niederlage Nebukadreşars in Ägypten (600) verweigert er ihn — und das Schicksal nimmt seinen Lauf.

Es ist, scheint mir, mit Händen zu greifen, wieviel klarer und folgerichtiger jetzt die babylonischen und biblischen Ereignisse in einander greifen und alle Schwierigkeiten verschwinden. Man darf nunmehr mit Zuversicht sagen, *dass der Babylonische Kalender in Juda im Juni/Juli 604 eingeführt worden ist.*

Das ist ein wichtiges historisches Faktum. Es ist auch von hoher Bedeutung für die Bibelwissenschaft: es sichert die These, dass der Priesterkodex erst nach 604 redigiert worden ist.

Im folgenden ist meine Auffassung der Chronologie der Jojaķim-Zeit in Form einer Tabelle gegeben. Abweichungen v. VOGT *unterstrichen.*

A SHEET OF AN EIGHTH CENTURY SYNAGOGUE SCROLL

BY

S. A. BIRNBAUM
London

The sheet in question is in the library of Jews College, London. How and when it got there is not known but it only recently came to light during the removal of the College. Miss R. P. LEHMANN, the Librarian, drew my attention to the MS and asked my opinion about it. The present article is the result.

I. DESCRIPTION

A. EXTERNAL FEATURES

The material is a light brown leather.

The sheet is about 155 cms in length, not counting the folded edges on the right and left where it had been sewn to the preceding and following sheets.

The present height of the sheet ranges from 48.1 cms to 53.2 cms. The top and bottom edges are not the original ones — except perhaps a small part of the right-hand bottom corner — the sheet as we have it now being cut in a somewhat irregular fashion. However, the original margin was hardly much wider.

The height of the written surface is 40.8 - 42 cms (including the ascender of lamedh).

The width of the columns—of which there are seven—is generally 7.9 cms; one, however, is 7.75 cm, and column VII is only 7.3 cms wide. In most cases this coincides with the actual length of the written line but occasionally the final letter projects beyond the vertical ruling; it now and then happens that two letters do so. There are, on the average, 22 letters to the line. The distance between the horizontal rulings is 1 cm, the height of the letters (excluding ascenders and descenders) about 3.5 mms. There are 42 lines per column.

The intercolumns are 3.2—4.9 cms wide.

A big tear across the lower half of column II has left the text

undamaged. In column VII, however, some letters are deleted by a hole crossing four of the lines. There is a patch at the back here but the same hole goes through this too. A few Arabic letters are visible on the patch but they are too mutilated to make any sense.

There are a number of stains (grease?). The three biggest are in columns II—V. Here the leather is considerably darker and has lost much of its shine and characteristic surface grain. The areas covered by the biggest stains are slightly crumpled but the lettering is not affected, the ink remains black; as a matter of fact, it is darker there than in the rest—particularly the left half of the fragment.

B. THE TEXT

The sheet contains Exodus ix 18—xiii 2. The text is identical with MT. The divisions into sections tallies with the traditional one, except that the section following the word *m'ršw* (xi 10) is a *ptwḥb*, while we have here a *stwmb*.

There is one very striking feature: At the end of many of the lines we find a dot—occasionally two dots horizontally arranged. Sometimes the dot is placed before the final word, and occasionally before as well as after it; two dots before and one after also occur. Their purpose is obviously to fill in every blank, even a small one, lest it should be mistaken for a *ptwḥb* division. As far as I know there is no mention in our literary sources of this particular device.

II. DATE AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Needless to say, this sheet once formed part of a synagogue scroll. When and where was it written?

There is no internal evidence to help us answer that question. The above-mentioned difference in one of the sectional divisions provides no clue.

As to external evidence: that the material is leather and not parchment points, on the whole, to a comparatively early date. But there are recent examples too, and we do not know until what period the use of leather was fairly widespread, otherwise this might have given us at least a possible, very approximate, terminus ad quem. Thus the only kind of external evidence available in the present instance is the writing.

A. GENERAL FEATURES

The height of the letters (3.5 mms) is small compared with that

in the middle, late and post-medieval scrolls: as early as in the ninth century the height ranges from 6 to 9 mms. But we cannot draw a chronological conclusion from this because, from that time onwards right up to the present day, small, medium and large lettering is used.

The average of 22 letters per line falls short of the figures prescribed for a synagogue scroll which is 27. The number of lines per column tallies with the prescribed minimum, i.e., 42.

Our MS has no *tgyn* —the “crownlets” on certain letters of the alphabet. Their absence does not, however, provide a chronological clue.

The *tgyn* are first mentioned in the fourth century ¹⁾, which, of course, does not tell us when they began to be used. There are none in our oldest fragments—that from Murabba‘ât, dating from the early second century B.C.E. ²⁾ and the considerably earlier ones from Qumrân; ³⁾ these, however, were not necessarily parts of synagogue scrolls. But many medieval and later synagogue scrolls have no *tgyn* either, and this problem needs thorough investigation.

There are a few dilated letters in our MS. This feature is of some chronological value to us. The device of dilation is not employed in the MSS from Qumrân and Murabba‘ât, nor ⁴⁾ even in the much later Antinoopolis Fragment No. 4 ⁵⁾ which emanates from sixth century Egypt. We first encounter the regular use of dilation in our sixth to seventh century Palestinian material. Here, as in the present MS, it is employed only sparingly; similarly, the actual degree of the dilation is very moderate, even where a small increase in the length of the top bar would have fulfilled more adequately the aesthetic purpose of the device by bringing the word right up to the left edge of the column.

Moreover, the final letter, or last two letters, of a line are not infrequently written beyond the vertical ruling (a permitted procedure)

¹⁾ By Raba, 299-352 C. E., cf. Men. 29 b. Earlier mention refers to parts of letters, not to what was later called *tgyn* (as I hope to show on some future occasion).

²⁾ *The Hebrew Scripts*, by the present writer, No. 89.

³⁾ *Qumran Cave I*, by BARTHÉLEMY and MILIK, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5.

⁴⁾ In the fourth century epitaph from Jaffa, shown in *The Hebrew Scripts*, No. 90, the first mem is wider than the second but I am inclined to think that this is not our earliest example of dilation as an accepted method but that it was a device used by this particular mason.

⁵⁾ Cf. *The Hebrew Scripts*, No. 183.

This, together with the severe economy exercised in the use of dilation, results in the left edge of the column being almost as irregular as the corresponding edge of a carefully type-written page would be at the present day. Although the left edge of our MS is more regular than in the Qumrân and Murabba'ât material, it bears no comparison with the late- and post-medieval scrolls where the left and right edges are of practically equal straightness.

B. COMPARISON

No detailed examination is needed to see that the writing of our MS is very old. On the other hand, the script is nothing like as early as that of the Cave MSS—including the latest of them, those from Murabba'ât.¹⁾ It is also clearly later than our material from the next few centuries after that²⁾. When we come to the ninth to eleventh centuries Bible codices³⁾ however, we notice that the forms there are obviously far beyond the stage of development reached by the letters in our MS. Our field of investigation has thus been restricted to the period from about the sixth to the ninth centuries. We shall now see whether a detailed examination of the script will yield a more precise date. For that purpose we need material for comparison, and such material should obviously be as nearly as possible of the same type as the MS in question, and it should also, if possible, bear a date or be dateable.

Material of the same type means synagogue scrolls of the Penta-teuch. But such scrolls cannot bear a date for the simple reason that they must not contain a single letter or sign in addition to the Biblical consonantal text. And even undated scrolls or fragments of scrolls which might, with some likelihood, be ascribed to the sixth to ninth centuries do not appear to be known. We shall therefore have to content ourselves with basing our comparison on other MSS of that period, on the assumption—not, after all, an unreasonable one—that their forms and those of contemporaneous synagogue scrolls were either identical or not sufficiently different to vitiate our result⁴⁾.

It is not possible here to compare our MS with a large number

¹⁾ Cf., *ibid.*, No. 89.

²⁾ Cf., e.g., *ibid.*, No. 91*.

³⁾ Cf., e.g., *ibid.*, Nos. 92, 93*.

⁴⁾ Such an assumption would not, of course, be justified for recent centuries, when books had ceased to be written by hand and the type-face cutter had lost all connection with the letter forms of the scribal tradition.

of others. I have done this preparatory work and have selected from my collection of photos two representative specimens of the Palestinian branch, one from the early and one from the late part of our period (i.e., sixth to ninth centuries).

The first, *T* (for Targum MS), a Geniza fragment in the *Taylor-Schechter Collection* of the Cambridge University Library (T.—S. 20. 155), is a fragment from a scroll containing the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum, with Palestinian vocalisation¹). It can be dated by the convergence of internal and palaeographical evidence: (a) The text is provided with vocalisation and was thus probably not written before the sixth century. As its system of vocalisation is the Palestinian, the likelihood of a date after the ninth century is probably small.

(b) As to the script, it is sufficient here to point out a striking feature: the final mem is open—a form which is characteristic of the fourth to seventh centuries.

The dates of (a) and (b) overlap in the sixth to seventh centuries so that this is clearly the approximate time when *T* was penned.

The second representative specimen selected here for comparison is the first Biblical MS bearing a date—the famous codex of the Prophets written in 895 at Tiberias by the Masorete Moses ben Asher, and for many centuries in the possession of a Cairo synagogue. We shall designate it *P* (Prophets).

In comparing the three MSS we shall refer to that from Jews College as *E* (for Exodus).

(a) General Features

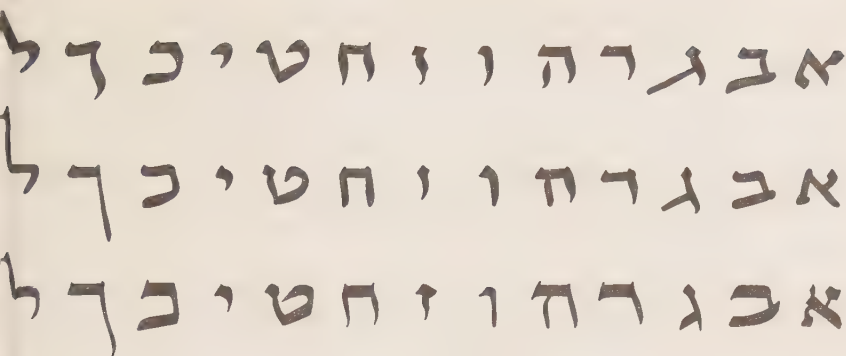
We shall first of all deal with some general features.

E has 42 lines to the column, *T* has 34, *P* has 22. In this respect *E* is closer to *T* than to *P*. In *E* the line averages 22 letters, in *T* the figure is 32, in *P* it is 12—13. So *E* stands half-way between *T* and *P*.

The average height of a letter (excluding ascenders and descenders) in *E* is 3.5 mms, in *T* it is 2—3 mms, in *P* it is 7—8 mms. *E* is accordingly much closer in this respect to *T* than to *P*.

An important criterion in comparing the three scripts is that of style. In *P* there is a strong contrast between the horizontals and the downstrokes (except in aleph), the former being three to four times thicker than the latter, while in *T* and *E* there is either very little or no such contrast.

¹) And Tiberian accents, added later.



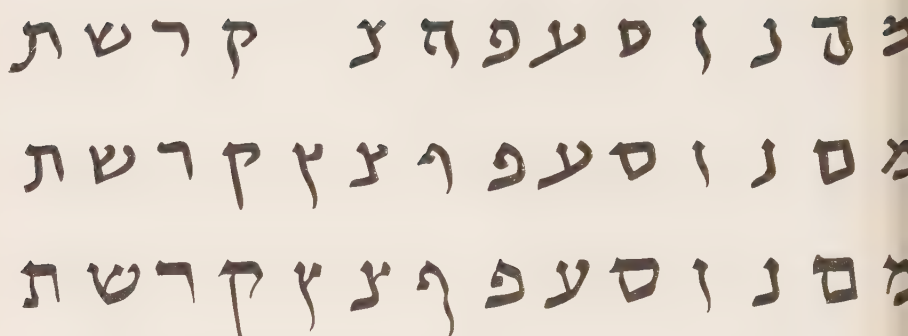
Thus in the majority of these particulars there is a closer relationship between *E* and *T* than with *P*. Translated into terms of relative chronology this would mean that *R* stands in between *T* and *P* while being nearer in time to *T* than to *P*. In absolute chronology that would suggest a date between roughly 600 and 895 but closer to the upper point—say very approximately around 700.

(b) *The Letter Forms*

We shall now examine the individual letter forms ¹⁾.

Aleph: In *P* the left stroke is split up: the part above the main stroke's point of issue has become an independent little stroke; in contrast with the slant of all the other strokes of the letter it is vertical. This whole feature is absent in *E* and *T*. In *T* the left stroke has a "foot" turned rightwards, in *E* the left stroke has a short base, in *P* we have a "clump foot", turned leftwards. Hence *E* stands between *T* and *P*. *Beth*: In *T* and *E* the right end of the base ends bluntly, while in *P* it comes to a point with an upward movement. *Gimel*: In *T* the left stroke is very long and it starts high up. In *E* it is shorter and its point of issue from the right stroke is lower down. In *P* it is short and starts at the line bottom. *E* therefore stands in between *T* and *P*. *Hê*: In *T* the left stroke is severed from the top bar, in *E* and *P* it is not—the writing of the two MSS is in a more formal style than that of *T*. *Waw*: In *T* the top is an imperfectly developed head. This is also one of the *E* forms but there an even less developed type having only a small oblique top stroke is frequent. In *P* the head is well developed. Hence *E* is closer to *T*. *Heth* has the general form—not

¹⁾ The sigla *T*, *E*, *P* will be used here to denote not only the MSS but also the individual letters in them. The first line of this page is *T*, the second *E* and the third *P*.



the specific one employed in synagogue scrolls, where the top bar is split into two and the gap bridged by a circumflex. The earliest literary reference to this type is in the Talmud (R. Ashi, dd. 427 C.E.) However not all synagogue scrolls have this heth. I have photographs from many scrolls with the general form.¹⁾ The absence of this specific form here provides no chronological clue, in the present state of our knowledge, or rather, ignorance. *Mem*: In *T* the left stroke and the base are parallel, in *E* and *P* the two strokes are at an acute angle. *Ayin*: In *T* and *E* the top of the right stroke is just a bend, in *P* it is a fully developed head. *Pe*: In *T* the top stroke is horizontal, in *E* and *P* oblique so that the outline of the upper part of the letter is triangular. *Final pe*: Here the same holds good. *Šadhe*: In *T* the right stroke is straight, in *E* bent, in *P* there is a head obviously developed from a bend. *Šin*: In *T* and *E* the left stroke is a plain one, in *P* it has a fully developed head. In *T* the middle stroke is straight, in *E* it is bent, in *P* it has a fully developed head.

Looking through the results of the foregoing comparison we find that six features (in aleph, beth, waw, ayin, šin) link our MS with *T*, while four features (in hê, mem, pe, final pe) relate it to *P*. Six more features (in aleph, beth, gimel, šadhe, šin) indicate that *E* stands in between *T* and *P*.

To sum up the relation between the three scripts we might say that *E* appears to be at a stage of development which has gone beyond *T* but has not yet quite arrived half-way towards the forms of *P*.

¹⁾ I do not remember having noticed any reference to this fact. It is as yet impossible to say to which regions and periods the scrolls with the non-specific type belong. This could only be done in the course of a general palaeographical investigation of extant synagogue scrolls—a vast and difficult undertaking, perhaps a life work.

Transposed into relative chronology this means that on the time graph between *T* and *P*, our MS would be placed somewhat before the middle point between the two.

In absolute chronology this would yield a date between c. 600 and the half-way point to 895, i.e., c. 750, but somewhat closer to the latter than to 600—say, very approximately, round about 700.

C. CONCLUSION

This date coincides with the one we arrived at in section (a), the two results corroborating each other, giving the period around 700 as the time when our MS was penned.

Our fragment is accordingly the oldest complete sheet from a synagogue scroll of the Pentateuch, separated by centuries from what, until now, were the earliest known to exist.

ADVERBIA ALS PSYCHOLOGISCHE UND GRAMMATISCHE SUBJEKTE/PRAEDIKATE IM BIBELHEBRAEISCH

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1. Im nachfolgenden Aufsatz soll der Versuch unternommen werden, einen gewissen Typus von Sätzen im Bibelhebräischen zu untersuchen: Sätze, die mit einem Adverb beginnen, das mit dem Rest des Satzes durch Konjunktion (beordnende: *wa/wa* und unterordnende: *kī*, *ʾašer*, *še*) oder Präsentativ (*hinne*) oder durch beide (*wahinnē*) verbunden ist.

Es soll dabei keine Vollständigkeit angestrebt werden; ich werde mich damit begnügen, das Typische aufzuzeigen.

2. 1. Historisch scheint diese Ausdrucksform aus dem Streben, den Widerspruch zwischen grammatischer und psychologischer/logischer Gliederung zu beseitigen, entstanden zu sein. Wie bekannt ¹⁾, sind psychologische Subjekte/Prädikate nicht immer mit den grammatischen identisch. In einem Satz wie **בְּחֶלְמִי אֲנִי עֹמֵד עַל שֵׁפַת הַיָּאֵר** (vergleiche Gen. xli 17) „in meinem Traume stehe ich am Ufer des Flusses“ ist *ʾōmēd* grammatisches Prädikat, *ʾanī* grammatisches Subjekt, *baḥlōmī* adverbelle Bestimmung. Psychologisch/logisch jedoch ist *baḥlōmī* Subjekt, das bereits vorher bekannte Glied (vergleiche Gen. xli 15), *ʾnī ʾōmēd ʾal šəfat haʾjjaʾor* Prädikat, das das Neue enthält. Um nun den Widerspruch zwischen psychologisch/logischer und grammatischer Gliederung zu überwinden ²⁾, wird das psycho-

¹⁾ Vergleiche zum Beispiel M. SANDMANN, *Subject and predicate*, Edinburgh 1954, Seite 101 ff.; vergleiche die Versuche, diese Termini abzuschaffen, daselbst S. 179 ff. SANDMANN selber nennt (S. 273) das psychologisch-logische Subjekt/Prädikat cognitional. Zu den verschiedenen Definitionen von Subjekt und Prädikat vergleiche zum Beispiel O. JESPERSEN, *The philosophy of grammar*, London 1924, S. 145 ff.; H. PAUL, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*⁵, S. 124 ff.

²⁾ Zu diesem Widerspruch vergleiche PAUL, *op. cit.*, Kapitel XVI, insbesondere S. 282; H. PAUL-H. STOLTE, *Kurze deutsche Grammatik*, Halle 1949, S. 187; SANDMANN *op. cit.*, S. 101 ff.; auch JESPERSEN *op. cit.*, S. 147. — Der Widerspruch zwischen psychologischer und grammatischer Gliederung mag auch anders beseitigt werden, wie durch die Isolierung der natürlichen Subjektes oder durch Umschreibungen mittels Relativsätze (wie Ex. xvi 16 **זֶה הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה ה'** statt **אֵת הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה צִוָּה ה'** „dies hat der Ewige befohlen“) oder „cleftsentence“.

logische Prädikat, in unserem Fall das Adverb, ausserhalb des Satzes gestellt und mit ihm zum Beispiel durch *hinne* verbunden ¹⁾: בחלמי הנני עמד על שפת היאר.

2. 2. Seltener dient das Adverb als psychologisches Prädikat: כי-זה שנתים הרעב בקרב הארץ ועוד חמש שנים אין-חריש וקציר (vergleiche Gen. xlv 6) „denn nun zwei Jahre ist der Hunger im Land und noch fünf Jahre wird weder Pflügen noch Ernten sein“. Das psychologische Prädikat, das Neue ist ועוד חמש שנים, als psychologisches Subjekt dient אין-חריש וקציר, da von den Hungerjahren (in denen es ja kein Pflügen und Ernten gibt) schon im oben zitierten Parallelvers die Rede war. Um nun dem psychologischen Prädikat auch die Form des grammatischen Prädikats zu geben, wird es vom übrigen Satz abgesondert und durch *ʿašer* wieder mit ihm in Verbindung gebracht: ועוד חמש שנים אשר אין-חריש וקציר.

2. 3. Ursprünglich dient also das Adverb in Sätzen, die mit Adverb Präsensativ/Konjunktion beginnen, als Subjekt/Prädikat. Im Verlaufe der Sprachgeschichte mag jedoch dieser Konstruktionstypus erstarren und selbst dann angewendet werden, wenn das Adverb nicht mehr Subjekt/Prädikat ist; mit anderen Worten, es tritt Gliederungsverschiebung ein, das Adverb verbindet sich mit dem nachfolgenden Präsensativ/Konjunktion zu einer neuen Einheit, die in Bedeutung und Funktion mit dem einfachen Adverb identisch ist. Cant. iii 4 כמעט שעברתי מהם עד שמצאתי את שאהבה נפשי „kaum war ich fort, da ²⁾ fand ich den, wen meine Seele liebte“ scheint *kimʿaʿ še* in nichts von *kimʿaʿ* verschieden zu sein. Im Bibelhebräisch ist diese Gliederungs-

¹⁾ Vergleiche dieselbe Erscheinung im Deutschen PAUL, *op. cit.*, 286/7. Aus dem klassischen Arabisch gehören hierher *ḥaqq^{an} ʿan(na)* „wirklich“, vergleiche H. RECKENDORF, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg 1921, S. 4, C. BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* II, S. 89, *kaṭīr^{an} mā* „oft“ (anders BROCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, II, 574), ebenso vielleicht *iḍān*, falls wir die Etymologie RECKENDORF's in *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse im Arabischen*, Leiden 1895/8, S. 745 aus *iḍ ʿan* annehmen; anders jedoch BROCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, I, 467. Diese Erscheinung ist häufig im Mittelarabischen, wie zum Beispiel *ʿajḍ^{an} fa(ʿinna)* „auch“, *alʿāna fa* „jetzt“, *baʿda ḍālika fa* „nachher“, *biḡumlati fa* „im Allgemeinen“, *liḍālika fa* „deshalb“, *maʿa ḍālika fa* „trotzdem“ usw.

²⁾ *ʿad še* ist nicht mit BUDDE (in KAUTZSCH, *Die heilige Schrift* . . . ⁴ zur Stelle) zu streichen, vergleiche Ähnliches im Mittelarabisch (siehe zum Beispiel R. DOZY, *Supplément aux dictionnaires Arabes* I, 247*) und in den arabischen Dialekten (siehe zum Beispiel G. KAMPPMEYER, *Glossar zu den 5000 arabischen Sprichwörtern aus Palästina*, Berlin 1936, sub verbo *ḥattā*, M. FEGHALI, *Syntaxe des parlers Arabes actuels du Liban*, Paris 1928, S. 473, Zeile 1); vergleiche im Deutschen „kaum . . . als“, siehe PAUL-STOLTE, *op. cit.*, S. 408.

verschiebung jedoch selten ¹⁾ und gewöhnlich dient das Adverb, das durch Präsentativ/Konjunktion mit dem übrigen Satz verbunden ist, als Subjekt, manchmal auch als Prädikat.

3. 1. Ziemlich häufig dient als Verbindungsglied zwischen dem Adverb und dem Rest des Satzes das Präsentativum *hinnē*:

gam hinnē ²⁾, zum Beispiel Gen. xxxii 21 **גַּם הִנֵּה עֹבְדֶךָ יַעֲקֹב אַחֲרָיו** „siehe, auch dein Knecht Jaakob ist hinter uns“: *gam* „ferner, ausser dem oben erwähnten und bereits Bekannten“ dient als Subjekt, *‘abdākā ja‘aqōb ‘aḥrēnū*, das Neue, das Prädikat. Vergleiche auch daselbst 19 **וְהִנֵּה גַם-הוּא אַחֲרָיו** in derselben Bedeutung, wo jedoch der Widerspruch zwischen psychologischer und grammatischer Gliederung geblieben ist, denn grammatisch ist *hū* das Subjekt, *‘aḥrēnū* das Prädikat, *gam* adverbelle Bestimmung, während die psychologische Gliederung wie in Vers 21 ist. Ebenso Est. vii 9. — *gam hinnē* mag auch bloss zur Bekräftigung dienen ³⁾ und in dieser Verwendung vereinigt sich *gam* mit *hinnē* zu einer neuen Einheit (2. 3), die wie das einfache bekräftigende *gam* als blosser Bekräftigung dient: Ex. iv 14 **וְגַם הִנֵּה הוּא יֵצֵא לִקְרַאתְךָ** „und siehe er wird ausziehen dir entgegen“ ⁴⁾.

‘attā hinnē ⁵⁾, zum Beispiel Deut. xxvi 10 **וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה הַבֹּאֲתִי אֶת-רֵאשִׁית פְּרִי הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר-נָתַתָּ לִּי** „und nun, siehe, gebracht habe ich die Erstlinge der Frucht des Erdbodens, den du mir gegeben hast“: *wa‘attā* „nun, nach all den oben erwähnten Gnaden Gottes“ dient als Subjekt, das durch *hinnē* mit dem Rest des Satzes, der das Neue enthält und daher Prädikat ist, verbunden ist. Ferner Num. xxiv 14, Jos. ix 12, 25, xiv 10, 10. 1 Sam. xxiv 21.

gam ‘attā hinnē: Hi. xvi 19 **גַּם-עַתָּה הִנֵּה-בְשֵׁמִים עָדִי** „auch nun, siehe im Himmel ist mein Zeuge“.

lākēn hinnē, zum Beispiel Jer. vii 32 **לָכֵן הִנֵּה-יָמִים בָּאִים נֶאֱמָר-הָ** „darum siehe kommen Tage, spricht der Ewige“: *lākēn* „darum, wegen der oben erwähnten Freveltaten“ dient als Subjekt, *jāmim bā'im* als Prädikat. Ebenso Jer. xix 6, xxiii 7, xlviii 12, xlix 2, li 52, ferner I Kön. xiv 10, Jes. xxix 14, Jer. xvi 21, Hos. ii 16. Die Absonderung von

¹⁾ Im Neuhebräisch Israel's ist diese Erscheinung jedoch häufig, siehe BLAU, *Leschonenu* [hebräisch] XX, S. 38 ff.

²⁾ Vergleiche *gam kī* 3.4, ferner arabisch *‘ajḡan fa*.

³⁾ Vergleiche *gam kī* 3.4, vielleicht auch *‘af hū wa* 3.3, ferner im Deutschen PAUL, *op. cit.*, S. 287.

⁴⁾ Da *hinnē* auch in dieser Verbindung weiter als Präsentativ fungiert, mag *gam hinnē* einen eingliedrigen Satz einleiten: Gen. xlii 28 **הוֹשֵׁב כֶּסֶף וְגַם הִנֵּה בִּאֲמַתְחִי** „zurückgegeben ist mein Geld und siehe, es ist in meinem Sacke“.

⁵⁾ Vergleiche im Mittelarabisch *al‘āna fa* „jetzt“.

lākēn vom Rest des Satzes mag so weit gehen, dass zwischen ihnen ein Satz eingeschaltet wird, wie Jer. vi 21 **לכן כה אמר ה' הנני** „darum, so spricht der Ewige, siehe ich . . .“¹⁾ Ebenso v. 14. Wegen des eingeschalteten Satzes wird *lākēn* manchmal wiederholt: xxiii 38-39 **לכן כה אמר ה' יען . . . לכן הנני** „darum, so spricht der Ewige, da . . ., darum siehe ich . . .“.

ākēn hinnē „wahrlich“ ist zu einer neuen Einheit verwachsen (2. 3), das von einfachem *ākēn* nicht mehr verschieden ist: Jer. viii 8 **אכן הנה לשקר עשה** „wahrlich unnütz schuf“.

ak hinnē: Gen. xxvi 9 **אך הנה אשתך הוא** „aber sie ist ja dein Weib“. *ak* „aber, im Gegensatz zu deinen früheren Behauptungen“ ist das Subjekt, durch *hinnē* mit dem Rest des Satzes, der das Neue enthält und daher Prädikat ist, verbunden.

Das Adverb, das als Subjekt dient, mag Präpositionalausdruck sein: Gen. xli 17 **בחלמי הנני עמד**, siehe oben 2. 1.

Ebenso mag das Adverb ein Adverbialsatz sein, wie 2 Sam. xv 15 **ככל אשר-יבחר אדני המלך הנה עבדיך** „wie immer es für gut findet mein Herr, der König, siehe hier deine Knechte“: „Wie immer es für gut findet, das heisst wie er *früher* befohlen hat“ ist das Subjekt, das durch *hinnē* mit dem Prädikat, dem neuen Gliede, verbunden ist „so werden wir handeln“¹⁾.

3. 2 Weit seltener dient *wahinnē* als Verbindungsglied zwischen dem Adverb-Subjekt und dem Rest des Satzes:

Gen. xl 9 **בחלומי והנה-גפן לפני** „in meinem Traume, siehe, stand ein Weinstock vor mir“. Jes. xvii 14 **לעת ערב והנה בלהה** „zur Abendzeit, siehe, da ist eine Bestürzung“, im Parallelglied jedoch steht ein einfacher Präpositionalausdruck ohne Bindeglied: **בטרם בקר אינו** „noch vor Morgen ist es nicht mehr“.

3. 3 Als Verbindungsglied zwischen dem Adverb und dem Rest des Satzes dient *Waw* coniunctivum oder consecutivum²⁾:

Ps. xxv 11 **למען-שמך ה' וסלחת** „um deines Namens willen, Ewiger, verzeihe“. *loma'an šimākē* Subjekt, da ja vorher vom Wesen Gottes (das ja in seinem Namen zum Ausdruck kommt) die Rede war,

¹⁾ *lākēn* gehört zu *hinⁿnē* und nicht zu *kō āmar*, vergleiche oben Jer. vii 32, wo **נאם-ה'** in den *hinnē*-Satz eingeschaltet ist. Vergleiche im Mittelarabischen *lidālika fa* „deshalb“.

²⁾ In dieser Funktion können wir wohl *waw* conjunctivum und consecutivum einheitlich behandeln, vergleiche *waw* consecutivum Ex. xvii 4 **עוד מעט וסקלני** „noch ein Weniges und sie werden mich steinigen“ gegenüber *waw* coniunctivum Ps. xxxvii 10 **ועוד מעט ואין רשע** „noch ein Weniges und der Frevler ist nicht mehr“.

wasālahā Prädikat. Ferner Jes. xxxvii 26 ¹⁾ מימי קדם ויצרתיה „seit den Tagen der Vorwelt hatt' ich es geschaffen". Im Parallelsatz vorher (למרחוק אותה עשיתי) „seit fernen Zeiten hatt' ich es gemacht") und nachher (עתה הבאתיה) „nun liess ich es kommen") steht jedoch einfache adverbelle Bestimmung ohne Bindeglied. Jes. xlv 4 למען עבדי „um meines Knechtes Jaakob willen und Israel's, meines Erkornen, berief ich dich bei deinem Namen". Vielleicht auch 1 Kön. ii 14 אף-הוא ויכה את-המים „auch schlug er auf das Wasser", falls *hū* aus rhythmischen Gründen sich 'af' angeschlossen hat. Insbesondere nach temporalen adverbellen Bestimmungen: Jes. xvi 14 בשלש שנים כשני שכיר ונקלה כבוד מואב „in drei Jahren, gleich den Dienstjahren eines Löhners, wird gering sein die Herrlichkeit Moab's". Ob. 8 הלוא ביום ההוא נאם-ה' והאבדתי „siehe, an diesem Tage, spricht der Ewige, vernichte ich...". Gen. iii 5 ביום אכלכם ממנו ונפקחו עיניכם „am Tage, an dem ihr davon isst, werden sich euere Augen öffnen". Jes. xxi 16 בעוד שנה כשני שכיר וכלה „binnen einem Jahre, gleich den Dienstjahren eines Löhners, wird dahin sein...". ²⁾ Wahrscheinlich auch Ez. xvi 47 כמעט קט ותשחתי מהן „nach kurzer Zeit artetest du noch mehr aus als sie" ³⁾.

3. 4. Häufig dient *kī* als Verbindungsglied zwischen dem Adverb und dem Rest des Satzes: 'af *kī* ⁴⁾, zum Beispiel Ez. xxiii 40 ואף כי

¹⁾ *wīṣartīhā* mit *waw* coniunctivum, eine allerdings auffallende Form.

²⁾ Vergl. damit zum Beispiel Jos. i 11 כי בעוד שלשת ימים אתם עברים „denn in drei Tagen gehet ihr über..."., wo *ba'ōd* usw. als Adverbialausdruck innerhalb des Satzes fungiert. So ist wohl auch 'ōd *mə'af* (siehe Beispiele S. 133, Anm. 3) aufzufassen, vergleiche 3.5., Anfang, und nicht als eingliedriger Satz, der in zweigliedriger Form etwa Hag. ii 6 erhalten ist: עוד אחת מעט היא ואני מרעיש „noch eine kleine Weile und ich erschüttere"; vergleiche jedoch Ähnliches im Deutschen PAUL-STOLTE, *op. cit.*, 422, ferner auch Verse wie Jes. lxx 24 עוד הם מדברים ואני אשמע „noch sprechen sie und ich erhöere". — Das Adverb, das als psychologisches Subjekts fungiert, mag als Kern eines Adverbialsatzes dienen und dadurch auch die Form des grammatischen Subjekts bekommen. Das Verbum des Adverbialsatzes ist gewöhnlich *hājā* (vergleiche auch im Arabischen Sätze wie *walamma kāna fi-ṣṣabāḥi* „morgens"), wie Gen. xxix 25 ויהי בבקר והנה-הוא לאה „und es war am Morgen, siehe da war es Leah", ebenso viii 6 usw.; manchmal jedoch andere Verba, wie Gen. xix 23 השמש יצא על-הארץ ולוט בא צערה „die Sonne ging auf über der Erde und Lot kam in Zoar an"; 1 Sam. ii 31 הנה ימים באים וגדעתי „siehe Tage kommen, da haue ich ab", ebenso Jes. xxxix 6. Vergleiche auch Gen. xlv 3 הבקר אור והאנשים שלחו „der Morgen leuchtete und die Männer wurden entlassen". — Es ist schwer zu sagen, ob der dunkle Vers Ps. cxli 5 כן-עוד ברעותיהם hierher gehört.

³⁾ Hierher mag auch Ps. cv 12 (und das parallele 1 Chr. xvi 19) כמעט וגרים בה gehören, falls wir es mit David qimḥi, in seinem langen Psalmkommentar, als „kurze Zeit wohnten sie darin" aufzufassen haben (und nicht als „wenige [waren sie] und wohnten darin").

⁴⁾ Vergleiche 3.3 'af *hū*, 3.4 *gam kī*, im Deutschen „sogar dass" Paul, *op. cit.*,

שְׁלַחְנָה לְאֹנְשִׁים בָּאִים מִמְּרָחֵק „sie sandten sogar nach Männern, die aus der Ferne kommen”. *ʾaf* „sogar, ausser den oben erwähnten Freveltaten” dient als Subjekt, der Rest des Satzes als Prädikat, *kī* als Verbindungsglied zwischen den beiden. So vielleicht auch im schweren Vers Hab. ii 5. So auch als Bekräftigungspartikel ¹⁾: Gen. iii 1 אֵף כִּי-אָמַר אֱלֹהִים „hat Gott wirklich [psychologisches Prädikat] gesagt?” ²⁾).

ʾakē kī ³⁾ 1 Sam. viii 9 אֵךְ כִּי-הָעַד תַּעֲיִד בָּהֶם „verwarne sie jedoch”.

ʾomnām kī Hi. xii 2, mit einfachem *ʾomnām* identisch (2.3) אֲמַנֶם כִּי „fürwahr, ihr seid rechte Leute”. Vielleicht auch *ʾim lō kī* ⁴⁾ Deut. xxxii 30 אִם-לֹא כִי-צֹרֶם מִכֶּרֶם „wäre es nicht, dass ihr Hort sie verkauft = hätte sie nicht ihr Hort verkauft”.

ʾefes kī, zum Beispiel: Num. xiii 28 אַפֶּס כִּי עֹז הָעָם „jedoch ⁵⁾ ist das Volk stark”. Deut. xv 4.

gam kī ⁶⁾: Ruth ii 21 גַּם כִּי-אָמַר אֵלִי „auch sprach er zu mir”. Vergleiche auch *hinnē kī* Ps. cxxviii 4, mit einfachem *hinnē* identisch (2. 3) הִנֵּה כִּי-כֵן יִבְרַךְ גִּבּוֹר „siehe, also ist der Mann gesegnet”.

kī als Verbindungsglied ist ziemlich häufig in Fragesätzen ⁷⁾, wie *hālō kī* ⁸⁾ 1 Sam. x 1 הֲלֹא כִי-מִשְׁחָךְ הָ „hat dich nicht gesalbt der Ewige = siehe, der Ewige hat dich gesalbt”. Insbesondere *hālō kī*, sowohl wenn die Antwort unbekannt ist (2 Sam. ix 1 הֲכִי יֵשׁ-עוֹד אֲשֶׁר נֹתֵר לְבֵית שְׁאוּל

287. Anders BROCKELMANN, op. cit. II 606; idem, *Hebräische Syntax*, Neukirchen 1956, S. 152.

¹⁾ Vergleiche 3.1 *gam hinnē*.

²⁾ Es scheint mir, dass wir *ʾaf kī* zur Bezeichnung des Schlusses a minori ad maius ähnlich zu erklären haben. Bloss in einem Fall, Hi. iv 19, hat *ʾaf* allein diese Funktion, in anderen Fällen, wie 2 Sam. iv 11, Prov. xxi 27, bezeichnet zwar *ʾaf* allein den Schluss a minori ad maius, es folgt jedoch auf ihn *kī*, das einen Temporalsatz eröffnet. Meistens jedoch, wie 1 Kön. viii 27, Prov. xi 31, wohl auch xix 7, bezeichnet das zusammengesetzte *ʾaf kī* diesen Schluss. Es scheint, dass ursprünglich auch in dieser Verwendung *ʾaf* mit dem Rest des Satzes durch *kī* verbunden war. Da jedoch in Schlüssen a minori ad maius auf *ʾaf* öfters temporale *kī*-Sätze folgten, hat in ihnen *ʾaf kī* die Oberhand gewonnen und das einfache *ʾaf* ohne folgendes *kī* fast gänzlich verdrängt.

³⁾ Anders BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss*, II, S. 60; idem, *Hebräische Syntax*, S. 152.

⁴⁾ Zu *lō* als psychologisches Prädikat vergleiche mittelhebräisches *lō šē . . . ʾellā*, arabisches *lan < lā ʾan*, ferner *ʾillā ʾan*, siehe BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss* II, S. 603, ferner mittelarabisches und neuarabisches *māan*; siehe weiter *hālō kī*.

⁵⁾ Vergleiche oben *ʾakē kī*. Blosses *ʾefes* „aber” findet sich meiner Meinung nach (im Gegensatz zu den Wörterbüchern) Num. xxii 35.

⁶⁾ Vergleiche S. 132, Anmerkung 2.

⁷⁾ Vergleiche oben *ʾaf kī* Gen. iii 1, *wākī* im Bibelhebräisch, siehe Jes. xxxvi 19, und im Mittelhebräisch, im Mittelarabisch *kaifa ʾan*.

⁸⁾ Vergleiche oben Anmerkung 4.

„ist noch einer da, der übrig geblieben vom Hause Schaul's?“) als auch wenn sie positiv ¹⁾ (Gen. xxvii 36 **הַכִּי קָרָא שְׁמוֹ יַעֲקֹב וַיַּעֲקֹבֵנִי** „hat man ihn nicht Jaakob [= Betrüger] genannt? Er hat mich auch schon zweimal betrogen“) oder negativ ist (Hi. vi 22 **הַכִּי-אִמַּרְתִּי הִבּוֹ לִי** „sagte ich denn, schenket mir?“).

Ebenso nach Präpositionalausdrücken: Ps. cxviii 10-12 **בְּשֵׁם ה' כִּי** „im Namen des Ewigen raffe ich sie weg“. Gen. xli 32 ²⁾ **וְעַל הַשְּׁנוֹת הַחִלּוֹם אֶל-פָּרַעְהַ פַּעַמִּים כִּי-נִכּוֹן הַדְּבַר מֵעַם הָאֱלֹהִים וּמִמָּהָר הָאֱלֹהִים** „und wegen der Wiederholung des Traumes an Pharaoh zweimal ist die Sache festbeschlossen von Gott und wird eilen sie zu vollführen“.

3. 5. Seltener als *kē* dient ^a*šer* als Verbindungsglied zwischen dem Adverb und dem Rest des Satzes, wie überhaupt ^a*šer* seltener Substantivsätze einleitet: Sach. viii 20 **עַד אֲשֶׁר יָבֹאוּ עַמִּים** „wiederum werden Völker kommen“. Demnach wahrscheinlich auch ³⁾ Gen. xlv 6, siehe oben 2. 2. Deut. I 31 **וּבַמִּדְבָּר אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתָ** „und in der Wüste hast du gesehen“. Sach. viii 23 **בְּיָמֵינוּ הַהֵם אֲשֶׁר יִחְזִיקוּ** „in jenen Tagen werden anfassen. Ps. x 6 **לִדְרֹךְ אֲשֶׁר לֹא-בָרַעַ** „ewig werde ich nicht ins Unglück kommen“. So fasse ich auch Gen. vi 4 auf **הַנּוֹפְלִים הָיוּ בְּאֶרֶץ** „die Riesen waren auf Erden in jenen Tagen; und auch nachher [psychologisches Prädikat vgl. Verse 2] kamen die Gottessöhne zu den Menschtöchtern“. Vielleicht auch ⁴⁾ 2 Sam. xiv 15 **וַעֲתָה אֲשֶׁר-בִּאתִּי לְדַבֵּר**

¹⁾ Vielleicht war *h^akē* besonders häufig, wenn die erwartete Antwort positiv war (im Gegensatz zu *w^akē*, siehe S. 135, Anm. 7) und hat daher die Bedeutung „fürwahr, gewiss“ erhalten. So haben die alten Übersetzungen (Septuaginta, Onkelos, Targum Jeruschalmi, Peschitta, Vulgata) Gen. xxvii 36 aufgefasst und so ist wohl 2 Sam. xxiii 19 *h^akē nikkād* „fürwahr geehrt“ aufzufassen (1 Chron. xi 25 hat wohl diesen, in seiner Zeit nicht mehr geläufigen Ausdruck durch *hinnē* ersetzt, aber nicht so gelesen). — Wohl nicht hierher gehört Gen. xxix 15, **הַכִּי-אָחִי, אַתָּה וְעַבְדְּתָנִי חָנֵם**, das wohl mit Septuaginta, Onkelos, Targum Jeruschalmi und Vulgata als „weil du mein Bruder bist, sollst du mir umsonst dienen?“ aufzufassen ist (jedoch mag *h^akē* auch hier „fürwahr“ bedeuten: fürwahr du bist mein Bruder, und [deshalb] sollst du mir umsonst dienen?“; vergleiche Peschitta). Diese Auffassung ist auch Gen. xxvii 36 möglich.

²⁾ Anders BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss II*, S. 606; idem, *Hebräische Syntax*, S. 151. — In diesem Falle wäre auch eine Kontamination möglich zwischen *hiššānōth hab^alōm* ... *kē nākōn haddābār* „die Wiederholung des Traumes [hat stattgefunden] ... weil die Sache festbeschlossen ist“ und *w^aal hiššānōth hab^alōm* ... *nākōn haddābār* „und wegen der Wiederholung des Traumes ... ist die Sache festbeschlossen“.

³⁾ Zu einer anderen, weniger wahrscheinlichen Auffassung vergleiche S. 134, Anmerkung 1.

⁴⁾ Vergleiche *‘atta hinnē* 3.1. In manchen Manuskripten fehlt ^a*šer*. — Es ist weniger wahrscheinlich, dass der ^a*šer*-Satz hier Subjekt, der *kē*-Satz Prädikat ist.

אל-המלך אדני את-הדבר הזה כי יראני העם „und ich bin jetzt gekommen zu dem Könige meinem Herrn diese Worte zu reden, weil das Volk mich schreckte“.

3. 6. Selten erscheint in dieser Funktion ש , wie es überhaupt im Bibelhebräisch verhältnismässig selten ist. Das einzige Beispiel, das ich notiert habe, ist Cant. iii 4, siehe oben 2. 3.

4. Wir sahen also, das der Satztypus, der mit einem Adverb beginnt, das durch Präsentativ/Konjunktion mit dem Rest des Satzes verbunden ist, historisch aus dem Bestreben zu erklären ist, den Widerspruch zwischen psychologischer und grammatischer Gliederung zu beseitigen (2. 1). Das Adverb ist psychologisch Subjekt (2. 1), manchmal auch Prädikat (2. 2) und dadurch, dass es ausserhalb des Gesamtsatzes gestellt und mit ihm durch Präsentativ/Konjunktion verbunden wird, wird ihm auch die grammatische Form des Subjekts/Prädikats verliehen. Im Verlaufe der Sprachgeschichte mag diese Konstruktionsform erstarren, das Adverb verbindet sich mit dem nachfolgenden Präsentativ/Konjunktion zu einem neuen Adverb, das in Bedeutung und Funktion nicht mehr vom gewöhnlichen Adverb verschieden ist (2. 3).

THE ORIGIN OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

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The more the authorship of the Book of Isaiah has been investigated, the more complicated has the question appeared. Thus, when it was argued only that chs. xl-lxvi belonged to a period much later than the time of Isaiah, it seemed reasonable to attribute the book to two authors, Isaiah himself and an anonymous prophet referred to for convenience as Deutero-Isaiah. It was tempting at this stage to suppose that the work of the latter was attached to that of the former quite accidentally, perhaps as a copyist's economy. That the problem was deeper became apparent as chs. lvi-lxvi were increasingly recognised to have an origin distinct from that of xl-lv. Indeed, chs. lvi-lxvi in themselves presented a difficult problem; if one author stood behind them, it had to be admitted that his work must have undergone considerable revision and interpolation, and it was easier to understand this section as a collection of prophecies of diverse origin. Meanwhile the complexity of chs. i-xxxix was becoming more and more apparent; several large sections, such as xiii-xiv 23, xxiv-xxvii and xxxiv-xxxv, were now deemed later than Isaiah and perhaps included the latest sections of the entire book. Not only were there such well-defined blocks of later material in chs. i-xxxix; more and more late pieces were found to have been interspersed with fragments of genuine Isaianic authorship, until there remained very few long passages of unchallenged authenticity. With regard to chs. xl-lv less difficulty was felt; here at least, it seemed, was the continuous composition of a single author, who, under the name of Deutero-Isaiah, was envisaged in character and circumstances with some confidence. But even here there were many problems concealed. It was ominous that doubts were raised as to whether this author really lived in Babylonia or even whether he lived as early as the 6th. century ¹).

¹) E.g. he is located in Palestine and dated c. 400 B.C. by C. C. TORREY, *The Second Isaiah* (Edinburgh 1928), followed by U. E. SIMON, *A Theology of Salvation* (London 1953).

Some distinction seemed necessary between chs. xl-xlvi on the one hand and chs. xlix-lv on the other, the latter chapters lacking the clear historical allusions of the former. It was, moreover, curious that some passages in the supposed work of this author were related far more closely to prophecies outside it, such as xxxv, lx, lxii, than to some of their actual companions within it¹). More serious still was the fact that within the short compass of this supposed work lay the four most debated passages of the Old Testament, the Servant Songs²); what certainty could there be that these distinctive passages were not by another hand? And while many scholars supposed another author for these songs, others again felt that the four songs themselves could not be of a single authorship, for while the Servant speaks to us himself in the second and third songs, yet in the fourth other voices tell us of his death and subsequent vindication. In short, it became clear that there was no part of the Book of Isaiah where the acute problem of complexity of authorship could be avoided.

In these circumstances it seemed that the entire book was best described as an anthology of the work of many writers. But there can have been few anthologies so difficult to use; for here, it would seem, are fragments drawn from six or seven centuries, often seriously modified and divorced from the historical context necessary to make them intelligible, the whole being mingled and merged with scarcely any reliable indication to guide the reader. In spite of all the achievements of modern criticism in elucidating many difficulties in the text, yet in the end to read the book with profit has seemed a harder task than ever. Of course, if the book really is a confusing amalgam of greater or smaller fragments from many sources, then the fact has to be accepted. But there are grounds for thinking that there is much more to be said about the book's composition than this. There exists in fact between the various parts of the book a striking affinity which reaches across the main divisions which have generally been suggested. Furthermore, it frequently happens

¹) Among passages in xl-lv sometimes distinguished from the work of Deutero-Isaiah is xlviii 1-8; cp. the discussion in A. BENTZEN, *Jesaja* (Copenhagen 1944) ad loc. J. BEGRICH, in his *Studien zu Deuterojesaja* (Stuttgart 1938), puts aside as unauthentic, corrupt or otherwise obscure xlii 18-25, xliii 14-15, xlv 9-20, xlv 8, xlviii 16, 22, l 10-11, li 4-5, lii 3-6. K. ELLIGER, in his *Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaja* (Stuttgart 1933), finds the hand of Trito-Isaiah in xlvii, xlviii 17-19, xlix 22-26, l 1-3, lii 13-14, liii 12, liv, lv, and to a lesser extent in many other passages.

²) Basically xlii 1-4, xlix 1-6, l 4-9, lii 13-14. But, significantly, the exact limits are often disputed.

that while a passage from one point of view must be distinguished from its context, yet from another point of view it must be considered very carefully in relation to that same context. This difficult but important phenomenon is well illustrated by the problem of the four Servant Songs; sound reasons have often been adduced as to why these must be distinguished from the chapters in which they are embedded ¹⁾, but it has also been argued with much justice that the context of these passages must be very seriously reckoned with in any adequate interpretation ²⁾, and many ingenious theories have been evoked to explain this subtle relationship. It is these persistent signs of affinity and coherence which have enabled a stout defence of the book's unity to be maintained in conservative circles ³⁾. This defence has had the merit of keeping in view the fact that there is remarkable evidence of unity in the book which requires explanation as much as does the evidence for diversity of authorship, but it has generally failed to take sufficient account of the evident complexity of the material. The fact is that both the advocates of the "many Isaiahs" and the defenders of the book's unity have been arguing from genuine evidence in support of their respective cases. What is needed is an approach which will do equal justice to both sides of the question, accounting both for such unity and for such complexity as the book may possess.

Such an approach is surely now offered by recent progress in the understanding of the conditions and methods of prophetic tradition. In numerous studies, to which Scandinavian scholars have made so notable a contribution, new light has been shed on the continuing

¹⁾ Beginning with B. DUHM, *Das Buch Jesaia* (Göttingen 1892).

²⁾ E.g. by S. SMITH, *Isaiah chs. x-lv: Literary Criticism and History* (London 1944), R. J. TOURNAY, "Les chants du Serviteur dans la seconde partie d'Isaïe" in *RB* vol. 59, 1952, pp. 355-384, 481-512, J. LINDBLOM, *The Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah* (Lund 1951), P. A. H. DE BOER, *Second Isaiah's Message* (Leiden 1956), L. RIGNELL, *A Study of Isaiah chs. 40-50* (Lund 1956).

³⁾ Cp. e.g. the valuable commentary of E. J. KISSANE (Dublin 1941-3). A recent survey of Roman Catholic opinion is given by P. S. GOZZO, "De Catholicorum sententia circa authenticatem Is. xl-lvi inde ab anno 1908" in *Antonianum* vol. 32, 1957, pp. 369-410, a reference I owe to the kindness of Mr. H. B. EVANS of the University Library, Birmingham. For Gozzo himself the book is substantially from Isaiah, but was edited, interpreted and supplemented by a disciple during the 7th cent. B.C. This process was completed some 30 years before the Exile, though minor elements may have entered the work during the 6th or 5th cents. Among Protestants, conservative views are advanced e.g. by E. J. YOUNG, "The study of Isaiah since the time of Joseph Addison Alexander", in the *Westminster Theological Journal*, vol. ix, pp. 1-30, vol. x, pp. 23-56, 139-167.

importance of the prophetic societies, on the connection between prophecy and the cult, and on the importance of oral tradition. A brief exposition of the insights thus gained will now be attempted, in so far as these may prove relevant to the origin of the Book of Isaiah, and it will then be suggested that these provide us with the basic solution to the problem under discussion, though many details must remain obscure.

With regard to the continuing importance of the prophetic societies, it has become clear that there was no simple evolution from the corporate to the individual exercise of prophecy as though from the lower to the higher form. The organisations of prophets were as important in later as in earlier periods¹). The canonical prophets may not all have shared precisely the same status and each case may need separate consideration; but it has at least become clear that none of them should be dissociated from the corporate institutions of traditional Israelite prophecy without strong evidence for such a step. Such societies were normally linked in one way or another with the nation's cultic life, as was entirely natural. In this regard, special developments may well have taken place at Jerusalem, where, from David onwards, some degree of fusion was effected between the traditions of the ancient royal Jebusite sanctuary and those of the Israelite tribes. Jerusalem became the centre of the greatest organisation of cultic personnel known in Israel; this was surely very complex and we cannot now be certain of many details concerning the number of classes of personnel and their relation to one another and to the central functions of the cultus. It seems that the dividing lines between the classes were not always absolute, and this consideration invites us to recognise the close relationship existing already in pre-exilic times between the circles which lie behind the Psalms on the one hand and the prophetic books on the other.

A prophetic society was a disciplined community which lived together under a head who was characteristically termed Father or Master²). It was natural to the Israelite way of thinking to understand such a group as a true family, and therefore a unity in a very complete sense³). Terms like "father", "brother" and "sons of the

¹) This is shown by A. R. JOHNSON, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff 1944).

²) 2 Kgs. ii 3, 12, 15-18, iv 1, 12, vi 1 f., 21, viii 9, ix 1.

³) Cp. J. PEDERSEN, *Israel: Its Life and Culture* (Copenhagen 1926) I-II, p. 48 f.

prophets" were therefore never *mere* metaphors within such a community, and the position of the "father", as in a natural Israelite family, was bound to be one of peculiar honour and importance; in him centred the life and will of his "family" ¹⁾. In Israelite thought, a great father remained the centre and soul of his family even after his death and might continue to be spoken of as identical with his family ²⁾. Such an understanding of fatherhood was certainly not restricted to physical kindred only, and these ways of thinking will have affected the conception of the father-founder of a closely-knit religious brotherhood. An outstanding prophetic Master might thus leave an impression upon the circle he formed about him, even to later generations, to a degree which we easily underestimate. To what extent prophecy was a hereditary calling in Israel is not certain, although the analogy of other professions ³⁾, including those of priests and scribes, suggests that heredity was at least one factor in the methods of recruitment. In any case, a prophetic society, by one method of recruitment or another will have been able to continue its organic life like a natural family through many generations, all of which could look to their original great founder as their Father who still overshadowed in honour their contemporary leader.

While these prophetic societies are in some respects comparable to those common to other ancient Semitic peoples ⁴⁾, they are also essentially related to the religious communities of later Judaism and of Christianity ⁵⁾. While their activities might sometimes appear somewhat uncongenial to us, the societies were nevertheless spiritual fellowships dedicated to a spiritual task. The brethren gathered about their Father to cultivate the traditional methods and lore of prophecy and, under his guidance, to share the supra-normal experience which they understood as being filled with the spirit of Yahweh ⁶⁾ or seized by His strong hand ⁷⁾. Where the peculiar influences of Yahwism prevailed over those from foreign sources, there was a tendency

¹⁾ Cp. PEDERSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 63 f.

²⁾ Cp. PEDERSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

³⁾ For such analogies cp. I. MENDELSON, "Guilds in Ancient Palestine", in the *Bulletin of the American Schools for Oriental Research*, vol. 80, 1940, pp. 17-21.

⁴⁾ So, perhaps too unreservedly, A. HALDAR, *Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites*, (Uppsala 1945).

⁵⁾ The relationship is still claimed by Christian monastic orders on Mount Carmel who understand their orders as deriving ultimately from the prophetic companies of Elijah and Elisha.

⁶⁾ 1 Sam. x 6, 10, Ez. ii 2, iii 24, xi 5, 2 Chr. xxiv 20 (cp. Ju. vi 34, 1 Chr. xii 18).

⁷⁾ 2 Kgs. iii 15, Is. viii 11, Ez. i 3, iii 14, 22, viii 1, xxxvii 1.

away from cruder aspects of corporate prophesying found elsewhere¹). Israelite prophecy became marked by emphasis on the sovereign will of God and the proper human response of self-effacing obedience. To "wait" before God becomes an idea of profound significance. It is the attitude of faith, humility and hope, the denial of the ego. It is the true spirit of prayer and hence the proper way to seek revelation. In such a spirit, rather than by the excitement of mass emotion, the prophetic disciples learnt under their Master's guidance and within the discipline of the society to open their ears to the word of God²).

Now such prophetic societies were well suited to be bearers of tradition. All tradition presupposes a continuing community, and if a culture is predominantly oral, the intimate group gathered about the teacher has a function of peculiar significance³). The extent to which Israelite culture was oral has admittedly been the subject of a debate which seems likely to continue for some time. The case for oral tradition seems particularly strong, however, with regard to the prophetic teaching. While the possibility that *nāḥḇ*⁴) originally meant "spokesman", "announcer", remains open⁴), it is

¹) The way in which 1 Kgs. xviii contrasts the behaviour of the prophets of Baal with Elijah's approach to Yahweh in prayer is instructive in this respect.

²) Cp. S. MOWINCKEL, "Oppkomsten av profetlitteraturen" pp. 84-86, in *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 43, 1942, pp. 65-111. The ideal of "waiting" is most prominent in Isaiah and the Psalms, one of the many indications that the circles responsible for these two books were closely related, doubtless through the proximity of both to the cult. The chief roots employed are *חכה*, *יחל* and *קוה*. For prayerful "waiting" as a means of obtaining a revelation cp. Is. 14-5, discussed below, p. 153, and the vivid narrative of Jer. xlii; cp. also Hab. ii 1 and perhaps Ez. iii 15. In the Psalms we hear of those who "wait" to receive Yahweh's word or counsel (pss. cvi 13, cxix 49, cxxx 5-6). In ps. lxix 7 (E.V. 6) "those who wait" are aligned in synonymous parallelism with "those who seek" Yahweh, cp. Lam. iii 25. Furthermore, "waiting" is sometimes said to be "heard", i.e. to receive an answer from God (e.g. ps. xl 2 (E.V. 1), and is closely associated with discipleship (*למד*) in ps. xxv 4-5, cp. verses 9 and 15. The "waiting" of Isaiah and his disciples in viii 17 is similar to that in Mic. vii 7, cp. Mic. v 6 of the Remnant; the similarity extends to Hab. ii 1-3 and even to Hos. xii 7. Such "waiting" is part of the ideal of the "poor in spirit", e.g. in ps. xxxvii 7, 9, 11, and appears in the figure whose patience in suffering issues in a work of salvation (Is. 1 5-6, liii 7, cp. pss. xxxviii 14-16 (E.V. 13-15), xxxix 8, 10 (E.V. 7, 9), xl 1-4). The ideal is beautifully expressed in pss. cxxiii and cxxxii and reappears in the Beatitudes. It assumes the special note of "endurance" in an apocalyptic context, e.g. Dan. xii 12; Mk. xiii 13, Jas. v 11, Rev. ii 10.

³) Cp. H. BIRKELAND, *Zum Hebräischen Traditionswesen* (Oslo 1938) p. 23.

⁴) L. KOEHLER, *Lexicon in veteris testamenti libros* (Leiden 1953) p. 588b.

clear in any case from many passages ¹⁾ that his essential function was to *hear* the word from God's mouth and to *speak* it again as he was directed. It was not therefore natural for him, when subject to inspiration, to think of immediate recourse to pen and paper. His faculty of memory, in any case more active than that of modern man, would be greatly stimulated by the awe with which he regarded the word revealed to him, for he understood it as an utterance from the very lips of God Himself, an extension of the power and will of God, holy and effective ²⁾. For a prophet to keep a considerable body of oracles in his memory would not then seem a difficult task, and this view is amply confirmed by the narrative of Jeremiah xxxvi, where the prophet has no difficulty in twice reciting to Baruch the numerous oracles revealed to him during the previous 23 years. This is not to deny that in some circumstances a prophet might have a use for writing, even if (as with Jeremiah) it meant recourse to a scribe. For example, a pregnant or enigmatic phrase placarded in public view might be an impressive witness to a prophetic word awaiting fulfilment ³⁾. Such inscriptions, as also the few longer texts that we hear of ⁴⁾, could provide in retrospect singular proof that Yahweh had acted in accordance with His announced intention. But such occasional use of writing as a medium of prophetic activity appears to have been secondary, and the spoken word and retentive heart remained the primary instruments as long as true prophecy flourished ⁵⁾.

In such circumstances the organised character of the prophetic movement offered rich possibilities for a great prophetic teacher who wished to ensure both the impact of his teaching on his contemporaries and the preservation of a tradition for the future. A great creative prophet like Isaiah would thus find it quite natural to gather around him within the traditional framework of the corporate prophetic life (and hence, no doubt, in close association with the Temple) a group of disciples, possibly including his own family, both for initiation into the prophetic life and for the furtherance of his own

¹⁾ E.g. Deut. xviii 18-22, Exod. iv 10-17 in conjunction with vii 1.

²⁾ Cp. PEDERSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

³⁾ Is. viii 1, xxx 7-8, Hab. ii 2-4.

⁴⁾ E.g. Jer. xxxvi, possibly Is. viii 16 discussed below, p. 147 f. The question is investigated by D. JONES, "The traditio of the oracles of Isaiah of Jerusalem" in *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1955, pp. 226-246.

⁵⁾ This is the conclusion of MOWINCKEL after a careful discussion of the relevant texts, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-79.

ministry. The members of such a group, as argued above, would be in a remarkable degree united with one another and with himself; they would be truly a body of which he was the head, and in the conditions of his time he would find in it the appropriate means of assuring for his teaching a wider influence and a longer preservation than he could hope to achieve himself as a solitary individual.

Would it then be over-bold to suppose that Isaiah did in fact follow such a course and that consequently the disciples whom he mentions in viii. 16 f. were not simply a number of nondescript followers, but rather constituted a definite society with the characteristics described above ¹⁾? And might it not then be further supposed that the Book of Isaiah represents essentially the final fixation of a stream of developing tradition borne by this society from the fountain-head, their founder Isaiah?

To begin with a negative argument, it may be said at once that there seems to be no substantial reason why this should not have been so. It is true that there is often a reluctance to associate Isaiah as closely with the phenomena of traditional Israelite prophecy as this approach would require. Encouraged by a misinterpretation of Isaiah's polemical utterances ²⁾, there is a tendency to envisage him in splendid isolation from the social and religious conditions of his age. In a laudable desire to make Isaiah comprehensible to our generation we may call him statesman, theologian, poet or preacher, but in fact there seems no good reason to doubt that tradition was correct in describing him as a *nābî* ³⁾. He was married to a *nēhî'ā* ⁴⁾, that is, as usage suggests, a woman who was a cultic prophetess in her own right ⁵⁾. He wore the coarse garment appropriate to his calling ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. MOWINCKEL, *Jesajadisiplene* (Oslo 1926) pp. 10-12.

²⁾ Is. i 10-17 is admittedly problematic; cf. the interpretations of two recent studies: L. G. RIGNELL, "Isaiah chapter one" in *Studia Theologica*, vol. XI, 1958, pp. 140-158, and R. HENTSCHEKE, *Die Stellung der vorexilischen Schriftpropheten zum Kultus* (Beihefte zur Z.A.T.W. 75) 1957, pp. 55-60.

³⁾ Is. xxxvii 2, xxxviii 1, xxxix 3 and cp. note 5. I. HYLANDER ("War Jesaja Nabi?" in *Le Monde Oriental*, vol. 25, 1931, pp. 53-66) argues that technically Isaiah was a *rô'eb*, a cultic oracle-seer of the old type, rather than a *nābî*, but the distinction can hardly be carried through in the present state of our knowledge of these classes.

⁴⁾ Is. viii 3.

⁵⁾ So N. K. GOTTWALD, "Immanuel as the prophet's son" in *Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 8, 1958, pp. 36-47, esp. p. 44, and HYLANDER *op. cit.*, p. 56. If however the term were here an honorific title, it would indicate how definitely Isaiah regarded himself as a *nābî*.

⁶⁾ Is. xx 2, cp. Zach. xiii 4, 2 Kgs. i 8, Mat. iii 4.

He would offer a mysterious portent in support of his predictions ¹⁾. He performs what is perhaps the most extraordinary of all the prophetic mimes, going naked for three years ²⁾. He understands the nature of his inspiration by the divine word in the way that was characteristic of his fellow prophets ³⁾. Like them also he knew the ecstatic experience of the divine compulsion and refers to it with a compression of language which reveals the familiar and traditional character of the notion ⁴⁾. Like them, he too might see a vision; the cultic setting of his great vision in ch. vi is clear enough, as is also its similarity to the vision of an earlier *nāḥîʔ*, Micaiah ben Imlah ⁵⁾. For all the fresh vigour of his oracles, they clearly follow in a long tradition as regards idiom, motif and form ⁶⁾. When he criticises prophets (for none of society's pillars escapes his condemnation) he does not question their functions but their failure to fulfil them ⁷⁾. Drunkenness and cupidity have led many of them astray ⁸⁾; but where the *rô'im* and the *hōz'im*, consultative prophetic classes grouped around the Temple, tell the people the hard truth from the Holy One of Israel in accordance with their proper function, Isaiah has no quarrel with them and indeed speaks with the sympathy of one who is their fellow ⁹⁾. While he follows prophetic custom in regarding the king as subject to the reproof of God's word ¹⁰⁾, he further appears to share the contemporary view that the king's office was of high significance: to curse the king is sacrilege ¹¹⁾ and the secession of Ephraim from the House of David was a disaster ¹²⁾. Finally and above all, there is the fact that Isaiah appears to have dwelt all his life in

¹⁾ Is. vii 11, xxxviii 7.

²⁾ Is. xx. To mitigate the stark statement of the text, it has often been suggested that "naked" here only means "without an overgarment" or alternatively "without an under-garment".

³⁾ E.g. Is. v 9, vii 10, viii 11, ix 7. xxi 3-4 could be added if the chapter were basically from Isaiah (cp. KISSANE *op. cit.*, ad loc.). If however it be referred to the 6th century, it would show how the experience of Yahweh's "strong hand" was as vivid then in the circle bearing the Isaianic tradition as it had been in earlier centuries.

⁴⁾ Is. viii 11; cp. BENTZEN *op. cit.*, ad loc.

⁵⁾ I. ENGNELL, *The call of Isaiah* (Uppsala 1949) p. 30.

⁶⁾ ENGNELL, *ibid.*

⁷⁾ Is. iii 2 f., ix 14, etc.

⁸⁾ Is. xxviii 7.

⁹⁾ Is. xxx 9 f.

¹⁰⁾ Is. vii 13.

¹¹⁾ Is. viii 21, cp. Ex. xxii 27 (E.V. 28), 2 Sam. xix 22 (E.V. 21), 1 Kgs. xxi 10. HENTSCHKE *op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹²⁾ HENTSCHKE *ibid.*

body and spirit in and about the great centre of Israel's cultus, the Temple on Mount Zion, which had for him much the same exalted significance as it had in Zion's great annual cultic observance, the Autumnal or New Year Festival ¹⁾. All in all, then, there is no cause to isolate Isaiah from the religious forms and institutions of his time, in spite of his severe criticism of the attitudes and behaviour of all sections of contemporary society, and there is every encouragement to consider further the suggestion that his disciples constituted a prophetic society linked to the cult and that his book is the product of their tradition.

At this point it will be helpful to look again at Isaiah's own reference to his disciples to discover whether it offers any more positive encouragement to this theory. It may be incidentally observed that all four occurrences of the word *limmûd* in the sense of "disciple" ²⁾ are to be found in the Book of Isaiah ³⁾ and it is probable that none of these references is without significance for the present discussion. We are now concerned, however, with the fundamental passage, viii 16 f., which may be translated as follows ⁴⁾:

"(16) (I will) tie up the testimony (and) seal the teaching in (?) my disciples. (17) And I will wait for Yahweh who hideth his face from the House of Jacob, and I will look for him. (18) Behold, I and the children whom Yahweh hath given to me are for signs and portents in Israel from Yahweh of Hosts who dwelleth in Mount Zion. (19) And when they say to you, "Consult the ghosts and familiar spirits that chirp and mutter, (for) ⁵⁾ should not a people consult its spirits ⁶⁾ (and) on behalf of the living (consult) the dead?" (then) to the teaching and to the testimony! Doubtless they will speak according to this word for which there is no dawn."

We are not told here about the *formation* of this group of *limmûdîm* around Isaiah; that the fact of its existence can be thus taken for granted suggests at once that the phenomenon was in accordance

¹⁾ Cp. e.g. Is. v 15-17, viii 17, x 12 f., xiv 32, xxxvii. Cp. also below, p. 152 n. 1 and p. 154 n. 3 and 7.

²⁾ As analysed by BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, *Hebrew Lexicon* (Oxford 1906).

³⁾ Is. viii 16, i 4, 4, liv 13.

⁴⁾ This translation follows that of G. B. GRAY (*Isaiah i-xxxvii*, I.C.C., Edinburgh 1912) as far as he gives one, i.e. for verses 16-18.

⁵⁾ On the various ways in which the following words can be construed (none of them entirely satisfactory) see GRAY *op. cit.*, ad loc. The problem appears to be insoluble, but is not directly relevant to the present discussion.

⁶⁾ אלהים as in 1 Sam. xxviii 13 where it refers to the phantom of Samuel.

with established practice. What we are told is that disciples and Master were invested with a special function as bearers and witnesses of Yahweh's revelations. Isaiah's own sons by the prophetess were doubtless destined to grow up within this group since they had borne a prophetic significance from birth as living signs appointed by Yahweh ¹⁾. Isaiah could in any case naturally refer to the whole intimate circle of his disciples as his *yēlādīm*, children ²⁾, just as Jesus in the intimacy of the Upper Room calls his disciples now *τεκνία*, now *μαθηταί* ³⁾. That the group was externally akin to other associations of prophets around the cultic centre is indicated by viii 19 f. which assumes that they will be consulted and asked to obtain guidance by means of divination ⁴⁾. Moreover, it is the God who "dwells" in the great cultic centre who invests the society with its role ⁵⁾. In their inner spirit, however, the group is conscious of a special calling which must bring them into opposition with the trends of the times; such opposition, we feel, may well lead to persecution of the kind which was common in the reign of Manasseh ⁶⁾. For the time being, they are called to that prayerful "waiting" on Yahweh ⁷⁾ which, as suggested above ⁸⁾, became increasingly characteristic of those prophets closest to an understanding of Yahweh's nature. The group in itself is said to be of profound significance for Israel's destiny ⁹⁾ and was probably associated in Isaiah's thought with the concept of the Remnant ¹⁰⁾: when the day of fulfilment comes, their steadfast and patient witness throughout the time of darkness will provide a starting point for God's new creative work among His people.

If this important passage has not been badly misrepresented, it appears to lend positive support to the suggestion that Isaiah's

¹⁾ Is. vii 3, viii 3, and some would include vii 14 (Immanuel), e.g. GOTTWALD *op. cit.*, 1 Sam. iii portrays a child destined to be a priest-prophet growing up at the sanctuary.

²⁾ Is. viii 18.

³⁾ John xiii 33, 35.

⁴⁾ Consultation of the prophets was customary, but the particular demand for necromancy anticipated here was contrary to Israelite law and a sign of increasing foreign influences during the reign of Ahaz.

⁵⁾ Is. viii 18.

⁶⁾ Cp. 2 Kgs. xxi 10, 16. The Jewish tradition that Isaiah perished at the hands of Manasseh's torturers is perhaps not unfounded.

⁷⁾ Is. viii 17.

⁸⁾ P. 143, note 2.

⁹⁾ Is. viii 18.

¹⁰⁾ Cp. GRAY *op. cit.*, p. 155; MOWINCKEL, *Jesajadisiplene* (Oslo 1926), p. 11.

disciples constituted a prophetic association located at the cultic centre and outwardly similar to those which were familiar there. For the remainder of this discussion, therefore, this interpretation of the character of the disciples will be assumed and the Book of Isaiah will be considered as the product of their work of tradition; whether such an assumption is more than merely possible may then be judged in retrospect.

Now the main fact which the passage discloses about the disciples is that they were called to a special task of guarding and witnessing to Yahweh's revelations vouchsafed in the first place to Isaiah. This function *may* have included guardianship of a document containing Isaiah's oracles from that period, perhaps in condensed form, which in the time of fulfilment would furnish striking proof that Yahweh had announced a purpose in advance and then performed it ¹⁾. But if this were so, it would be complementary to a process of oral inculcation, for the emphasis of the passage is on the members of the society themselves,—as bearers of the revelations, they themselves are become signs and wonders in Israel, and this consideration supports the many commentators who have understood *ḥelimmūday* as at least including the sense "in the hearts of my disciples" ²⁾. It is noteworthy that this important passage relates to a time relatively early in Isaiah's ministry, the commentators being generally agreed that it is associated with the events narrated in ch. vii, i.e. c. 734-2 B.C. Isaiah was to continue his work as a *nāḥi* for more than thirty years after these events with undiminished vigour, being as prominent as ever during the Assyrian campaigns against Ashdod c. 711 B.C. and against Jerusalem c. 701 B.C. Throughout this long and productive period, Isaiah had much to add to the tradition of his oracles preserved within his society, and careful arrangement of the various units of tradition will have been necessary. The basic element would be, as with all prophetic material, the relatively short spoken message relating to a particular situation, like those gathered for example in ch. i, and next in importance to this was the terse narrative of prophetic experience or solemn action, of the type found in chs. vi, vii and xx. Both sayings and narratives of this type were understood as expressions and vehicles of God's will, and having thus a potent and

¹⁾ So JONES *op. cit.*

²⁾ GRAY (*op. cit.*, ad loc.) thinks this interpretation the least open to objection and cps. Jer. xxxi 33 and 2 Cor. iii 2. Further comparison might be made with Is. li 7, pss. xxxvii 31, xl 9 (E.V. 8), cxix 11, Prov. iii 3 etc.

sacred character, would become deeply inscribed on the hearts of Isaiah and his disciples. Units of material possessing such importance called for careful arrangement not only to assist the work of memorising but also to bring out the significance of the individual piece by placing it skilfully in relation to others. It may well be that the sacred liturgies of the Jerusalem cultus would offer patterns which could serve as analogies for such arrangement. In any case, the development of complexes from the original isolated units was clearly a work to be pursued with reverent and intelligent care, and it is probable that Isaiah himself was much concerned with it, and that consequently some of the complexes which can be described in the present book may well owe their arrangement in great measure to him. These might be sought particularly in chs. i-xii and xxxviii-xxxiii, where it has been customary to find the greatest proportion of material from Isaiah himself ¹). Since he himself saw the approach and completion of three dire calamities upon his countrymen ²) and at least one period of repentance and reform ³), it will not be surprising if quite different situations are presupposed in authentic oracles which he later associated together. There is thus no easy rule by which we can relegate oracles reflecting a change in view-point or even a new interpretation of older prophecy to a period later than Isaiah ⁴).

In the period following Isaiah's death, i.e. broadly speaking throughout the 7th. century, a further stratum of material appears to

¹) A detailed analysis of the book is not attempted here, but reference may be made to the interesting analyses on lines similar to those here advocated, by BIRKELAND *op. cit.*, pp. 26-41, and MOWINCKEL, "Komposisjon av Jesajaboken kap. 1-39" in *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 44, 1943, pp. 159-171.

²) a) The terrifying invasion of Judah by Rezin and Pekah, c. 734 B.C., and its sequel in the overwhelming Assyrian assault on the Northern Kingdom which swallowed up all but the city of Samaria and its immediate environment, these being put into strict vassalage. b) The reduction and depopulation of Samaria c. 721 B.C. c) The devastation and depopulation of Judah by Sennacherib c. 701 B.C.

³) 2 Kgs. xviii 1-8; Hezekiah's reforms are most plausibly dated c. 720 when the fate of Samaria will have provided an incentive.

⁴) It seems likely that many passages hitherto regarded as post-Isaianic will have to be reconsidered. Cp. the changes that have occurred in the dating of many psalms. Considerations advanced by I. ENGNELL in his "Profetia och Tradition" (*Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*, 1947) have particular relevance to Isaiah. He stresses that "messianism" is not secondary in the prophets but the original central line; a prophet can be a "messianist" and at the same time a severe critic of the contemporary king; the scheme "woe-salvation" by which the oracles are arranged is likewise not secondary but stems from the prophetic Master.

have been developed in the tradition, as the society continued to exercise its proper function. This stratum, the bulk of which appears to be contained in chs. xiii-xxiii and xxiv-xxvii ¹⁾, consisted chiefly of looser material inherited from Isaiah which lent itself to a more extended process of development. This process was chiefly a matter of arrangement, interpretation or re-application of the inherited material, but since the members of the society themselves cultivated the gift of prophecy, elements of this material will at times have been supplemented by new oracles. In such cases there would normally be no need felt to distinguish such contributions by record of the name of the prophet responsible; for one thing it was vividly felt that the author of all the words was Yahweh, and for another there was the strong solidarity felt both between the present members of the society and between them and their great founder. Exceptions would occur in special circumstances and particularly where a disciple matured as worthy to found his own tradition under his own name; it may well be that some of our other prophetic books bearing close relationship to the Book of Isaiah, such as Micah or Zephaniah ²⁾, result from such cases.

The distinction between the two strata of tradition which have been mentioned is not absolute; the essential difference is in the proportion of the contribution from Isaiah on the one hand and the disciples on the other, the second type of material revealing a significant increase in the contribution of the disciples. Both strata will have remained fluid enough to receive modification for a long time to come.

Yet a third stratum appears to have been developed in the tradition of the society at a more remote period, being represented essentially by material now found in chs. xxxiv, xxxv and xl-lxvi. Here the contribution of the descendants of the disciples preponderates to such an extent that critics have not always been willing to recognise an essential connection with Isaiah at all. Since the division of the book at ch. xl has become almost conventional, some considerations must be advanced at this point of the discussion to support

¹⁾ If the extremely late date often ascribed to xxiv-xxvii has any justification, it may be that the ancient elements undoubtedly contained in it were adapted rather more drastically than usual when given written form at a late date. KISSANE however (*op. cit.*, ad loc.) argues for an early date and interprets the "resurrection" passage (xxvi 19) of national restoration as in Ez. xxxvii.

²⁾ MOWINCKEL (*Jesajadisiplene*, Oslo, 1926) thinks of these as members of the Isaianic circle, and adds Nahum and Habakkuk.

the view that xl-lxvi can reasonably be regarded as a continuation of the work of the Isaianic society.

Outstanding in these chapters is the promise of deliverance from the Babylonian captivity which is expressed in ideas drawn from the pre-exilic New Year Festival, which itself had already united ancient and imposing Canaanite mythology with the vigorous traditions of the Exodus ¹). Thus Yahweh's triumphant return to His sanctuary now includes the return of the exiles ²), and in consequence a new stress is laid on His work as redeemer ³). The language flows more lyrically, but here too we detect the influence of the pre-exilic liturgies in which Yahweh's praise had been sung in hymns of remarkable eloquence ⁴). The exuberant description of paradisaical conditions also draws upon the hymns of the great festivals ⁵). The novelty of these chapters, then, should not be overstressed; what we have here is a brilliant re-application of tradition to a new situation. It is significant that the ideals of Zion's old worship have been so influential, for this would be natural if the oracles arose in a circle descended from the Isaianic society as it has been portrayed above. The history of criticism shows that neither the origin of chs. xl-lv nor that of lvi-lxvi can be adequately accounted for in terms of a single author ⁶). One voice may at times seem dominant, but soon others join in, more or less harmoniously, so that we must look to the special process of tradition within a prophetic group to account for the organic unity belonging to such complex material ⁷). This view is supported by the opening sentence of ch. xl, where a prophet seems to be commissioning his fellow-prophets with the tidings they are to bear in Yahweh's name ⁸). Later we have a specific reference to the members of such a group, the patient *lîmmûdîm*, prophetic disciples like those

¹) For the theology of this festival see A. R. JOHNSON, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel* (Cardiff 1955), esp. pp. 47-77, 124-126. The influence of the pre-exilic liturgies on these chapters of Isaiah is shown by MOWINCKEL, *He That Cometh* (Oxford 1956) pp. 138-154.

²) E.g. Is. lii 7-8.

³) E.g. Is. xli 14, 20, xliii 14-15, xlvii 4, xlviii 17, xlix 7, liv 8.

⁴) Among such psalms regarded as pre-exilic by JOHNSON (*op. cit.*) are Pss. xxiv, xxix, xlv, xlvii, xlviii, lxxxii, xciii, xcv, xcvi, xcvi, xcix, cxlix.

⁵) E.g. the rejoicing of Nature, Is. lv 12 and Ps. xcvi 7-8 (E.V. 8-9). See further S. MOWINCKEL, *Psalmstudien* II, (Christiana 1922) pp. 284 f.

⁶) Cp. above, pp. 138 f.

⁷) It is possible that שְׁמִיעָה (Is. liii 1; cp. xxviii 9, 19) is a term relating to such tradition, cp. the discussion in BENTZEN *op. cit.*, ad loc.

⁸) In this connection cp. also xxxv 3-4.

who gathered about Isaiah; morning by morning they wait till the Lord Yahweh stirs up His word, stirs it in their expectant ear, demanding of them unflinching, sacrificial obedience and teaching them to encourage the flagging zeal of their contemporaries ¹⁾). And as the original Isaianic group was perhaps understood in some sense as itself the Remnant of the nation, so now in the time of fulfilment their role is passed on again to the wider circle of the restored nation, all members of which are to be *limmūdīm* of Yahweh ²⁾). While Isaiah had charged his group especially with the task of faithful "waiting" as witnesses until the time of fulfilment, so now it seems clear that their descendants had not only inherited the task but were deeply impressed by the striking confirmation of prophecy already experienced ³⁾). Again and again it is declared that Yahweh alone can announce His purpose far in advance and then surely fulfil it, and His servants are called to witness to the marvel ⁴⁾). In this case too the role of Isaiah's disciples begins to devolve once more upon the wider circle of the nation, whose witness will lead to the conversion of the nations.

These considerations are reinforced by certain other aspects of the content and style of chs. xl-lxvi which reveal a special affinity between these chapters and chs. i-xxxix, and frequently point back to acknowledged emphases of Isaiah himself. The unique sovereignty and transcendence of Yahweh the Creator, so eloquently expounded in xlf., was also the central affirmation of Isaiah who expressed it more concisely but very forcefully in terms of the Holiness and Glory of Yahweh ⁵⁾). In this connection it may be observed that the persistence of the divine title "The Holy One of Israel" throughout the Book of Isaiah to an extent quite without parallel in the rest of the Old Testament is a striking indication of a solidarity existing between the various authors surely exceeding the relationship of literary dependence. In chs. xl-lxvi Israel are still sons and daughters of Yahweh ⁶⁾) with an almost incurable propensity to rebel against

¹⁾ Is. 1 4-7; cp. again xxxv 3-4.

²⁾ Is. liv 13.

³⁾ This point is well brought out by DOUGLAS, *op. cit.*

⁴⁾ Is. xl 8, xli 22-29, xlii 9, xliii 9-21, xlv 6-8, xlv 19-25, xlv 8-13, xlviii 1-8, 20, lv 10-13.

⁵⁾ Is. ii 17-22, v 15-16, vi 1-5, etc. There can be no doubt that these and related expressions, as Isaiah understood them, involved the absolute and unique transcendence of Yahweh.

⁶⁾ With Is. i 2 cp. xliii 6, xlv 10-11, lxiii 16, lxiv 7 (E.V. 8).

His authority ¹⁾ and a lamentable obtuseness ²⁾. Religion must still have its proper centre at Zion ³⁾, but cultic practice without whole-hearted obedience remains intolerable ⁴⁾. Idolatry, as an affront to Yahweh's Holiness, is still vehemently denounced ⁵⁾. Sinful Israel is again invited to a mutual conference or reckoning with Yahweh, a meeting at which her sins will be erased or burned away ⁶⁾. The final assertion of God's sovereignty against all opposition is still conceived in those ideas (originating in Zion's festival) which also lay at the heart of Isaiah's experience and teaching. In a great theophany at Zion, Yahweh's Glory blazes forth, shaming and consuming all that affronts His majesty, but giving light and salvation to those of every nation that wait upon Him in humility ⁷⁾. In the theology of the old festival, as Zion is the counterpart of Yahweh's heavenly throne, so Yahweh's Anointed, residing at Zion, represents the heavenly King in perfect obedience and maintains righteousness and peace ⁸⁾. This "messianic" ideal, which appears strikingly in chs. i-xxxix ⁹⁾, is still present (if less obviously) in chs. xl-lxvi ¹⁰⁾; that it

¹⁾ The book ends as it begins with warnings against the rebellious (פִּשְׁעוֹ), i 2, lxvi 24. Cp. also i 28, xliii 27, xlvi 8, liii 12; and (with סִרְרָר i 23, xxx 1, lxv 2.

²⁾ With Is. vi 9-10 cp. xlii 16-20, xliii 8.

³⁾ With Is. i 21-ii 4, iv 3-6, viii 18, xi 9, xiv 32, xxiv 23, xxv 6, 7, 10, xxvi 1-2, xxvii 13, xxviii 16, xxx 19, 29, xxxi 4, 5, 9, xxxiii 5, 20, xxxv 10 cp. xlv 14, xlix 13-26, li 3, lvi 1-8, lviii 13-14, lx, lxii, etc.

⁴⁾ With i 10-17 cp. xlviii 1, lviii 1-12, lxvi 3-4.

⁵⁾ With i 29, ii 8, x 10-11, xxvii 10-11, xxvii 9, xxx 22, xxxi 7 cp. xl 18-20, xlv 9-20, xlvi 3-8, lvii 6-13, lxv 1-7.

⁶⁾ With i 18, 25 (and indirectly, vi 7) cp. xliii 25-26, xlv 22, xlviii 10. xli 1 invites the nations to a "mutual reckoning".

⁷⁾ Cp. the passages cited above, note 3, also v 14-17, 24-25, x 12-23, lxiii 1-6, lxv 8-25, lxvi 5-24.

⁸⁾ Cp. S. MOWINCKEL, *He That Cometh* (Oxford 1956) pp. 21-95; A. R. JOHNSON *op. cit.*, pp. 1-27, 93 f. etc.

⁹⁾ Is. iv 2, vii 14, ix 1-7, xi 1-9, xxxii 1-2, xxxiii 17 xxxvi 35 xxxviii 5 and cp. above (p. 146 and notes 11, 12).

¹⁰⁾ lv 3-5, (also xl 10-11?); Cyrus is cast in the "messianic" role in xlv 1-8, cp. xlv 28 and the anonymous figure of xl 25 and xlvi 11. The figure in the four Servant Songs has had the royal ideology as at least one of its main sources (cp. I. ENGNELL, "The 'Ebed-Yahweh Songs and the Suffering Messiah in 'Deutero-Isaiah'." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. 31, 1948, pp. 54-98) and was understood messianically in some Jewish tradition, cp. the evidence assembled in KITTEL's *Theol. Wört. zum N.T.*, art. Παις Θεου. The closely related figure of ch. lxi is said to be "anointed" (lxi 1) a fact which increases the importance of the reading in DSI lii 14 מְשֻׁחָּי discussed by D. BARTHOLÉMY, "Le grand rouleau d'Isaïe trouvé près de la Mer Morte", *Revue Biblique*, vol. 57, 1950, pp. 530-547, esp. pp. 546-7, and by F. NÖTSCHER, "Entbehrliche Hapaxlegomena in Jeasia", *VT*, vol. 1, 1951, pp. 299-302, esp. p. 301. The theory of A. R. JOHNSON

should become less distinct and subject to a certain re-interpretation within the Isaianic circle would not be surprising in view of the fate of the Davidic house after 586 B.C.

In the light of the foregoing evidence, there is justification then for understanding chs. xl-lxvi as the work of the Isaianic society at a late stage in its history; even if circumstances had by this time modified its character in some respects, it was still evidently the genuine heir of the Isaianic tradition. The judgment of Jewish tradition that the sixty-six chapters belong together and derive from the prophet Isaiah would accordingly appear to be not without foundation, and it may be suspected that an interpretation of chs. xl-lxvi, or of some part of them, in isolation from the rest of the book is liable to be seriously defective.

Although definite information about the history of the Isaianic society is lacking, the Book of Isaiah, when understood in the manner here suggested, reveals something of the society's inner life throughout many vicissitudes. As remarked above ¹⁾, the members probably suffered acutely under Manasseh and perhaps again under Jehoiakim, whose disposition is shown by his execution of the prophet Uriah ²⁾ and his persecution of Jeremiah ³⁾. Such suffering, borne for the sake of fidelity to the divine calling and experienced both by individuals and by the fellowship as a whole, may have sown seeds of spiritual insight which matured in the bitter heat of the Exile as the figure of the Suffering Servant. The closeness of the original society to the cultic institutions at Jerusalem would explain why it was the liturgical role of the Davidic king as Suffering Representative of his people which in all probability formed the starting point for the development of this figure ⁴⁾, just as the festival liturgies also furnished ideas to depict the return from Exile ⁵⁾. The Exile probably had a very disruptive effect on the group, and their self-consciousness as a society will have been greatly weakened. It is possible that certain signs of duplication in the present book indicate that the work of

concerning the role of the king in the cultus of pre-exilic Jerusalem (*op. cit.*) inevitably prompts the question whether the royal aspect of the Isaianic Servant has yet been sufficiently recognised, and in this connection it may not be without significance that the fourth song (lii 13-liii 12) has been linked to an Enthronement Hymn, lii 7-12.

¹⁾ P. 148, note 6.

²⁾ Jer. xxvi 20-24.

³⁾ Jer. xxxvi 26.

⁴⁾ Cp. above, p. 154, note 10.

⁵⁾ Cp. above, p. 152, note 1.

tradition was carried on simultaneously in Jerusalem and Babylon for some years during or after the Exile ¹). The outstanding feature of the restored Jerusalem cultus in the early Persian period was its apathy, and when a revival came under Ezra and Nehemiah a climate was formed which was more favourable to scribal than to prophetic activity. Reliance on written texts, already much increased no doubt since the upheavals of the Exile, will have been increased yet further and the fixation of the tradition in written form will have hastened to its completion. In these conditions the Isaianic circle finally lost its identity and its traditions were inherited by the reformed Jewish community as a whole as the members themselves had foreseen. The original fellowship founded by Isaiah, however, had persisted long enough and definitely enough to ensure the preservation of a body of tradition which reflected their own peculiar solidarity.

If the interpretation of the character and work of Isaiah's disciples that has been assumed above be now considered in retrospect, it may perhaps be claimed that while the discussion has undoubtedly been inadequate to the scope of the subject, yet enough has been said to commend this approach as the right way to appreciate both the complexity and the organic unity of the book. With regard to its complexity, this approach allows that numerous units originating on different occasions have only subsequently been welded together and it sees a community rather than an individual as responsible for the book as a whole. With regard to the book's unity and coherence, however, it appreciates that the complexes were built up with careful purpose, the largely oral process allowing an organic growth, and further that the community in question was no ordinary one, but a remarkable spiritual entity of which in an important sense Isaiah was always the heart.

The origin of the Book of Isaiah will never be explained as fully as we should desire, but if the considerations advanced above have any force, a scientific basis exists for an approach which, while by no means ignoring the valuable analytical work already accomplished, will be able to relate the parts together and thus penetrate more deeply into the meaning of the book. Perhaps we may then come to

¹) In this connection BIRKELAND (*op. cit.*, pp. 19-22 and 30-32) points to the relation between Is. v 8-30 and ix 7-x 4 and suggests that when the complexes (by now reduced to writing) were being assembled, a number of obvious duplications were deleted.

see, as its ancient readers saw, how its themes rise up together to foretell the culmination of God's great design. Dominant and all-embracing will be seen the thought of the ancient and unfailing purpose of God and the consequent call to faithful witness. Outstanding too will be the expectation of the showing forth of the Holiness and Glory of God, involving a universal judgment of which the two necessary aspects are the overthrow of all that defies God's majesty and the re-establishment of the humble trusting ones as His holy people. In other thought-forms too will be seen the message of sin's overthrow,—no easy operation, but a terrible purging, a refining, an expiation. And if attention at times concentrates on a Remnant, a single foundation stone, a seed or a root, yet it will be seen to widen ever and again to the purpose of universal salvation. A similar movement of concentration and expansion will be found in that almost ubiquitous theme, the destiny of Zion. It is above all in Zion that communion is possible between God and man. On this particular hill Yahweh will manifest His Glory, here also will reign His viceroy of David's line, and here will dwell His holy people; but then it will be exalted as the centre of a perfect universal kingdom; from Zion will issue God's blessing to all men and through Zion will ascend the worship of all humanity. All these themes will be seen to be related and to gain from recognition of the fact, and something of all of them will be found in the supreme vision of the book, the Suffering Servant. For in this mysterious figure is the purpose and initiative of God, and the twin aspects of His judgment—punishment and peace; here is the bearer of the destinies of Israel and humanity—the Remnant, Representative and ideal Head of God's people; here is the perfect offering in patient humility which resolves the old tension between sacrifice and obedience and ensures the communion of God and man; and here, then, is the narrow point where God's purpose triumphs and whence radiates a universal blessing.

To study the Book of Isaiah as a whole should thus prove worthwhile. A just appreciation of the character and role of Isaiah's disciples, it has been suggested, renders such a study possible.

THE USE AND MEANING OF THE WORDS לְבָרֵךְ AND בִּרְאָאִי IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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I

The purpose of this study is to clarify the connections and the extent to which the verbal and nominal expressions for "benediction" are used in the OT and what shades of meaning they reveal. In other words, this is not a study of the OT *conception* of benediction, even if the fields of the two subjects largely coincide. The difference appears in the first place in the circumstance that we pay no attention to the question whether the linguistic usage is fully adequate an expression of the idea conceived in different periods, nor to the cognate or related ideas in neighbouring milieus. On the other hand, neither is this a study of the Semitic root *brk*, since attention is concentrated on the OT. Even the etymology of the words is discussed only in order to discover what shade of meaning is the primary one *in the OT*, and how other meanings eventually have developed from it. The study of the whole root *brk* would have demanded a similar study in the other Semitic languages in which this or cognate roots appear, which is beyond the present writer's interests and resources to-day, and the same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the study of the corresponding conception.

II

In accordance with the definition of the subject, we do not begin with the etymology of the words, since its treatment presupposes acquaintance with the different shades of meaning. Furthermore, a systematic investigation of all the OT data seems to give a good starting point for the treatment of the etymology also, since it is—at least in principle—free from all foreign influence. Therefore we must find another suitable starting point for our study.

If we look first at the statistics, we find that the number of pas-

passages¹⁾ in which these expressions appear is very unequally distributed. There are books in which their average occurrence is in almost every chapter, while in others they appear very rarely or not at all. The distribution is: Gn 45, Ex 7, Lv 2, Nm 8, Dt 37, Jos 7, Jd 6, 1 S 11, 2 S 12, 1 K 9, 2 K 4, Is 9, Jer 4, Ez 3, Joel 1, Hag 1, Zech 2, Mal 2, Ps 58, Job 9, Pr 13, Ruth 4, Ezr 1, Neh 4, 1 Ch 11, 2 Ch 7.

The great number in Genesis is largely due to the copious use of these words in the stories about Patriarchs, in which they are inextricably linked with the promise of offspring and the land of Canaan. The central position of these promises²⁾ considered, we may safely assume that they provide us with a scope sufficiently large to begin with.

The first of these promises is recorded in Gn xii 2 sq., and there we also find the root *brk*, probably in four different shades of meaning. The passage runs: "And I will³⁾ make thee a great nation and will bless thee, and I will make thy name great and thou shalt be blessing, and I will bless them that bless thee and I shall curse them that imprecate thee, and all the families of the earth shall be blessed in thee". In the first and third instance the character and contents of the blessing cannot be more exactly defined than the general context allows; it may mean prosperity in general. The fourth one seems to denote friendliness and respect as a contrast to the imprecation, the subject of the action being men. In the second instance it is impossible to decide whether the word is used in the sense of Zech viii 13 to mean that Abraham's name shall be used as a blessing (so LXX; the word *whyh* could be pointed as a consecutive perfect, too, in which case *šimkā* would be subject and this interpretation certain, but the Samaritans pronounce here an imperative also) or in the sense of Is xix 24 where Israel appears as a *source* of benediction between Egypt and Assyria. In the last instance the translation follows LXX, and there are reasons to suppose that this was the original sense of the word, to judge from the structure of the passage, which seems to be an example of the so-called "Steigerungsformel"⁴⁾:

¹⁾ As a passage we count a statement or story, where one and the same subject is dealt with, whether it be a part of a verse or a whole chapter.

²⁾ Cf. J. HOFSTIJZER, *Die Verheissungen an die Erzväter* (Leiden 1956) p. 17-27.

³⁾ The word "will" is employed to render a cohortative.

⁴⁾ Cf. also KAUTZSCH-SOCIN, *Genesis*², *ad loc.* and *ad* xxii 18; further JOHS. PEDERSEN, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, p. 73: "Wenn es heisst, dass Abraham ein Segen und Glück werden solle . . . bedeutet das soviel, dass er . . . es auch auf andere ausstrahlen soll (vgl. Jes 19₂₄)".

the weight of the contents increases toward the end. First, general blessing is promised to Abraham, then it leads Abraham to be an example and even an object of others' blessings, which again causes *YHWH* to bless even those that bless Abraham, from which it is only logical to conclude that in the end all the nations of the earth will receive benediction through Abraham. Moreover, it would be odd that the comparatively modest honour of being an example of other men's blessing would be underlined by mentioning it twice, and there would—in that case—be only a loose connection between the two last links of the chain. Grammatically both interpretations are possible. The character of the blessing is not defined more exactly.

A general blessing of a similar character is found in the passages Gn xviii 18, xxv 11, xxvii 4 sqq. (until v. 41), xxviii 14, xlix 28, Ex xx 24 (where obviously *māqom* must be read), Nm vi 23-27, xxii 6, xxii 12, xxiv 9, Dt xxiii 6 = Neh xiii 2, Dt xxvii 12, xxx 1, xxx 19, xxxiii 1, Jos viii 33 sq., Is xix 24 sq. (cf. above), Ps iii 9, cix 28, cxv 12 sq. 15, cxxxiii 3 (where *ḥayyim* is a gloss), cxxxiv 3. In Gn xvii 16 the case is somewhat unclear, since offspring, which in many other passages is meant as a blessing in itself, is strongly stressed, but as apart from blessing, the character of which is accordingly undetermined. The same may be the case in v. 20. Of this group, Gn xxvii 4 sqq. and Nm vi 23 sqq. are studied more closely, since they throw light upon the others.

In Gn xxvii we are told in what way Jacob succeeded in obtaining the benediction of his father, though it was intended for Esau. The exact definition of the extent of the benediction is given in v. 27 sqq. According to these words Isaac first wishes for his son from God good moisture and ground for pasture and cultivation, that the crop and vintage may be rich. Thereafter Jacob is invested with power over "peoples and nations", whatever they may mean (probably in the first place the older inhabitants of Canaan and its neighbours), and especially over his "brothers", i.e. Esau = the people of Edom. The blessing ends with the formula "cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee" which also prevents its withdrawal.

In the story features appear which at first sight appear to be very odd. One of them is in connection with our subject, viz. Isaac's words *gam bārūk yihyæḥ*. The LXX translate them καὶ εὐλογημένος εἴτω "and may he be blessed", and similarly Rabbis ¹⁾ understand them

¹⁾ Cf., e.g., Bereshith Rabbah lxvii 2-4.

as a "finger of God" which was vaguely revealed to Isaac, which was why he did not *wish* to withdraw the benediction. As a matter of fact, it may be clear from the context that he was not *able* to do it. Why? The final formula alone is not enough to achieve so much; it is only a definition—whence the power to enforce it? No wonder that in the blessing many have seen something magical. But this supposition does not seem necessary: a certain psychological understanding is sufficient.

For, to judge from the OT data, it seems to have been a general custom to give blessings at times of departure, especially when the death of the giver of the blessing was expected (cf. also Gn xlix, Dt xxxiii, 2 S xxiii a.e., and under V). In the beginning of this story (v. 2) Isaac also expressly states that he may die at any time. As the head of the family he is the centre of its soul ¹⁾ (N.B. it is the *soul* which is the subject of the blessing), and in the blessing the soul is translated to the heir, i.e., he is invested with all the authority of the giver of the blessing, in addition to which wishes are uttered that the blessed should grow greater than the giver of the blessing was (cf. 1 K i 47). For it did not depend on the power of the blessing only, but also on the abilities of the blessed, as to how far the blessing would be carried into effect. In the case of Jacob, Isaac was without doubt aware of his ability to hold what was promised to him, and the fact that he was so completely led astray by him, added to the—presumably—general attitude toward this, so-to-say, royal benediction in which God himself was called upon as the final authority, that it was unretractable—all this convinced him to establish without hesitation that he was unable to bring about any change. Had he tried to do so, he would have acted against his own—and apparently also Esau's conviction, cf. v. 36, and thus injured his own soul, i.e., his own soul would have been cursed ²⁾. It is probable that there were still other factors contributing to the same effect, about which we are no more aware (perhaps the personal and even corporeal contact between the two ³⁾); a hint in this direction is given by the fact that even a good meal was necessary as a preparation for the benediction. Has it, perhaps, something to do with the Oriental principle of hospitality?

¹⁾ Cf. A. MURTONEN, *The Living Soul* (Helsinki 1958), p. 34 sq., 71 sq.; J HEMPEL, *ZDMG* LXXIX, p. 49.

²⁾ Cf. PEDERSEN, *Israel I-II* (Copenhagen 1920), p. 341 sq.

³⁾ Cf. HEMPEL, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

The continuation of Jacob's story shows that the execution of the blessing really demanded his finest abilities—and this even though the same thing was already predicted by God himself before his birth (xxv 23). This seems to indicate that—like blessing, which also is a prediction in the sense that it states what is expected to happen in the future—even a divine oracle was not conceived of as being effected by itself, but presupposed active efforts on the part of those that had received it. In this light Jacob's reckless exploitation of Esau's—even if overstated—distress in xxv 29 sqq. as well as his and Rebekah's action in the case of the blessing can better be understood: they acted in order to carry the divine statement into effect. The *pia fraus* has not been practised by the Jesuits alone—far from it. A further parallel seems to be formed by oracular dreams ¹⁾.

The passage Nm vi 23 sqq. contains the well-known LORD's blessing. Its contents, although many-sided, differ strongly from those in the passage just studied. In the beginning there is an undetermined wish as in Gn xii 2, that the LORD may give his benediction to the blessed; the connection of this wish with the following ones is almost as weak and vague as in Gn xvii 16, but the statements before and after the blessing proper show that they are regarded as essential parts of the blessing. *šmr* may have the normal meaning "to guard, keep safe", while the two following mean favour and grace, the "lifting up of his face" perhaps a little more strongly = active love, and the whole is crowned by the wish of *šalom*, the perfect "peace" or condition where all things function in harmony and nothing is wanting ²⁾. With other words, in the nature of this blessing there is much which can be called "religious" even in the modern sense ³⁾ of this word; one need only compare e.g. the conception of *šalom* with the "peace of God" in the NT ⁴⁾.

There are still other passages the nature of which is similarly "generally blessing" or vague, but which have a more or less clear religious stress, viz. 1) Gn ii 3 and Ex xx 11, where the blessing of the Sabbath is discussed, 2) Ex xxxii 29, where the blessing which is to be given to the Levites apparently is connected with their (future) position in the sanctuary, 3) Dt xi 27 where listening to the commandments of YHWH is defined as the contents of, or in any case as closely attached

1) Cf. PEDERSEN, *Israel I-II*, p. 96 sqq.

2) Cf. HEMPEL, *op. cit.*, p. 51,, and PEDERSEN, *Israel I-II*, p. 210 sqq.

3) As defined in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*.

4) Cf. *The Interpreter's Bible*, ad Phil iv 7.

b, the blessing, and not as its condition ¹⁾, 4) 1 S ix 13, where it is the sacrifice which receives blessing. Considering that a meal follows, the action has some resemblance to a regular grace, but the fact that the meal is sacrificial and a prophet necessary to say the grace, proves that its nature must be more deeply religious. In the NT the feeding of the five thousand and the institution of the Holy Communion are comparable with this, even if their level is higher. 5) Is xlv 3, where only the context (mainly v. 5) suggests that the benediction has a religious nature.

As was stated above, all the examples mentioned of blessing have a more or less indefinite nature or are at least many-sided. We can accordingly regard them as one class, they being representatives of what might be called the general blessing. The subject, with the apparent exception of 1 S ix 13, is everywhere God, and even in the passage mentioned the prophet can obviously perform the action on account of the exceptional ability that he has received from God, the passage being accordingly analogous to those numerous others in which other men (Patriarchs, Moses, priests etc.) appear as human mediators of the blessing which emanates from God.

III

In Gn xvii 16.20 we found the significance of offspring in the benediction especially stressed. In Gn xxii 17 the stress is quite obvious, both by the wording of the verse and by the following one. It seems that the offspring is here regarded as the blessing in itself, though the formal connection is so loose that this cannot be proved. The same is the case in Gn xxvi 24, where the two consecutive perfects are co-ordinated. In Dt vii 14, however, the thing is practically certain: the statement that no sterile persons will exist in Israel is naturally intended to explain the respect in which the people will be blessed over all other peoples. Jos xvii 14 presents even a formal connection, though the wording of the passage is slightly corrupted (read '*al*' instead of '*ad* 1°'): "... I am a great people, *since* YHWH has blessed me..." Similar identification of the offspring with the blessing as a matter of fact or also formally is further met in 1 S ii 20, Is li 2, Ps cvii 38, Pr v 18, and 1 Ch xxvi 4 sq., in which the fre-

¹⁾ The equation of '*šer*' in this passage with '*im*' in the following has no real parallels. Lv iv 22, Jos iv 21 the temporal element is obvious. "Weltgeschichte" ist "Weltgericht".

quently mentioned blessing of Obed-Edom is expressly defined: "And Obed-Edom had sons: . . . Peulthai the eighth, for God blessed him".

In the promises to the Fathers the land of Canaan played a still more important role than the offspring, at least in later periods ¹⁾ It is therefore quite natural that we find blessings which consist of the promise of the land or where the land is otherwise in close connection with it. So Gn xxvi 3: "... and I shall be with thee and bless thee, for to thee and to thy seed I shall give all these countries . . ." Further Gn xxviii 3sq., in which the "blessing of Abraham" ²⁾ is said to consist of the heritage of the land of his sojourn, and Ps xxxvii 22. In Jer xxxi 23 the country is the object of blessing, but the people also play an important role in the matter, since the blessing is connected with the reversal of the people's lot.

The fact that in the last-mentioned passage the country is the object of blessing leads to another group, which consists of only two passages, viz. Jos xv 19 = Jd i 15, and Ps lxxxiv 7. The latter runs: "When crossing the valley of scanty moisture they will make it a spring, and even blessings which early rains give" ³⁾. This translation makes good sense, and the same idea is still more exactly defined in the former passage, where the wells as such are called benediction. The word for pool, *berekāh*, may be recalled in this connection.

The blessings of rains and wells make ground fruitful, and so it is in no way surprising that the conception of blessing also includes both the direct and indirect yield of the ground, e.g. Gn xxvi 12: "... in that year he received hundred-fold: so YHWH blessed him" ⁴⁾. Lv xxv 21 promises three-fold yield in the sixth year as a consequence of the divine blessing, so that the ground can be left to lie fallow in the sabbatical year—which, by the way, is a two-edged sword, since the farmer can regard himself entitled to sow even in the sabbatical year, if the promised blessing fails to appear. The idea of a sabbatical year in itself is not at all as odd as it is sometimes regarded. In Finland, at least, it has been general custom largely until this century to leave the ground to lie fallow every third year—though not all the ground at the same time. In Dt xii 15 flesh appears

¹⁾ Cf. HOFTIJZER, *op. cit.*, p. 30, 82, a.e.

²⁾ I.e., Gn xii 2 sq.

³⁾ On *bākā* = "scanty moisture" and *ʿph* = "give" cf. Arabic.

⁴⁾ Cf. H. FREY, *ad loc.*

as the product of the blessing of YHWH, in xiv 24 apparently the yield of ground and flocks in general, and in xvi 15 "all the work of thine hands" is additionally included. Is lxv 8 calls the must which is found in the clusters *berākāh*; cf. further Ez xxxiv 26, Hag ii 19, Ps lxv 11, cxxxii 15, and 2 Ch xxxi 10. In Mal iii 10 rain seems to be identified with blessing, cf. Ps lxxxiv 7 cited above.

Property in general is described as the yield of YHWH's benediction in Dt xv 4; xv 14, where its righteous use is also prescribed, and similarly xvi 10.17; most expressly in Pr x 22: "The blessing of the LORD, it maketh rich". The longevity and permanence of a house blessed by YHWH is stressed in 2 S vii 29 = 1 Ch xvii 27, and Ps cxlvii 13.

The forms of blessing described above can be grouped together as one class under the heading of fertility and material prosperity. In addition to them there are still more passages belonging to this class. They are more general in character but, as opposed to those of the preceding class, can be recognized as "material" in the sense given above. They are: Gn xxiv 1 (cf. the following passage), xxiv 35 sq., xxvi 29 (apparently Isaac's good luck in finding water led Abimelech to this conclusion), xxx 27 = v. 30, xxxix 5, xlix 25 sq. (toward the end the text seems to be somewhat corrupted), which resembles strongly the passage xii 2 sq., cf. also xxvii 28 sq., but remains "material" in its nature; further Ex xxiii 25 sq., where health and "the full number of thy days (*sc.* of life)" are also included; Dt i 11, which in itself could belong to the preceding class, but in the light of the passages mentioned hereafter may have the same, more restricted meaning of functional prosperity: ii 7, vii 13, xii 7, xiv 29 (in which as in numerous others charity appears as a cause of YHWH's blessing), xv 6.10.18, xxiii 21, xxiv 19, xxvi 15 (in which the mentioning of the land may give an indication of the nature of the blessing), xxviii 2-8.12, xxx 16 (where the blessing is a consequence of fulfilling YHWH's commandments, laws and statutes, as also elsewhere), xxxiii 11.13.23 sqq. (in the three last instances strength and power seem to play a central role); Jd xii 24, 1 S xxvi 25 (Saul's words are the recognition of a fact and not a blessing proper), 2 S vi 11 sq. (Obad-Edom's benediction is not more exactly described here; the somes mentioned in 1 Ch xxvi 4 sq. can have formed only a part of it) = 1 Ch xiii 14, 1 K ii 45, Is lxi 9, lxxv 23, Jer xvii 7 sq., Ez xliiv 30, Ps v 13, xxi 4.7, xxviii 9, xxix 11 (cf. Nm vi 23 sqq. cited

above), xlv 3 ¹), lxvii 2.7 sq., cxii 2, cxxviii, Job i 10, xlii 12 sqq., Pr iii 33 (*nwb* parallel with *byt* may mean the whole household), xi 25 (the only case in this class where a man may be the source of blessing), xx 20 sq., xxiv 25, xxviii 20, and 1 Ch iv 10.

Even in this class God appears to be the source of benediction, with the only exception of Pr xi 25.

IV

Closely related to the preceding class must be considered some further passages in which, however, the words describing the contents of benediction seem to be regarded as the benediction itself. Most of them are many-sided or quite general in character; only in one passage, Gn i 22, the offspring plays a central role, and in 2 S viii 10 = 1 Ch xviii 10 power and military success. The latter can be conceived as a solemn congratulation. The other passages are: Gn i 28, v 2, and ix 1, which belong closely together; they seem to contain the definition of man as the "image of God" ²); further xiv 19, xxiv 60, xxvii 38 sqq., xxxii 27 sqq., xxxv 9 sqq., xlviii 3.9.15 sqq., in the midst of which a wish for divine blessing is contained; the latter belongs to the first (or second) class; Ex xii 32, where the blessing of Pharaoh may best be conceived as a prayer on his behalf; Nm xxiii 11 = xxiv 10; xxiii 20.25, xxiv 1, Dt x 8 (cf. Nm vi 23), xxi 5, Jos xxiv 10, 2 S xxi 3(?), Ps lxxii 15 (cf. Ex xii 32 above), Pr xi 11 (to judge from the parallel *pi* of the second half), and 1 Ch xxiii 13 (cf. Nm vi 23).

Due to the nature of the matter, the subject of blessing is in most cases a man, but even so the primary source seems almost everywhere to be God. The only exceptions are 2 S viii 10 (Toi's congratulation) = 1 Ch xviii 10 and Pr xi 11; 2 S xxi 3 is unclear, the blessing possibly having the same meaning as in Ex xii 32.

This kind of benediction might be best defined as a wish (or prayer) for prosperity on behalf of the object of the blessing.

V

The use of the words for "blessing" to mean the spoken benediction, again, is closely connected with their use to mean greeting, or rather salutation, when meeting as well as at the time of departure. Of the former—included greeting or visit in general—we have the

¹) Cf. *HKAT*, *ad loc.*

²) Cf. *GUNKEL*, *Genesis*, *ad* i 28.

following instances: 1) Gn xlvii 7, Jacob's introduction to Pharaoh by Joseph, the object of the "blessing" or salutation being a ruler, and comparable with this Ruth ii 4, where Boaz' reapers say to their master: "YHWH bless thee". The wording may be an indication of why greeting was conceived of as blessing. Another similar formula appears in 2) 1 S xv 13, where the person receiving it is a prophet, Samuel, the greeting person this time a ruler, Saul. In 1 S xiii 10 the situation is the same. 3) The visit of David's men to Nabal mentioned in 1 S xxv 14, again, seems to have been a veiled demand for tribute in return for the protection given to the people and flocks of the latter ¹⁾. At the same time it perhaps contains a concealed promise to continue the protecting activity, being accordingly somewhat like a real blessing, which Nabal harshly declines, thus calling a curse upon himself. 4) Another visit is told of in 2 S vi 20 = 1 Ch xvi 43; in the former passage the refusal of the blessing by Michal also causes her to be cursed to the end of her life: she remained childless. 5) An acquaintance receives—or not—the blessing-greeting in 2 K iv 29—where it is prohibited in order not to waste time—, x 15—where taking the greeter's side seems to be demanded as a condition of the permanence of the benediction—, and Pr xxvii 14 ²⁾. 6) In Ps cxvii 26 = cxxix 8 the pilgrims seem to be blessed, the blessing having accordingly a religious character.

In the rest of the passage farewell is bidden: 1) Gn xlvii 10: "And Jacob blessed Pharaoh and went out from the presence of Pharaoh". Of the same kind: 1 K i 47, where the solemn farewell to King David at the same time shows that it is really a blessing—in the first place to the new King Solomon, but also to the old ruler who is facing death—what could he wish better than the best possible prosperity for his son and successor upon the royal throne, the new centre and bearer of his own *soul* ³⁾? In 1 K viii 66 the farewell is bidden to the King after a great feast; consequently it may contain an expression of gratitude also. 2) Farewell is bidden to the son and heir designate in Gn xxviii 1.6 in a situation where it is possible that he will not find his father living when returning; in xxxii 1 to the offspring in general, any reunion being improbable; in 2 S xiii 25 a usual farewell to a son, apparently accompanied by the wish that the feast arranged by him would succeed. In these cases the object of the "blessing" belongs

¹⁾ Cf. CASPARI, p. 312.

²⁾ *Babboqar haškem* is a (correst) gloss.

³⁾ Cf. p. 161, n. 1.

to the nearest relatives. 3) A friend is the object in Jos xiv 13, where the farewell is accompanied by a gift, cf. under X; a subject who has proved a true friend in 2 S xix 40. 4) In Lv ix 22sq., Jos xxii 6 sq., 2 S vi 18 = 1 Ch xvi 2, and 2 Ch xxx 27, the people or congregation receives the farewell blessing at the conclusion of a religious feast from the lips of the ruler or the priests (cf. Nm vi 23sq.).

As it appears, man is everywhere the subject of the blessing as well as its object, even if in some cases God can be recognized as its primary source.

VI

A solemn greeting or salutation, as apparently most of those described in the preceding paragraph, is an indication of respect or reverence. Similar or comparable expressions are found in a few further passages, which cannot be directly classified among them, viz. 1) Gn ix 26, the only one where God appears as the object; this sense seems to be most in accordance with the preceding verse, which is parallel with this one. It is possible, however, that the text is a little corrupted ¹⁾. 2) Gn xxiv 31 is a greeting, but the benediction is not described as given at that moment, but as continually "dwelling" in the person greeted, who is a foreigner or guest. 3) Jd v 24 states that respect will, it seems, continue to be given to a heroic woman in the future. 4) Zech viii 13 promises that Israel will be a blessing, which in the light of the context seems to indicate that their name will be used as an example of benediction, which again presupposes respect toward the bearers of this name (cf. under II). 5) In 2 S ii 5 righteous people are described like Abraham's servant in Gn xxiv 31 (cf. passage 2 above), and the word *berākāh* in Ps xxiv 5 may refer to the same formula. Ps xxxvii 26 has perhaps the same relation to Zech viii 13, if not to Gn xii 3 (cf. under II). 6) Pr xxx 11 speaks of the respect which is *not* paid to the parents.

Due to the nature of the matter, God is never the subject of this kind of blessing, nor even object with the exception of one—uncertain—example. The reverence toward God is normally without parallel.

VII

The expressions of reverence toward God are mostly expressions of a deep *gratitude* which lead to solemn praise. In, or in connection

¹⁾ Cf., e.g., SKINNER, *ad loc.*; but against KÖNIG, *ad loc.*

with them, the cause of gratitude is normally expressed: in Gn xiv 20 the tradition of Abraham's enemies to his hand, in xxiv 27 the direction of Abraham's servant to the house of his kinsmen; the same event is told of in v. 48. In Ex xviii 10 Jethro praises YHWH on account of Israel's escape from Egypt, in Dt xxxiii 20 Moses for the "widening" of Gad, while in Dt viii 10 grace after a meal is prescribed. In Jos xxii 33 the preservation of peace is the reason for thanks and praise, in Jd v 2.9 the people's willingness to fight, in 1 S xxv 39 God's pleading of David's cause against Nabal. Similar or analogous cases appear further in 2 S xviii 28, xxii 47 — Ps xviii 47, Ps xvi 7, xxvi 12, xxi 22, xxxiv 2, lxiii 5, lxvi 8, lxviii 20.36, xcvi 2, ciii 1 sq., cxiii 2 sq. (also offspring), cxxiv 6, cxliv 1 (cf. Jd v 2.9), Ruth iv 14. A good successor upon the throne is praised in 1 K i 48, v 21 = 2 Ch ii 11, 1 K x 9 = 2 Ch ix 8, unlawful gain (!) in Zech xi 5, an answered prayer in Ps xxviii 6, lxvi 20, God's faithfulness in Ps c 4, and his counsel which aims at his own glory in Ezr vii 27. But in addition there are quite a number of passages in which no cause of the praise is indicated or at least not clearly connected with it. They are: Ez iii 12, where heavenly beings pronounce the praise, while in all the others men (at least in reality) sing it; Ps xli 14, lxviii 27, lxxii 17 sqq., lxxxix 53, ciii 20 sqq., civ 1.35, cvi 48, cxv 18, cxix 12, cxxxiv 1 sq., cxxxv 19 sqq., cxlv 1 sq. 10.21, Neh viii 6, ix 5, 1 Ch xvi 36, xxix 10. 20, and 2 Ch xx 26, wherein even the name of a place derived from the act of praising is mentioned. In most of these cases it can be recognized that singing (praise) is meant with the verb "to bless" (in many cases it stands parallel with *hallel*) as well as that most, if not all, of the passages are late ¹). No comment, at last, is needed to explain Job's word in i 21: "The LORD gave, and the LORD hath taken away; blessed be the name of the LORD". It stands—along with 1 S iii 18—as the summit of the whole Old Testament ²).

Not God alone, however, is the object of thanks and praise. First, there are passages in which men are praised or receive thanks along with God, viz. 1 S xxv 32 sq., where David gives thanks and praise to God and to Abigail, the wife of Nabal, for preventing him from taking vengeance on the latter because of the offence suffered; further 1 K viii 14 sq. = 2 Ch vi 3 sq., 1 K viii 55 sq., and 2 Ch xxi 8, where religious subjects are dealt with.

¹) The oldest may be Ez iii 12; on the age of the Psalms, particularly Ps lxxii, lxxxix, cxix, cxlv, cf. PFEIFFER, *Introduction*, p. 630 sqq.

²) Cf. VOLZ, *ad loc.*

Moreover, there are also passages in which men alone appear as receiving thanks, viz. 1) Ex xxxix 43, where Moses gives thanks to Bezaleel and Oholiab for work well performed, 2) Dt xxiv 13, where the poor are stated to bless the money-lender who returns the cloak (taken as a pledge) at nightfall, 3) Jd xvii 2, in which the expression may also indicate, besides gratitude because the money was found, the wish that the curse may not injure her son ¹⁾, 4) Saul's thanks to the Ziphites in 1 S xxiii 21, for having shown their "compassion on him" through their promise to deliver David into his hands, 5) Joab's thanks to David in 2 S xiv 22 for granting his request to return Absalom home, 6) Job's statements in xxix 13 and xxi 20 that the poor and widows bless him for the help and support received, 7) a similar statement about the righteous in general in Pr x 7 and comparable to this xi 26: he who sells corn (when there is a need of it) receives thanks and praise, while he who gathers and withholds it (to raise prices) is cursed by all the people. Further of the same type: xxii 9. 8) Boaz is praised in Ruth ii 19 sq. for having cared for Ruth, and the latter herself by the former in iii 10 for her chastity and fidelity towards the old Naomi. 9) At last, in Neh xi 2 people who willingly consent to make their dwelling in Jerusalem are praised by the rest for this sacrifice (!).

And still more: not only other men, but even the subject of the blessing is in two cases its object at the same time, viz. 1) in Dt xxix 18, where a wicked scoundrel praises himself as being happy for having peace in the days of his life, and 2) in Ps xlix 19, where a nabob praises his own soul for his riches (cf. Lk xii 18 sqq.).

An idol—or evil in general—is stated to receive blessing in Is lxvi 3; the blessing can hardly be anything but of this kind. In Jer xx 14, the prophet curses positively and negatively his day of birth, i.e., indirectly, himself ²⁾.

To sum up: when thanks and praise are the contents of the blessing, it is usually directed towards God, originally on account of and linked with a certain cause, but especially in later times also without mentioning anything of that kind. When directed to men, the "blessing" mostly has the character of ordinary thanks, and when to oneself, it has an impious character. The subject everywhere is naturally man.

¹⁾ Cf. PEDERSEN, *Der Eid* . . . , p. 74 sq. (on 1 S xiv 24).

²⁾ Cf. *ATD*, *ad loc.*

VIII

From Jer xx 14 we can conveniently pass over to the few cases in which the word "to bless, blessing" is used eufemistically to mean curse. The passages are: 1) 1 K xxi 10.13 in which the curse—according to the accusation—is directed against God and the King, and 2) Ps x 3, Job i 5.11, ii 5.9, where the object is God alone. The King alone is not considered worthy of so tender a treatment, cf. Jd ix 27. In the light of 1 S iii 13, where the sequence *qallel* and *'alohim* is removed in another way, viz. by means of altering the latter into *lābām*, it seems that at least in the older passages, but possibly in all of them, the word for "blessing" is substituted in the place of another one indicating a curse or something like it ¹⁾. Moreover, in the light of 1 S iii 13, and Ps x 3, in which *nī'eš* is left standing, it seems that the word originally in these places was at least *qallel*, i.e., either that or *'āror*, cf. also Ex xxii 27, where the word is left standing probably because the negation made the sense of the verb quite the opposite. Why *qillel* still appears in Is viii 21 in a connection analogous to 1 K xxi 10.13, is not quite clear. Perhaps the period during which it was regarded impious even to use a word denoting curse in connection with God's name, and on the other hand permissible to alter the consonantal text was rather short, and this instance remained unobserved; or perhaps the fact that God's name does not follow the verb immediately, but only after the title of the King, was regarded as an "extenuating circumstance"; perhaps even the preposition *b* was considered to mitigate the meaning of the word ²⁾.

It is clear that this kind of blessing can come only from the mouth of godless men. Accordingly the punishment, where it is mentioned, is invariably death, whether it is executed by other men (cf. 1 K xxi 10 sqq.) or by God himself (cf. Job ii 9).

IX

There are six passages in which the verb *brk* appears in Hithpa'el, viz. Gn xxii 18, xxvi 4, Dt xxix 18, Is lxxv 16, Jer iv 2, and Ps lxxii 17. According to GESB¹⁷, it means the use of a formula of benediction, the example of blessing being introduced with the prep. *b*, except

¹⁾ Cf. HEMPEL, *op. cit.* p. 91, and commentaries.

²⁾ Cf. GRAY, *ad loc.*

in Is lxxv 16, where it shows the source of benediction, and apparently Dt xxix 18 Jer iv 2 which according to the same authority mean "to praise himself happy". In the former passage *b* apparently introduces the place in, i.e. the organ by which the praising takes place, but what its function in the latter is remains unclear. KOEHLER and various commentators ¹⁾ attribute various meanings differing both from GES-B and from each other, in some passages, but none of them contribute anything essentially new. The traditional interpretation is well known (=Ni.).

It seems possible to understand all the passages more coherently. Dt xxix 18 we have already studied earlier, and found it to mean "to praise himself happy", as GES-B (see under VII). In that passage the prep. *b* is formally used in another sense than in the rest of the passages, but the difference need not be great. If the literal meaning in that passage be *in*, it may in the others be *through*. When interpreting it in the light of the context in various passages, we arrive at the following translations: Gn xxii 18: "And all the nations of the earth will praise themselves happy *because of* thy seed . . .", xxvi 4 *item*, Jer iv 2: "... and nations will praise themselves happy *because of* him . . ." (parallel to *hallel!*), Is lxxv 16: "... he who praises himself happy *because of* the land (= since he has, or lives in, a good land) shall praise himself happy *because of* the God of truth . . ." (in the sense of Jer ix 22 sq.; cf. the rest of the verse also), and Ps lxxii 17: "... and may all nations praise themselves happy *because of* him, and praise him (also) happy"; in Dt xxix 18 the cause of happiness is introduced by the word *lemor*.

The ultimate source of happiness is mentioned with certainty only in Is lxxv 16b: God. In all the other cases the reference can have been made only to the medium of the happiness or blessing, which in Ps lxxii is the King, in the others Israel or its land. Consequently, it is possible to interpret the mediums as mere examples of happiness or blessing, the nations being happy because they have Israel or its King in their midst, but in the light of what has been said when dealing with Gn xii 2 sq. (under II) the interpretation that it is a question of a real blessing—spoken of in Gn xii 3—seems more probable to the present writer ²⁾.

¹⁾ Cf. KOEHLER, *Lexicon*, *sub voce*; GUNKEL, KAUTZSCH-SOCIN, etc.

²⁾ Cf. KAUTZSCH-SOCIN², *ad* Gn xxii 18 (with n. 99).

X

In Jos xiv 3 we found the farewell-blessing accompanied by a gift. Such a gift itself is in a few passages called "benediction". The passage Jos xv 19 = Jd i 15 is sometimes counted among them¹⁾, but a more fitting interpretation was found (see under III). It may be, however, that even this idea has influenced the choosing of this name. The other passages are: 1) Gn xxxiii 11, where the "blessing" contains "two hundred she goats, and twenty he goats, two hundred ewes, and twenty rams, thirty milch camels with their colts, forty kine, and ten bulls, twenty she asses, and ten foals" (xxxii 14 sq.). The fact that in very many cases (cf. especially under III) the blessing has a material character also helps us to understand why and how a gift like this has acquired that name. All the other instances are of the same character: 2) 1 S xxv 27, where Abigail's "blessing" to David is "two hundred loaves, and two bottles (actually large jars) of wine, and five sheep ready dressed, and five measures of parched corn, and an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs". Abigail was really "blessed", i.e. blessing with her. 3) In 1 S xxx 26 David, in his turn, sends blessings to the Elders of Judah from the spoil he had taken from YHWH's enemies. The contents of the blessings are not more exactly defined. 4) In 2 K v 15 a "blessing" is offered to Elisha by Naaman, with contents not defined, but in v. 22 sq. Gehazi, referring to this promise, receives two talents of silver and two changes of garments.

As it appears, this kind of "benediction" is entirely a matter between men. In the first two cases it is brought about by the urgent need to appease a presumed enemy, in the third by the desire to find favour and support, and in the last case it is an indication of the wish to express gratitude in a concrete way.

XI

The last "group" contains actually only one passage, 2 K xviii 31 being identical with Is xxxvi 16. Therein the inhabitants of Jerusalem are called to make "blessing" with the King of Assyria and to come out to him, that they might live in peace and prosper. In other words, it is a question of capitulation. A gift, or rather tribute, naturally plays a great part in the matter, but in this case the gift is

¹⁾ So apparently *ATD*, *ad loc.* (see translation).

not called *berākāh*, but the whole business in its totality. Perhaps it can be interpreted to mean a state in which both parties "bless" each other, i.e., work for the benefit of one another—at least in theory. As in the preceding group, it is entirely a matter between men.

XII

Four passages remain. It cannot be determined with any certainty to which group they possibly belong, if to any. In 1) Joel ii 14 it seems that the blessing is somewhere between material and religious: against the background of the whole book it would seem more natural to stress the material side, but the prophet does just the contrary: he lays the whole stress on the circumstance that after benediction is returned it will be possible to worship YHWH *rite*. In this light it is even possible that *berākāh* stands by itself, with no close reference to the words following, meaning perhaps songs of praise (cf. under VII, esp. 2 Ch xx 26). 2) In Mal ii 2 it is threatened that even the blessings of the priests will be cursed. Here it seems most natural to suppose reference to Nm vi 23 sqq., but in that case it would be more natural to use sg., as LXX actually read, and KITTEL emends ¹⁾. The present MT seems to mean gifts or sacrifices in general, either those that are given to the priests for themselves, or *their* gifts and sacrifices performed by them upon YHWH's altar ²⁾. The hymns and songs of praise are not quite excluded, either. 3) In Ps lxii 5 the contents of "blessing" can be greetings or a general wish for prosperity, but even praise is not excluded (flattery is no invention of our time!). 4) The last, Ps cix 17, is the most indefinite of all. At first sight greeting or a hearty wish for prosperity seems natural here also, but almost any other meaning is quite as possible, even the object of blessing being not definitely determined. Moreover, it may be that the word has two meanings in itself, e.g. the blessing in which "he delighted not" being a wish for the prayer's prosperity or God's praise, the blessing again that should be far from him, his own prosperity or happiness.

XIII

Having thus marshalled the data presented by the Old Testament we can begin to consider the derivation of the various shades of

¹⁾ BH³, *ad loc.*

²⁾ Otherwise ATD, *ad loc.*

meaning from each other and the etymology of the word. As was stated in the beginning, etymology has no great bearing upon this study. Even in this paragraph it is more important to find that meaning which is central in the OT and from which, consequently, all the other meanings can directly be derived or, if that is not possible, at least most of them, and the rest from the others in a natural way.

It is clear that no very small group can in the first place be supposed to be central. Out of the two largest the former, which was dealt with under III has the advantage of being more concrete in comparison with thanks and praise. So we will begin with the working hypothesis that the passages in which material or physical blessing is stressed represent the central character of the term in the OT ¹⁾.

Keeping in mind that in this and also in two other large groups (cf. under II and IV), as well as in some further cases, God appears as the giver or the primary source of the blessing, and that most of the thanks and praises are addressed to God, it is quite easy to derive this second largest group (studied under VII) from the first. It represents, so to speak, regressive blessing, being a reaction of the blessing received. At the same time the word *bārūk* designates God as the embodiment of the blessing power ²⁾. When addressed to men, the expression may also contain, beside the acknowledgement of the presence of the same power, the wish that this state should continue.

As a counterpart of "regressive blessing", we may define the wish or prayer for happiness and prosperity (studied under IV) as "progressive". It means that one wishes more happiness and prosperity for the object of the blessing. The character of the happiness being normally material and physical in these cases it is obviously identical with that in the central group, the only difference being in the grade of realization.

The close connection of the examples of blessing in which respect or reverence is expressed (VI) is quite as obvious. Prosperity brings respect and reverence. The instances indicating a curse (VIII) belong to the same connection, though contrariwise ³⁾.

The derivation of the meaning "greeting, salutation" (V) is also

¹⁾ Cf. HEMPEL, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

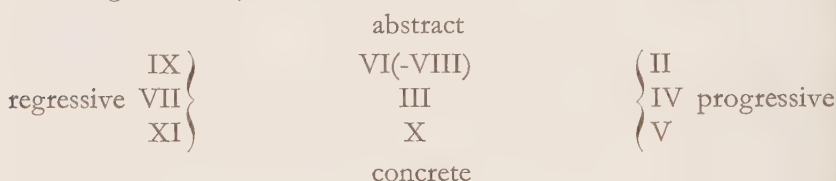
²⁾ The idea is not mine, but I have not been able to find its source; as far as I remember it is a treatise on the ptc. of the type *qātul* published in the thirties.

³⁾ Cf. PEDERSEN, *Der Eid* . . . , p., 67, 80.

comparable to that of the group under IV, the direction of the presumed development being only a little more concrete. It appears to be still more concrete in the case of "gift" (X), out of which capitulation (XI) again may be a special case, perhaps influenced by other factors ¹⁾.

The case of a general blessing (II) is derived from the central one by means of joining several meanings under one heading and at the same time developing the result into a progressive and abstract direction, self-praise, boasting and so on (IX) being its regressive counterpart.

It is also possible to represent this development by means of the following scheme ²⁾:



The location of the capitulation case by itself in the left lower corner is justified by the fact that, except tribute—which is quite as concrete an object as gift—, a reciprocal function plays an important role in it (see the relevant paragraph). Consequently, the scheme is complete and harmonic, even if not all the groups are represented by the same number of single cases. So we can regard the search for a central meaning in the OT as successful.

Regarding the etymology of the word, matters are different. In the OT Hebrew we have two other nouns with the same radicals, viz *bārak* "knee" and *berekāh* "pond, pool". The verb *bārok* / *habrek* is obviously derived from the former. Considering that in Akkadian ³⁾ *berku* also means, besides "knee", the organs and capacity for generation, and that the offspring was regarded as an important part of blessing (cf. under II and III) the word may be connected with this root. The latter is dealt with above (under III); it seems to be closely connected with the blessing brought about by rain and springs or wells, i.e., the fertilization of the ground. As generation means the

¹⁾ HEMPEL, *op. cit.*, p. 25 n. 3, derives the meaning (X) from (V) by means of the supposition that greetings were always accompanied by a gift, but this has no sufficient basis in the texts.

²⁾ The figures refer to the headings of the corresponding sections.

³⁾ According to BEZOLD.

fertilization of living beings, it seems possible that blessing primarily meant fertilization in general; at least it seems impossible to proceed farther with any certainty ¹⁾. Neither is it, as stated in the beginning, of any great importance for this study; this is enough to enable us to draw final conclusions.

XIV

It must be stressed that the primary meaning to which we were able to advance was *not fertility*, but *fertilization*. The latter is also more in agreement with the active character of the OT God—we remember that the primary source of blessing was in the majority of the passages God—, though the matter in itself reminds us of Baal and Astarte. In the OT the conception was widened, and we can determine prosperity and happiness in general as the central sphere brought about and continually influenced by blessing. Again, it must be stressed that the matter is thoroughly concrete. The ground is made fertile by means of water, living beings by means of the seed of the male, and happiness, respectability, and honour are directly comparable to man's possessions and power, whether the latter is his own or his master's. And finally, blessing does not function by itself. Like oracles and oracular dreams, its realization depends on the abilities and efforts of the receiver. In other words, we can define "blessing" as a *functional* conception in the mathematical sense of the word ²⁾.

¹⁾ This must not be understood to state that this was the meaning from the very first; but we have no means of finding a more restricted meaning. The relation to the Akk. and S.-Ar. *krb* lies outside the scope of this paper.

²⁾ According to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*.

THE TARGUM AND THE PESHIṬTA VERSION OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAH *

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The research which has been devoted in recent years into the history of the Ancient Versions of the Old Testament no longer permits them to be viewed as mechanical literal translations. In the same way as literary criticism has attempted to clarify the "Sitz im Leben" of the literature of the Old Testament, so have studies on the versions endeavoured to relate them to actual situations within the communities among whom they originated ¹). The translations were intended to convey to a contemporary worshipping community the "spirit" and "meaning" of Scripture as it was expounded during the age of the translators. Though an attempt was made to adhere carefully to the Hebrew original, yet each word of a translation became a medium of interpretation ²).

It would be a mistake to overlook this element of interpretation which is characteristic of an ancient translation, and when it is ignored there is the danger of resorting to unnecessary textual emendation. It is possible to produce examples where the rendering of a version at first appears to presuppose a different consonantal text from that of the Massoretic, but on further examination is found to be based on an interpretation of that same consonantal text. Hence the student who desires to use one of the versions for the purposes of textual criticism has to acquaint himself with the main characteristics of the version which he employs. This is not always an easy task, because a version's characteristics may vary from one Old

* A paper read to the Society for Old Testament Study, Cardiff, July 1956.

¹) Cf. H. ST. JOHN THACKERAY, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* (1921); P. E. KAHLE, *The Cairo Geniza* (1947), pp. 132 ff. and pp. 179 ff.; I. L. SEELIGMANN, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah* (1948); B. J. ROBERTS, *The Old Testament Text and Versions* (1951), pp. 101 ff., 214 ff., 272 ff.; E. WÜRTHWEIN, *The Text of the Old Testament*, trans. by P. R. ACKROYD (1957), pp. 33 ff.

²) B. J. ROBERTS, *op. cit.*, p. 197 states that "Every translation of the Hebrew Bible was also an interpretation of it." cf. also S. SMITH, *Isaiah Chapters XL-LV* (1944), p. 4, and E. WÜRTHWEIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff.

Testament book to an other. Each version has been revised and edited in an attempt to present a uniform translation, but underlying the revised and edited version can be detected the work of different translators. These translators have imprinted their own personality on their works, and this has not been completely eliminated by revisers and editors. Hence it is dangerous to generalize on the characteristics of any one version ¹).

In this paper one particular aspect of the Peshitta (Syriac) version of the book of Isaiah will be considered, namely, the question of a possible relationship between its rendering and the Targum to Isaiah. For a comparative study of the two versions suggests that the translators of the Peshitta were acquainted with the same type of Jewish interpretation of certain passages and/or of single words as that which is exhibited by the Aramaic Targum to the book of Isaiah.

The absence of a critical edition of both the Peshitta and the Targum has detracted from the value and usefulness of these versions for the purposes of textual criticism. But G. DIETRICH has compiled a comprehensive *apparatus criticus* to the Peshitta of Isaiah ²). And for the Targum in addition to the text in the Paris Polyglot and Brian WALTON's London Polyglot, there is P. DE LAGARDE's *Prophetæ Chaldaice* (1872), as well as *The Targum of Isaiah* edited by J. F. STENNING (1949). These provide useful material for the initial stages of a comparative study.

The question of a relationship between the Peshitta and the Targum cannot claim to be a popular branch of study, and when it has been considered, preference has been given to the possible connexion between these versions in their renderings of the Pentateuch. Valuable contributions to the understanding of this problem have been made by A. BAUMSTARK ³) and C. PETERS ⁴), who have produced evidence in support of a connexion between the Peshitta and the Palestinian Targum(im) in their renderings of the Pentateuch. But it is worth noting that consideration of such a connexion has not been confined

¹) See P. E. KAHLE, *op. cit.*; B. J. ROBERTS, *op. cit.*; J. BLOCH, "The Authorship of the Peshitta", *A.J.S.L.* xxvi (1919), pp. 215 ff.; H. M. ORLINSKY, "The Septuagint, its use in Textual Criticism", *B.A.* ix (1946), pp. 21-34.

²) G. DIETRICH, *Ein Apparatus Criticus zur Peshitto zum Propheten Jesaia*, [*B.Z.A.W.* viii] (1905).

³) A. BAUMSTARK, "Pēšittā und palästinensisches Targum", *Biblische Zeitschrift* xix (1931), pp. 257-270.

⁴) C. PETERS, "Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs", *Le Muséon* xlvi (1935), pp. 1-54.

to the Pentateuch. Various scholars have drawn attention to the possibility of a connexion between the Peshitta and the Targum in other Old Testament books. C. H. CORNILL ¹⁾ in his commentary on the book of Ezekiel remarks that it is possible to find instances where the Peshitta is dependent on the Targum. He gives examples of what he calls "direct agreements" (*directe Zusammenstimmen*), but at the same time he states, "Hieraus folgt natürlich nicht, dass S bereits ein schriftliches Exemplar von T zur Verfügung hatte, sondern es beweist nur, dass die jüdische Geistesrichtung, aus welcher in Palästina T hervorging, auch bis nach Syrien hin ihren Einfluss geltend machte" ²⁾. S. R. DRIVER ³⁾ in the introductory notes to his commentary on the Books of Samuel states that it is possible to find in the Peshitta traces of adherence to Jewish exegesis. In his work on the Books of Kings, C. F. BURNEY ⁴⁾ observes that the Peshitta "appears to have been made from a Hebrew text similar in many respects to that presupposed by LXX, though more nearly related to M.T. than the LXX original". But he adds, "In certain cases the renderings of Pesh. seem to exhibit connection with Targ." He quotes examples of this connexion, but does not offer a full discussion of them. The same scholar arrived at a very similar conclusion when he examined the Peshitta text for his commentary on the Book of Judges ⁵⁾. He states, "There are clear instances of affinity with T—and this of a character which is not to be explained merely by the fact that both versions are Aramaic, or by the probability that both may have been influenced by a similar Jewish tradition of exegesis, but which suggests actual connexion between the two". Unfortunately he has not clarified the meaning of this "actual connexion". But it would appear that his position is the very opposite to that expressed by DE BOER ⁶⁾ in his work on 1 Samuel i-xvi. DE BOER admits that there is correspondence between the Peshitta and Targum, and offers two reasons for the connexion, namely, (a) "Both are translations", and (b) "Both are translations in a Semitic language which is later

¹⁾ C. H. CORNILL, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (1886), pp. 154 f.

²⁾ CORNILL, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

³⁾ S. R. DRIVER, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel*, 2nd. ed. rev. (1913), pp. xxxiii ff.

⁴⁾ C. F. BURNEY, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings* (1903), pp. xxxii ff.

⁵⁾ C. F. BURNEY, *The Book of Judges*, 2nd. ed. (1920), p. cxxviii.

⁶⁾ P. A. H. DE BOER, *Research into the Text of I Samuel I-XVI* (1938), p. 42.

than the Hebrew of M". This seems to reduce the connexion between the two to the level of a coincidental relationship.

The views of these scholars (and the list given does not claim to be exhaustive) have been referred to in order to show that they were aware of a certain connexion between these two versions in those books which they had studied. The possibility of a connexion is also admitted by scholars who have written more generally on the history of the versions. R. H. PFEIFFER ¹⁾ writes, with special reference to the Peshitta, "It seems obvious that even if the translators were Christians they utilized for the Pentateuch (and some other books) Jewish Targums and followed, like Jerome, the Jewish interpretation". A. BENTZEN ²⁾ notes that the Peshitta is "sometimes a little influenced by Jewish tradition". M. NOTH ³⁾ admits the possibility of the influence of the Targum on the Syriac translation. Finally, for example, B. J. ROBERTS ⁴⁾ has this to state, "At the same time, all other ancient versions, the Septuagint, Peshitta, Old Latin, the Vulgate, the Arabic, and possibly such remote versions as those in the Coptic dialects, show, in some form or other, readings which allow of only one explanation, namely, that directly or indirectly some Targumic reading is presupposed".

These views have been quoted to show that scholars are willing to admit that there is a possible connexion between the Peshitta and the Targumim. Yet the main task is the defining of this connexion. Some would probably follow DE BOER and assume that it is unnecessary to define the relationship beyond saying that it is a mere coincidence. Others, such as BAUMSTARK and PETERS, would argue in favour of a direct connexion between the Peshitta and some form of Palestinian Targumim, which preceded the official Targumim to the Old Testament. On the other hand it is possible to argue in favour of what may be termed an "indirect" relationship between the Peshitta and Targum, i.e. a connexion exists between them because both have been in contact and have perpetuated a common Jewish interpretation and exegesis.

The case for a direct relationship between the Peshitta and the official Targum Jonathan to the Prophets can be dismissed as completely untenable. The information which is available about their

¹⁾ R. H. PFEIFFER, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 4th. ed. (1941), p. 120.

²⁾ A. BENTZEN, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, i, 2nd. ed. (1952), p. 73.

³⁾ M. NOTH, *Die Welt des Alten Testaments*, 3rd. rev. ed. (1957), p. 256.

⁴⁾ B. J. ROBERTS, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

approximate dates makes such a view impossible. But though this official Targum to the Prophets was given its final form in Babylonia in the fifth century A.D., yet evidence has been produced to show that it was preceded by other Targumim produced in Palestine. It is also believed that these Targumim in their Palestinian form were taken to Babylonia, and were edited and revised to produce an Aramaic translation which was in agreement with current exegesis ¹⁾. And should there be a connexion between the Peshiṭta and the Targum, then it was most likely to have been acquired during the Palestinian stage in the history of the Targum, i.e. that period before it became an official translation. The case for such a connexion is strengthened if KAHLE's ¹⁾ theory about the origin of the Peshiṭta (at any rate the Peshiṭta Pentateuch) can be accepted. This theory maintains that the Peshiṭta originated in the Syrian province of Adiabene, and was based on an Old Palestinian Targum which was already in the possession of the Jews who supplied the ruling classes of that province with a translation of Biblical texts in their own dialect. KAHLE states, "But we have to assume that Biblical texts intended for the newly converted Jews had to be transposed into the Aramaic dialect spoken in Adiabene and to be transcribed into the Syriac alphabet used there. Without any doubt some of the Jews who had come from Palestine and had been settled for years in Adiabene were able to do this task without difficulty" ¹⁾. These remarks of KAHLE's are more specifically concerned with the translation of the Pentateuch into Syriac, and it is still a debated question whether this theory can be applied to the remainder of the Peshiṭta Old Testament. And even if it were applied, we would still have to reckon with the use of the Syriac version in the Christian Church, and the modifications which might have been brought about by such a use. But whether the Peshiṭta is of Jewish or Christian origin, there are indications that in its early history it had a certain contact with Jewish interpretation. With this in mind the texts of the Peshiṭta and the Targum to the book of Isaiah have been examined.

The Hebrew text which is presupposed by both the Peshiṭta and the Targum is fairly near to that of the Massoretic text. The instances where both versions point to a different text from that of the Massor-

¹⁾ For a fuller discussion see P. KAHLE, *The Cairo Geniza* (1947), pp. 117 ff.; B. J. ROBERTS, *op. cit.*, pp. 197 ff.

¹⁾ P. KAHLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 184 ff.

¹⁾ P. KAHLE, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

etic are very few ¹⁾. Since their renderings point to an almost identical text, and the languages of both translations are closely related (though Syriac is East Aramaic dialect, and the Aramaic of the Targum belongs to the West group), it is not surprising that, whatever their origin, they contain common vocabulary and renderings. In certain cases, where the Targum has supplied a very literal translation of the Hebrew text, it would be possible to arrive at the Syriac rendering if the Aramaic forms were transposed into the corresponding Syriac formations. Such cases have not been considered as examples of a direct relationship, rather they have been viewed as coincidences since both translations are, to quote DE BOER ²⁾, "in a Semitic language, which is later than the Hebrew of M".

But there are other instances where a similar rendering does involve an element of interpretation, and as such are not to be considered as mere coincidences. As an example we may refer to the method of rendering the suffix of **בְּעֵינֵיהֶם** in Isaiah v 21. The Peshitta reads **ܚܕܝܢܐ ܢܦܫܐܝܗܘܢ**, and the Targum has **בְּעֵינֵי נַפְשָׁהוֹן**. So far as I have been able to examine the Peshitta and Targum texts of Isaiah, this is the only example where a suffix has been rendered in this way. At the same time it should be pointed out that the LXX does not offer a literal rendering of this word, but reads ἐν ἑαυτοῖς; and it could be argued that the Peshitta rendering has been influenced by that of the LXX. Even so, consideration must be given to the common vocabulary and idiom which exist in both Peshitta and Targum. It is interesting, to say the least, that both should have decided on this idiom in this particular instance, and this only. (Of course it is possible that the LXX also was aware of this Aramaic idiom, and so preserved the same type of interpretation as that found in the Peshitta and Targum. More will be said about this later.)

There appears to be a close connexion between the Peshitta and the Targum in their renderings of **רֹאשׁ** in Isaiah iii 7. The Hebrew **לֹא אֶהְיֶה רֹאשׁ** is rendered by the Syriac **ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܪܥܝܢܐ**, and in the Targum **לִית אָנָּה כְּשֶׁר לְמַהוּ רִישׁ**. Both versions have given to **רֹאשׁ** the meaning "head" = "leader". A similar understanding of the passage may be said to underlie the LXX rendering of **רֹאשׁ** by ἀρχηγός. A possible explanation of the versions' renderings of **רֹאשׁ** here is to assume that

¹⁾ For the Targum see J. F. STENNING, *The Targum of Isaiah* (1949), p. xi.

²⁾ DE BOER, *loc. cit.*

to suggest some connexion between them, and that they have perpetuated a common understanding of this passage.

An interesting example of the Peshitta displaying a similar interpretation to that of the Targum is to be found in its rendering of **וְרָפָא לוֹ** in Isaiah vi 10. This phrase has been rendered in the Peshitta by **סַלְלַסְט סַלְלַסְט**, which may be compared with the Targum **וְיִשְׁתַּבֵּיךְ לְהוֹן**. Since this is the only example in the book of Isaiah where the Peshitta has not given a literal rendering of the verb **רָפָא** ¹⁾, but has chosen to interpret with the idea of “forgiving”, and this is an interpretation which is displayed by the Targum in four of the seven occurrences of **רָפָא** in Isaiah ²⁾, then it may be correct to suggest that the Peshitta was acquainted with such an interpretation, and has been influenced by it in its rendering of the verb **רָפָא** in this instance.

The Peshitta text of Isaiah does not exhibit many instances of a double rendering of a Hebrew word, but its rendering of **נָחָה** (from **נָחַ**) in Isaiah xi 2 is worth considering in this thesis. The Hebrew **וְנָחָה עָלָיו רוּחַ יְהוָה** is rendered in the Peshitta by **סַלְלַסְט סַלְלַסְט** (**סַלְלַסְט** or **סַלְלַסְט**). Either of the two words (**סַלְלַסְט** or **סַלְלַסְט**) could be accepted as a suitable translation of the verb **נָחָה** in this context. But there must be some explanation for the double rendering in the Peshitta. The Targum's rendering of this passage is **וְתִשְׁרִי עָלָיו רוּחַ מִן קֳדָם יְהוָה**. The double rendering in the Syriac could be understood as pointing back to a stage in the history of the Peshitta text when there were alternative readings for the Hebrew **נָחָה**. One was a literal rendering by **סַלְלַסְט**, and the other (**סַלְלַסְט**) based on a contact with the tradition which has been preserved in the Targum (**וְתִשְׁרִי**). If that is the case, then it could be suggested that the present text of the Peshitta has preserved both renderings.

Here and there in the Targum have been preserved traces of Haggadic explanations, which, we are told, were probably more characteristic of the Targum in its early Palestinian form. ³⁾ The Peshitta does

¹⁾ The verb **רָפָא** occurs seven times in the book of Isaiah, viz. Isaiah vi 10, xix 22 (bis), xxx 26, liii 5, lvii 18, 19. The Peshitta renders literally in all instances except the passage under consideration. The LXX has a literal translation in all instances.

²⁾ The Targum interprets by the idea of “forgiving” in Isaiah vi 10, liii 5, lvii 18, 19.

³⁾ See STENNING, *op. cit.*, pp. x and xiv f.

not contain any such explanations, unless its rendering of **בְּמִים** in Isaiah xliii 2 is to be regarded as an example. The M.T. **כִּי תַעֲבֹר בְּמִים אֶתְּךָ אָנִי** is rendered by the Syriac **ܐܢܝ ܐܚܒܝ ܚܒܝܐ ܐܢܝ**. It is to be noted that the Peshiṭta has the rendering **ܚܒܝܐ** for the Hebrew **בְּמִים**. It could be argued that the Peshiṭta's reading is to be explained as due to its misreading of the Hebrew text, i.e. it could have read **בָּיִם** for **בְּמִים**. On the other hand an alternative explanation would be to see in it an example of an inner-Syriac corruption, i.e. **ܚܒܝܐ** read for **ܚܒܝܬܐ**. A comparison with the Targum could well suggest a third possible explanation. The Targum **בְּקִדְמִיתָא כְּד עֲבֵרְתוֹן בִּימָא דְסוּף** has obviously connected the passage with the story of the Exodus. It is possible that the translators of the Peshiṭta were aware of such an interpretation, and hence the reading **ܚܒܝܐ** for **בְּמִים**.

It is only possible to give a selection of the instances where it might be inferred that there is a connexion between the Peshiṭta and the Targum. Again it is emphasised that this should not be considered as a "direct relationship" from a written text. Both appear to have been separate translations, and to have undergone their separate processes of revision and editing. But it is possible that in the early stages of their history both had some connexion with a common method of interpreting the Biblical texts. This early connexion would explain the correspondence which exists between them. But the connexion is very sporadic, affecting the renderings of words, phrases and ideas here and there.

Further, from a study of the collation of Syriac manuscripts which G. DIETRICH¹⁾ has compiled for the book of Isaiah, it appears that now and again some of the manuscript have preserved readings which seem to be related to those of the Targum, and this observation may have a bearing on the view expressed in this paper. It is true that some of these manuscript readings have not been adopted as the final text-form of the Peshiṭta, yet others have been accepted. The following instance have been selected as examples.

(a) In Isaiah xxvi 19 **וְרָנְנוּ** is rendered by the Syriac **ܫܡܥܝܬܝܢ**, and it appears that this is the reading of all the principal editions of the Peshiṭta, and the majority of MSS. But three manuscripts²⁾ supply

¹⁾ For variant manuscript readings, see G. DIETRICH, *op. cit.*

²⁾ The MSS. quoted by DIETRICH are, F (Florenz, Laurentiana Or. 58, dated 9th. century A.D.), o (Rom, Vatic. Syr. 461, dated 16th.-17th. centuries A.D.), y (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Syr. 18, dated 17th. century A.D.).

an objective pronominal suffix and read **ספספס**, and this reading may be compared with the Targum. **וישבחון קדמך**.

(b) The expression **רוח פרדמה** in Isaiah xxix 10 is rendered by the Syriac **ܙܫܐ ܠܚܫܐ** according to all the principal editions of the Peshitta and the majority of manuscripts. But one manuscript¹⁾ seems to follow the Targum **רוח דטעו** in reading **ܙܫܐ ܠܚܫܐ** (erring spirit). This appears to be the reading quoted by Ephraem.²⁾

(c) For the Hebrew **יֹאדִי מָצוֹר** of Isaiah xxxvii 25, the reading which has been accepted as the final text-form in all the principal editions of the Peshitta is **ܒܝܕܐܝܬܐ ܚܚܝܬܐ**. This is also the reading of most manuscripts, with the exception of one MS of the 9th. century A.D.³⁾ which reads **ܒܝܕܐܝܬܐ ܚܚܝܬܐ**. And this reading can be said to be in close agreement with the Targum **נהרין עמיקין**.

(d) In the instances which have been quoted, the renderings which seem to have some connexion with the Targum have not been accepted into the final text-form of the Peshitta. But in the rendering of **וַיִּכֶּה** of Isaiah xxxvii 36, the **ܫܡܠܐ** of all principal editions of the Peshitta and most manuscripts, agrees with the Targum **וקטל**. But two early MSS⁴⁾ exhibit an alternative reading **ܫܫܬ**, which could also be regarded as quite a legitimate rendering of the Hebrew.

Some of these variant readings show a connexion with the Targum. Here the main difficulty is to decide at what stage in the history of the Peshitta text were these variants recorded. If we could be certain of their existence before the appearance of a standard edition of the Targum, then they would be important evidence in favour of a connexion between the early text of the Peshitta and the tradition which has been preserved in the Targum. Though it is impossible at this stage of our enquiry to give an affirmative answer to this

¹⁾ The MS quoted by DIETRICH is C (London Mus. Brit. Add. 7183, dated 11th.-12th. centuries A.D.).

²⁾ This reference has been taken from G. DIETRICH, *op. cit.* It is interesting to note that B. J. ROBERTS, *op. cit.*, p. 224 has this to observe on Ephraem's readings, "Although his copy of the Peshitta text approximated to the final textual form, there are individual instances of divergent readings, and among these are some which are absolutely contradictory to that final text-form and are at the same time closely related to the traditions of the Palestinian Targum".

³⁾ The MS quoted by DIETRICH is F (Florenz, Laurentiana Or. 58., dated 9th. century A.D.).

⁴⁾ The MSS quoted by DIETRICH are A (Mailand, Ambrosiana B. 21, Inf. (Ed. CER.)), and D (London, Brit. Mus. Add. 14432.) both dated 6th. century A.D.

possibility, yet it is interesting to note that there are variant readings which agree with the renderings of the Targum.

If it is correct to infer this contact between the Peshitta and the Targum, yet, as has been pointed out at the beginning of this article, very little attention has been given to it. More emphasis has been placed upon the influence of the Septuagint on the text of the Peshitta, and positive examples have been given so as to make it impossible to deny this influence¹). But in a comparative study of the text of the Septuagint, the Peshitta and the Targum to the book of Isaiah, instances have been found where these three versions agree in their understanding of the Hebrew text. Such examples may suggest the necessity for a reconsideration of the relationship between the Septuagint and the Peshitta. For it may be possible that both the Septuagint and the Peshitta, independently of one another, have accepted a Jewish interpretation of the Hebrew text, which has also been preserved in the Targum. As instances of this agreement, and where a reconsideration may be necessary, the following selection of examples is offered.

(a) The translation of the Hiph'il of סָתַר, especially with Yahweh as subject and פָּנִים (or פָּנָיו) as object. In most instances where the expression הִסְתִּיר פָּנִים occurs in Isaiah, both LXX and the Peshitta render by "to turn or remove the face". Examples of this method of rendering may be found in Isaiah viii 17, xxix 15 (with עֵצָה as object), liii 3, liv 8, lix 2 and lxiv 6. This method of rendering is so consistent in both versions that it could be suggested that the Hiph'il has been read as הִסִּיר (the Hiph'il of סִיר)²). The Targum's rendering of this expression is "to remove or turn away the Shekinah", a rendering which was probably motivated by certain religious ideas³). It is interesting that, in the passages which have been quoted, the LXX and the Peshitta both agree with the Targum in their method of dealing with the Hebrew text. And in such instances one has to enquire whether the translators of the LXX and the Peshitta, independently of one another, knew of the method of rendering which has

¹) See especially W. E. BARNES, "On the influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta", *J.T.S.*, ii (1901), pp. 186-197.

²) It is interesting to note that the Dead Sea Scroll reads הִסְתִּירָתִי for הִסִּירוֹתִי in Isaiah 1 6. See Millar BURROWS, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* Vol. i, (1950), *in loc.*

³) See STENNING, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

been perpetuated in the Targum and so have allowed it to influence their renderings of this expression.

(b) The LXX, Peshitta and Targum appear to have a very similar approach in their rendering of the Hebrew word יָד in those instances where it has the special meaning of "monument" or "pillar". The first instance is Isaiah lvi 5, where the Hebrew יָד וַיִּשֶׁם is rendered by the LXX τόπον ὀνομαστών, the Peshitta ܠܳܠܳܘܢ ܣܳܥܳܬܳܬܳܐܢ, and the Targum ܐܳܬܳܪ ܐܳܬܳܪ ܐܳܬܳܪ. Again in Isaiah lvii 8, for the Hebrew יָד חַיִּית, the Peshitta reads ܠܳܠܳܘܢ ܣܳܬܳܐܢ, and the Targum ܐܳܬܳܪ ܒܳܚܳܬܳܪ. Here the LXX has a different text, and seems to have omitted this phrase.

(c) In a few instances there is to be detected a common lexical approach, which would suggest a relation between the LXX, Peshitta and Targum.

i. The rendering of נָחָה in Isaiah vii 2.

The Hebrew נָחָה אָרְם ַעַל אֲפָרָיִם is rendered in the LXX by συνεφώνησεν Ἀράμ πρὸς τὸν Ἑφράϊμ, the Peshitta ܠܳܠܳܘܢ ܐܳܪܳܡ ܥܳܠ ܐܳܦܳܪܳܝܳܡ, and the Targum ܐܳܬܳܬܳܚܳܒܳܪ ܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ ܕܳܐܳܪܳܡ ܥܳܡ ܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ ܕܳܝܳܫܳܪܳܐܳܝܳܠ. There appears to be sufficient agreement between LXX, Peshitta and Targum to assume that they have a similar understanding of the word נָחָה, and that they have not derived it from the ַ נִיח "to rest". SEELIGMANN¹⁾ treats the LXX reading as one of those examples which might be the product of "an etymological theory among Hellenistic Jewry", and assumes that the Greek rendering understood the form from the ַ אָחָה in the Niph'al. He adds that it "is fit to serve as an addition to the Hebrew dictionary". On the other hand O. EISSFELDT²⁾ relates the ַ נִיח to an Accadian cognate, which occurs in the Statue of Idri-mi, and derives a meaning for it similar to the one preserved in the LXX rendering, as well as those of the Peshitta and Targum. Whichever of these two views is the correct one, yet it appears that the LXX, Peshitta and Targum have a common understanding of the word in question, and they could have acquired this by being in contact with a common lexical approach to the passage.

ii. A common lexical approach may be the explanation of the correspondence between the LXX, Peshitta and Targum in their

¹⁾ SEELIGMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

²⁾ O. EISSFELDT, "nûah „sich vertragen", in *Festschrift für Ludwig Köhler zu dessen 70. Geburtstag* (1950), pp. 23-26.

renderings of the verb וְסִבַּרְתִּי in Isaiah xix 4. Here the Hebrew מְצַרִּים וְסִבַּרְתִּי אֶת מִצְרַיִם is rendered in the LXX by καὶ παραδῶσω Αἴγυπτον (and I will deliver). Similarly the Peshitta has סִבַּרְתִּי לְמִצְרַיִם, and the Targum ואמסר ית מצראי. It has been suggested that the versions read וְסִבַּרְתִּי for וְסִבַּרְתִּי.¹ It could be suggested that the three versions understood סִבַּר = שָׂכַר “to hire”. On the other hand, a more likely explanation is that the סִבַּר as used here is a dialectal variant of סָנַר, and as such has been correctly understood by LXX, Peshitta and Targum.

iii. In Isaiah lvii 18 וְאַנְחָהּ וְאַנְחָהּ, the LXX, Peshitta and Targum agree in their renderings of וְאַנְחָהּ. The LXX renders καὶ ἰσάμην αὐτὸν καὶ παρεκάλεσα αὐτὸν, the Peshitta סִבַּרְתִּי לְמִצְרַיִם, and the Targum ואשבוק להון וארחים עליהן. Each version has the meaning “to comfort or to show compassion” for the Hebrew וְאַנְחָהּ. A possible explanation of the renderings of the LXX, Peshitta and Targum is to assume that they point to a different consonantal text from that of the Massoretic, and that they read וְאַנְחָהּ for וְאַנְחָהּ. On the other hand it has to be considered whether these renderings indicate that the translators of the LXX, Peshitta and Targum shared in a common lexical approach in their rendering of the Hebrew וְאַנְחָהּ. And in this connexion two suggestions may be put forward. Firstly, the LXX, Peshitta and Targum could have assumed the text to be וְאַנְחָהּ, the Hiph’il of נָחַח, with the meaning “set at ease”. Or secondly, they assumed the same vocalization as the present Massoretic text, but understood the נָחַח “to lead” in the sense “to care for”, which would have suggested the idea “to comfort or have compassion”.

It is true that some of these examples could be said to demonstrate the influence which the LXX may have exerted on the Peshitta, and it is not our intention to deny the possibility of such influence. But in instances such as the above, where the LXX, Peshitta and Targum display a similar rendering of a Hebrew text, it may be necessary to re-examine the question of LXX influence on the Peshitta. The Peshitta, as well as the LXX, appears to have had contact with Jewish tradition, and the Syriac trans-

¹) See GRAY, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

lators may have decided to follow an LXX rendering because that rendering was in agreement with a Jewish tradition, which was already known to them. On the other hand, the translators of LXX and Peshitta, quite independently of one another, could have been in contact with Jewish tradition, and this, if proven, would illustrate the influence which that tradition had on the ancient translations of the Biblical texts.

DREI SELEUKIDEN IM BUCHE KOHELET?

VON

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Greifswald

Es ist ein wohl allgemein anerkanntes Ergebnis alttestamentlicher Forschung: Das Predigerbuch verdankt nicht Salomo, dem Sohne Davids, seine Entstehung. Ganz abgesehen davon, wie man nun das Pseudonym קהלת deuten mag, wird dies schon durch eine Untersuchung des Wortschatzes wie durch offenkundige Verbindungen mit anderen kanonischen oder ausserkanonischen Schriften jüngerer Datums nahegelegt¹⁾. Aber das sind und bleiben doch Zeugnisse zweitrangiger Natur, die dazu einen weiteren Zeitraum, der für eine Ansetzung der Schrift in Frage kommt, kaum näher einzuengen vermögen. Sollte jedoch der Inhalt des Buches selbst, das, was Kohelet berichtet, nicht einige — möglicherweise natürlich versteckte — Hinweise auf Ereignisse aus der Zeit des Verfassers enthalten? Man möchte dies schon deshalb annehmen, weil es kaum glaubhaft erscheint, dass ein so tief skeptisch gestimmter Mensch wie Kohelet bei aller schulmässigen Ausbildung in den Weisheitslehren ohne irgend welche persönlichen Erfahrungen zu seiner Einstellung gelangt sein sollte. Ja, erst vor kurzem wies auch HERTZBERG wieder darauf hin, dass Bilder aus dem Leben und der Kultur Palästinas bei dem Prediger ebenfalls keine Seltenheit bedeuten²⁾.

Vor allem drei Abschnitte sind es, für die — sofern man nicht jede Beziehung auf historische Ereignisse leugnen will³⁾ — gern ein geschichtlicher Hintergrund angenommen wird: iv 13-16; ix 13-16 (18) und x 16-17⁴⁾. Ihnen allen ist neben der auch sonst noch gelegentlich begegnenden Erwähnung eines Königs⁵⁾ eine auffallend

¹⁾ Vgl. dazu u.a. HERTZBERG, *Der Prediger* (Qohelet), 1932, S. 22 ff. oder EISSFELDT, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*², 1956, S. 611 ff.

²⁾ ZDPV 73, 1957, S. 113 ff.

³⁾ So u.a. GALLING, *Prediger Salomo* (HAT I, 18), 1940, S. 48; RE 22, 2, 1954. Sp. 1827 ff.; IRWIN, JNES 3, 1944, S. 255 oder EISSFELDT, a.O., S. 612 f. Weitere vgl. bei HERTZBERG a.O. S. 101.

⁴⁾ Die Vertreter dieser Anschauung, die an HIRZIG, *Der Prediger Salomo's*, 1847 anknüpfen, s. bei HERTZBERG a.O. S. 101. Ferner u.a. BARTON, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, 1947, S. 60 ff. und wohl auch TORREY, VT 2, 1952, S. 175 ff.

⁵⁾ So v 8 und viii 2 ff.; sinngemäss wohl auch x 4 ff. sowie vii 19.

stark ins Spezielle, in die Nennung von Einzelheiten gehende Darstellung gemeinsam. Wohl am deutlichsten tritt dies bei iv 13-16 zutage¹⁾; auch HERTZBERG urteilt hier: „So ... ist es doch möglich, dass dem Qoh ein bestimmter Fall vorschwebte, der ihm die Farben zu dem typischen Bilde lieferte“²⁾. Um welches Ereignis kann es sich gehandelt haben?

Der Abschnitt beginnt in v. 13 mit der Gegenüberstellung zweier Personen, eines Jünglings³⁾, der arm aber weise und eines Königs, der alt und töricht sein soll. Die Annahme liegt zunächst nicht fern, dass es sich hierbei um eine allgemeine Weisheitsregel handle, die in den folgenden Versen sodann eine nähere Erläuterung an Hand eines Beispiels erfährt, dessen sich der Verfasser bei ihrer Niederschrift erinnert⁴⁾. Aber dann muss doch auffallen, dass zwischen den einzelnen Gliedern, die in v. 13 einander gegenübergestellt werden, gar keine exakte Entsprechung besteht. Der Ton liegt, dem Charakter der ganzen Schrift gemäss, auf 'weise' und 'töricht'. Das zeigt die Hinzufügung von אשר לא-ידע להוהר עוד wie das Fehlen eines genauen Gegengliedes zu מסכן. Und חכם und כסיל entsprechen einander auch eindeutig. Aber dem 'Jüngling' des 1. Versteiles entspräche im 2. Teil das an 2. Stelle stehende 'alt', nicht jedoch der jetzt dort zuerst genannte 'König', der seinerseits richtiger mit 'arm' zu konfrontieren wäre⁵⁾. Warum diese Vertauschung? Dass מסכן und חכם auch sonst gern vom Prediger zusammengesehen werden⁶⁾, ist darauf ohne Einfluss. Es liegt daher die Annahme nahe, dass der Gedanke an das ab v. 14 folgende Bild bereits hier die nicht genaue Gegenüberstellung 'Jüngling' — 'König' veranlasste.

Freilich muss dabei nun gerade das Wort 'arm' den Anknüpfungspunkt zur Weiterführung des Abschnitts gebildet haben; Kohelet denkt an einen Jüngling — natürlich auch weise —, der aus einer Situation kommt, in der man arm ist bzw. als arm gilt, aus dem בית הסורים. Allgemein wird dieser Ausdruck trotz der ungewöhn-

¹⁾ Man vgl. nur אשר יעמד תחתיו oder בית הסורים השני.

²⁾ HERTZBERG a.O. S. 101.

³⁾ Dass ידל auch das Jünglingsalter einschliesst, zeigt u.a. Gen. xxxvii 30.

⁴⁾ Darauf könnte auch die Annahme von ZAPLETAL, *Das Buch Kohelet*, 1905, S. 145, dass in v. 13 ein anderes Metrum als in den folgenden Versen vorliegt, hinweisen.

⁵⁾ Ein König gilt allgemein als reich (vgl. 1. Kg. x 23); er ist also durchaus als Gegensatz zu 'arm' zu sehen. Zur inkorrekten Formulierung der Gegensätze vgl. auch SIEGFRIED, *Prediger und Hoheslied*, 1898, S. 47.

⁶⁾ Nach ix 11 kann Weisheit weder Brot, Reichtum noch Gunst erwerben; in ix 15 begegnet wieder die Wendung: איש מסכן חכם.

lichen Punktierung mit 'Gefängnis' wie in Jer. xxxvii 15 oder Ri. xvi 21. 25 (Kere) wiedergegeben, wobei man sich auf die dem jüngeren Hebräisch zuweilen eigene Elision des א beruft. Aber warum soll man diesen Fall, der letztlich doch eine Änderung des Konsonantenbestandes bedeutet, bei einer Wortverbindung annehmen, die nach dem vorliegenden Konsonantentext einen ebenso guten Sinn ergibt? Nach vii 26 kannte der Prediger die Schreibung von אסורים mit vollem Konsonantenbestand ¹⁾. Warum sollte er in iv 14 darauf verzichtet haben? Hätte er, ein gelehrter Mann, dann nicht die Möglichkeit gesehen, dass sich das Verständnis der Stelle bei Elision des א leicht verändern konnte? Es ist deshalb hier m.E. eine Punktierung der vom MT gebotenen Konsonanten als בית הסורים vorzuziehen, wie sie auch Venet. 1521 hat ²⁾ und ebenso von EWALD, HITZIG, DALE, HAUPT, BARTON oder ODEBERG ³⁾ bevorzugt wird ⁴⁾.

Das Verbum סור hat die Grundbedeutung 'weichen von etw.'; das davon gebildete intr. Verbaladjektiv סור (vgl. Jes. xlix 21 oder Jer. ii 21; xvii 13) wäre dann mit 'gewichen', 'abgewichen' wiederzugeben (vgl. Jer. xvi 13). Noch besser ist es gelegentlich jedoch mit 'vertrieben' zu übersetzen, wie etwa Jes. xlix 21 zeigen kann ⁵⁾, und diese Wiedergabe würde auch in iv 14 am besten passen: בית הסורים ist das 'Haus der Vertriebenen'.

Mit dem anschliessenden יצא der LXX zu folgen, liegt kein Anlass vor; mit dem MT ist es als Perfekt zu fassen, ebenso wie ראיתי in v. 15.

Die 2. Vershälfte von v. 14 beginnt wieder wie v. 14a mit כי, genauer גם כי. Analog zu iv 16c oder vii 22 und viii 16 dürfte diese Partikelverbindung hier am besten mit 'denn auch' wiedergegeben werden ⁶⁾. Wie v. 14a das in v. 13 Gesagte begründen wollte, so will nun auch v. 14b eine Begründung bieten, nämlich für das soeben in v. 14a Ausgeführte, für die Eigentümlichkeit, dass gerade der Jüngling aus dem Haus der Vertriebenen nun als König herrschen soll. Diese Auffassung stützt sich auf folgende Erwägungen:

¹⁾ Auch xii 5 behielt er die Schreibung des א in יְהִיאָץ, wo es wirklich überflüssig wäre, bei.

²⁾ Vgl. SIEGFRIED a.O. S. 47.

³⁾ Vgl. BARTON a.O. S. 121, ferner ODEBERG, *Qobaelaeth*, 1929, S. 43 f.

⁴⁾ MUILENBURGS Bearbeitung von 4 Koheletfragmenten aus Höhle 4 von Qumrān (vgl. BASOR 135, 1954, S. 20 ff.) kann zur Erklärung dieser wie weiterer Stellen nichts beitragen; sie betrifft nur die Kap. v-vii.

⁵⁾ Vgl. die Übersetzung von BUDDE in KAUTZSCH, *Die Hlg. Schrift*⁴, 1922, S. 680: „... war der Kinder ja beraubt und unfruchtbar, verbannt und vertrieben, und die, wer zog sie auf? ...“

⁶⁾ Vgl. so auch A. H. MCNEILE, *An Introduction to Ecclesiastes*, z. St.

- a) **כִּי גַם** mit 'wenn auch' ('obgleich') zu übersetzen würde bedeuten, dass v. 14b ebenso wie v. 14a als Erläuterung zu v. 13 anzusehen wäre, was durch das mit v. 13 gemeinsame Stichwort 'arm' zumal für v. 14b besonders deutlich würde.
- b) Ist eine Beziehung von v. 14b auf v. 13 jedoch deutlich, so fragt man, warum dann zuvor in v. 14a noch das **בֵּית הַסּוּרִים** angeführt wird; denn v. 14a zieht damit ein sachlich anderes Motiv als v. 14b zur Begründung des 'arm' an ¹⁾).
- c) Wählt man darum zur Umgehung dieses wenig wahrscheinlichen Nebeneinanders die andere Möglichkeit, v. 14b auf v. 14a zu beziehen, so liegt ein Einsatz mit 'denn' für v. 14b nahe.
- d) Dieser Lösung kommt der Text von v. 14b selbst sehr günstig entgegen:

In v. 13 wird 'arm' durch **מַסְכֵּן** wiedergegeben, in v. 14b hingegen steht für den gleichen Ausdruck **רֶשׁ**. Warum sollte der Verfasser hier plötzlich eine andere Vokabel gewählt haben, wo es ihm doch gerade darauf ankommen musste, die Verbindung der vv. 13 und 14 um des Bildes willen deutlich werden zu lassen? Gerade die Wahl eines Beispiels setzt ja den Wunsch nach Klarheit voraus. Und so drückt Kohelet in der anderen Beispielerzählung ix 13 ff. 'arm' auch wiederholt durch **מַסְכֵּן** aus und bleibt bei dieser Vokabel ²⁾. Man wird daher zu der Vermutung geführt, dass in v. 14b ursprünglich die drei Konsonanten **רֶאשׁ** standen. Dieses Wort mit der Grundbedeutung 'Haupt, 'Kopf' wäre hier dann als Bezeichnung für das Oberste, Höchste, in diesem Fall einer Familie, nämlich der königlichen, gebraucht. Eine derartige Verwendung von **רֶאשׁ** begegnet auch sonst noch im AT (vgl. Ex. vi 14.25; Num. vii 2; xxxii 28; xxxi 1 oder 1. Chr. xxiv 31). Bedeutsam ist dabei vor allem, dass dieses Familienhaupt stets der jeweils Älteste in der Erstgeborenenlinie ist, wie aus 1. Chr. xxiii 19.20 deutlich hervorgeht ³⁾. Hier genügt — ebenso wie beim Prediger — schon das Wort **רֶאשׁ** allein zur Verdeutlichung des Gemeinten. Dementsprechend ist in iv 14 dann genau 'als Familien-

¹⁾ V. 14a begründet das arm sein mit dem Aufenthalt im Haus der Vertriebenen, dem vertrieben sein, v. 14 b hingegen leitet es aus dem Motiv der armen Geburt ab.

²⁾ Schon aus diesem Grunde ist es m.E. auch nicht möglich, x 16.17 mit TORREY, VT 2, 1952, S. 175 ff. hinter iv 13 einzuschieben. x 16 gebraucht **נָעַר**, iv 13 ff. hingegen **יָלֵד**.

³⁾ Vgl. dazu auch NORR, *Die Umwelt des Alten Testaments*³, 1957, S. 55. — Wird dieses Prinzip durchbrochen, so ist dies besonders vermerkt; vgl. 2. Chr. xi 22. Hier wird auch deutlich, dass das **רֶאשׁ** bereits zu Lebzeiten des Vaters eingesetzt würde.

haupt' zu übersetzen ¹⁾, wobei auch die Verbindung mit נולד sehr einleuchtend ist: Der Anspruch auf die Stellung als Oberhaupt der Familie wurde bereits durch die Erstgeburt festgelegt ²⁾.

Wie es zum Fortfall des 2. Konsonanten, des א, und damit zur jetzigen Textgestalt kam, lässt sich ohne grosse Mühe erklären. Man braucht nur anzunehmen, dass Bearbeiter oder Nachfolger ³⁾ des Predigers das ראש nicht mehr in seinem eigentlichen Sinn verstanden, sondern, durch das 'arm' von v. 13 veranlasst, als Pt. קל. von ראש, das ursprünglich ebenfalls als ראש geschrieben wurde, wie noch 2. Sam. xii 1.4 oder Prov. x 4; xiii 23 zeigen ⁴⁾. Dass auch diese Lesung durchaus einen Sinn ergab, konnte einen solchen Irrtum nur noch verstärken. Und las man iv 14 erst als 'arm', so konnte es schliesslich nur noch eine Formsache sein, auch das א zu streichen — wurde doch auch schon in v 7 die Kurzform רא gebraucht ⁵⁾.

Es ergibt sich somit als Übersetzung der vv. 13-14:

- 13: Besser ein Jüngling, arm und weise,
als ein König, alt und töricht,
der nicht mehr verstand, sich raten zu lassen.
- 14: Denn aus dem Haus der Vertriebenen ging jener hervor, um
König zu werden,
denn unter jenes Regierung wurde er auch als Familienhaupt
geboren.

Es braucht nicht weiter ausgeführt zu werden, dass der Text nach dieser Berichtigung nur noch um so deutlicher auf einen historischen Kern weist. Welche Begebenheit steht hinter ihm? Es scheint deutlich: Der Thronwechsel im seleukidischen Reiche vom Jahre 246 v. Chr. ⁶⁾. Der alte, törichte König ist Antiochos II. Wie schon HERTZBERG richtig bemerkte, besteht die Torheit des Königs nach iv 13 nicht in Regierungsunfähigkeit oder Ungeeignetheit wegen hohen Alters, sondern darin, dass er keinen Rat annimmt, sich mit

¹⁾ Wiedergabe mit 'als' wie in Hiob xxix 25 u.ö.

²⁾ Von hieraus ergibt sich von selbst, dass das Suffix in במלכותו mit Symmachus, Targum, DELITZSCH, HERTZBERG u.a. auf den zuvor genannten alten König zu beziehen ist.

³⁾ Zur Annahme späterer Hände vgl. u.a. EISSFELDT a.O. S. 616 f. oder HERTZBERG a.O. S. 18 f.

⁴⁾ Vgl. GESENIUS, *Hebr. Grammatik*²⁶, hrg. von KAUTZSCH, 1896, S. 194 § 72 p.

⁵⁾ Oder liegt auch hier erst eine spätere Streichung des א vor?

⁶⁾ Zur Datierung der seleukidischen Könige vgl. jetzt vor allem SACHS u. WISEMAN in *Iraq* 16, 1954, S. 202 ff.

ungeeigneten Ratgebern umgibt, er also unklug handelt¹⁾. Gerade in dieser Sicht aber musste Antiochos II. einem späteren Betrachter seiner Zeit erscheinen. Seine Torheit begann, als er durch eine Heirat mit Berenike, der Tochter Ptolemaios' II., den Krieg mit Ägypten glücklich zu beenden glaubte. Um dieser Heirat willen entfernte er seine 1. Gemahlin, Laodike, zusammen mit ihren beiden Söhnen, Seleukos und Antiochos, vom Hofe nach Sardes²⁾. Vor allem jedoch sollte nun Berenike als Teilhaberin an der Herrschaft eine ähnliche Stellung neben Antiochos II. haben wie Arsinoë neben Ptolemaios in Ägypten. Darin lag aber zugleich, dass die Thronnachfolge nunmehr auf die Kinder aus der Ehe mit Berenike übergehen sollte³⁾, — nicht jedoch auf das durch seine Erstgeburt dazu bestimmte ראש des Königshauses, an den jungen Seleukos. Von hier aus wird der Wert, den iv 14 auf die Bezeichnung ראש für den Jüngling legt, verständlich. Und in der Tat wusste Laodike, die eine einflussreiche Partei auf ihrer Seite hatte, ja auch die Thronfolge dieses ihres ältesten Sohnes durchzusetzen. Als der König — törichterweise — wieder Verbindung mit ihr aufnahm, tötete sie ihn⁴⁾ und bestimmte den Sterbenden, Seleukos, der gerade ein 18-jähriger Jüngling war, als Seleukos II. zum Nachfolger zu berufen⁵⁾. Er kam also aus dem Haus der Vertriebenen, um nun König zu werden, und das mit vollem Recht, war er doch unter seines Vaters Regierung schon als neues ראש des seleukidischen Hauses geboren.

Doch damit ist das Bild von iv 14 ff. noch nicht zu Ende. In V. 15 wird von הילד השני gesprochen. Das שני hat viel Kopfzerbrechen bereitet, man änderte es in עני, מסכן, sprach vom zweiten Mann im Staate, liess es überhaupt fort oder erklärte es für eine spätere Eintragung. Solche Korrekturen des MT, wenn man ihm keinen Sinn abzugewinnen können glaubt, sind einfach. Aber man sollte hier doch zurückhaltender damit sein, verbanden doch auch die Massoreten mit dem הילד השני zweifellos noch einen bestimmten Sinn, wenn sich nicht einmal ein קere zur Stelle findet.

Der Prediger leitet, wie auch sonst gern⁶⁾, mit ראיתי zu einer

¹⁾ HERTZBERG a.O. S. 100.

²⁾ KAHRSTEDT, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Altertums*, 1948, S. 133; NIESE, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeroneia II*, 1899, S. 146.

³⁾ Vgl. NIESE a.O. S. 139 Anm. 5; KORNEMANN, *Weltgeschichte des Mittelmeer-Raumes I*, 1948, S. 245.

⁴⁾ Vgl. KAHRSTEDT a.O. S. 133; NIESE a.O. S. 146.

⁵⁾ Vgl. KORNEMANN a.O. S. 246; NIESE a.O. S. 146.

⁶⁾ Vgl. iii 10, iv 1.4; ii 13 u.ö.

neuen Aussage über. Durch den ילד des eben angeführten Beispiels veranlasst, erinnert er sich eines weiteren Jünglings — zweifellos auch weise —, dessen Wirksamkeit und Machtfülle ihm erst den rechten Kontrast zu seiner Grundthese: 'Alles ist eitel und Haschen nach Wind' liefert. Mit diesem Jüngling, meint er, waren alle, die unter der Sonne leben, ihrer war kein Ende. Das ist nach jeder Geschichtskennntnis natürlich eine Übertreibung, ja, lebte Kohelet z. Zt. oder nach Antiochos II. in Palästina (s.o. S. 192), so hatte er stets die beiden grossen Reiche der Ptolemäer und Seleukiden, also zumindest 2 Herrscher, vor Augen. Aber dies ist auch nicht das Wesentliche; worauf es Kohelet ankommt, ist die Betonung der Steigerung, der grösseren Machtfülle, die bei diesem zweiten Jüngling vorlag — und die doch auch nichts einträgt. Das ist das Ergebnis, zu dem der Prediger immer wieder kommt und schliesslich auch mit diesem Abschnitt führen will.

Somit dürfte bereits LEIMDÖRFER für diese Verse den richtigen Ansatz gesehen haben, wenn er den ילד in V. 15 von dem der Vv. 13-14 trennen wollte¹⁾. Er dachte dabei nun an ein Brüderpaar. Doch das braucht nicht die einzig mögliche Lösung zu sein. Es ist wohl von dem zweiten Jüngling die Rede. Aber ebenso gut wie auf den alten König lässt sich das Suffix von תחתיו auch auf den zuerst genannten Jüngling beziehen, von dem allein im ganzen vorhergehenden Vers erzählt wurde²⁾. Ja, man möchte fast meinen, dass die Anfügung des Satzes: 'אשר יעמד תחתיו' überhaupt kaum nötig wäre, wenn doch nur das nächstliegende Verständnis: 'Zweiter Sohn des alten Königs' vorausgesetzt wäre. In den ילד schwingt ohnehin schon die Bedeutung 'Sohn' mit³⁾. Dann aber lässt sich in V. 15 andererseits auch an den 2. Sohn bzw. Jüngling des in den Vv. 13-14 genannten denken.

Gegenüber dem bisher gebräuchlichen Tempus steht יעמד nunmehr im Impf. Das bedeutet doch wohl, bei der Aussage des Relativsatzes zunächst und vor allem an eine unvollendete Handlung zu denken. Das Verbum עמד hat die Bedeutung 'hintreten', '(da-) stehen'⁴⁾. Unter Heranziehung des zweiten Ausdrucks wäre dann in

¹⁾ LEIMDÖRFER, *Der Prediger Salomonis in historischer Beleuchtung*², 1892, S. 23 und 114. Ebenso neuerdings TORREY a.O. S. 176.

²⁾ Dass תחתיו keine unmittelbare Aufeinanderfolge auszudrücken braucht, zeigt u.a. Ps. xlv 17.

³⁾ Vgl. demgegenüber x 16, wo zur Bezeichnung eines Kindes 'נער' gebraucht wird.

⁴⁾ Vgl. KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 1953, s.v. עמד.

V. 15b am besten 'der an dessen Stelle steht' zu übersetzen¹⁾. Der Wechsel des Tempus ist durchaus verständlich: Der **יֵלֵד הַשְּׁנִי** ist der Herrscher, der zu der Zeit, da der Prediger seine Schrift abfasst, gerade den Thron innehat. Daraus ergibt sich dann als nahelegend, **יִשְׁמְחוּ** in V. 16 futurisch wiederzugeben, worauf neben den **אֲחֵרֹנִים** auch die Parallele von i 11 weisen dürfte²⁾.

Die Vv. 15-16 sind somit wie folgt zu übersetzen:

15: Ich sah alle Lebenden, die unter der Sonne wandeln,
auf Seiten des zweiten Jünglings, der an dessen Stelle steht.
16: Da war kein Ende all' des Volkes, all' derer, an deren Spitze
er war; —
doch die Späteren werden sich nicht an ihm freuen,
denn auch dies ist eitel und ein Haschen nach Wind.

Wer ist nun der **יֵלֵד הַשְּׁנִי**? Seleukos II. hinterliess, als er 225 v. Chr. starb, 2 Söhne, Seleukos und Antiochos, von denen der ältere als Seleukos III. zunächst die Regierung übernahm. Doch schon nach 3 Jahren starb auch er und nun trat sein jüngerer Bruder als Antiochos III. an des Vaters Stelle³⁾. Er war wie Seleukos ein Jüngling von gerade 18 Jahren, als er den Thron der Seleukiden bestieg⁴⁾, doch bald entfaltete er eine Machtfülle, die die seiner Vorgänger bei weitem übertraf. Nach der Besiegung der aufständischen Satrapen Mediens und Persiens verankerte er die königliche Macht wieder fest in den östlichen Reichsteilen. Im Westen, in Kleinasien, stellte hingegen sein Oheim Achaïos das Ansehen und die Ausdehnung des Reiches im alten Umfang wieder her. Doch damit nicht genug stiess der junge König nach einem Kriegszug gegen die Parther bis nach Baktrien und Indien sowie bis an die Küsten Arabiens vor⁵⁾; kein Wunder, dass ihm schon bald der Beiname 'der Grosse' zugelegt wurde⁶⁾. Vor allem jedoch nahm er auch nach kurzer Zeit die alten

¹⁾ Die von vielen nach 2. Kg. iii 27 gewählte Übersetzung: 'der an seiner Stelle stehen (bzw. auftreten) sollte' ist demgegenüber komplizierter und entspricht zumal bei einer Deutung als 'Stellvertreter' (vgl. HERTZBERG *a.O.* S. 100) auch nicht mehr ganz dem Sinn von 2. Kg. iii 27.

²⁾ Diese Fassung von **יִשְׁמְחוּ** dürfte, ebenso wie die für **יַעֲמֹד** vorgeschlagene, einfacher als HERTZBERGS Erklärung (*a.O.* S. 101) sein, der die Form in die Vergangenheit setzen muss.

³⁾ Vgl. KORNEWMANN *a.O.* S. 154. — Antiochos III. war also zugleich auch zeitlich, in der Reihe der Nachfolger, der 2. Jüngling nach Seleukos II.

⁴⁾ Vgl. KORNEWMANN *a.O.* S. 258.

⁵⁾ Vgl. KORNEWMANN *a.O.* S. 260 ff.

⁶⁾ Der Beiname **μεγας** kam bereits zu Lebzeiten des Antiochos auf und ist durch eine Inschrift aus Soli (*BCH* 14, 1890, S. 587) inschriftlich belegt. Vgl.

Versuche der Seleukiden wieder auf, den Süden von Koilesyrien, Palästina, den Ptolemäern zu entreissen. In immer neuen Kriegen erschien er seit 222 v. Chr. in Kohelets Heimat ¹⁾ und als es 217 v. Chr. bei Raphia endlich zu einer gewaltigen Schlacht mit Ptolemaios IV. kam, war sein Heer nicht kleiner als das des mächtigen Ägypters ²⁾ — da war in der Tat kein Ende all' derer, an deren Spitze er war.

Was schon aufgrund anderer Beobachtungen am Buche Kohelet wahrscheinlich wurde, ergibt sich somit m.E. auch aus iv 13-16: Der Prediger war ein Zeitgenosse Antiochos' des Grossen, und zu seiner Zeit verfasste er auch seine Schrift ³⁾. Ja, man kann des näheren wohl noch sagen, dass er nicht nur die ersten Jahre dieses grossen Seleukiden erlebt haben dürfte; darauf lassen schon die Perfektformen von iv 15 schliessen, die einen gewissen Abstand von den Ereignissen nahelegen, wie es zweifellos auch erst einiger Zeit bedurfte, ehe ein so eindruckliches Bild der Machtfülle, wie es iv 15.16 zeichnen, bei einem Bewohner Palästinas entstehen konnte.

Will man darüber hinaus noch zu einer genaueren Datierung gelangen, so wäre vor allem x 16.17 heranzuziehen, eine Notiz, der wohl auch zu Recht von den meisten eine historische Beziehung zuerkannt wird. Schon HIRTZIG meinte, dass hier der unmündige Ptolemaios V. (ab ca. 203 v. Chr.) ⁴⁾ und der tatkräftige Antiochos III. einander gegenübergestellt seien ⁵⁾. Da jedoch andere, mehr allgemeine Aussagen, die die Verhältnisse im Lande des Verfassers widerspiegeln, immer wieder von korrupten Zuständen sprechen ⁶⁾,

NIESE *a.O.* S. 364, Anm. 2. — Vielleicht weist sachlich in die gleiche Richtung auch ix 14, wenn dort von einem מלך גדול gesprochen wird, der wohl mit Antiochos zu identifizieren ist.

¹⁾ Vgl. o. S. 192; HERTZBERG, *ZDPV* 73, 1957, S. 124.

²⁾ Die genaue Nachricht spricht von 70 000 Mann und 100 Elephanten, denen 80 000 Ägypter mit 75 Elephanten gegenüber standen (vgl. KORNEMANN *a.O.* S. 259).

³⁾ Zur Datierung der Schrift aufgrund ihrer Sprache und ihrer Beziehungen zu anderen kanonischen und ausserkanonischen Schriften vgl. HERTZBERG *a.O.* S. 22 ff., auch GINSBERG, *VT Suppl.* 3, S. 148. Mit einer Ansetzung unter Antiochos III. lässt sich gut die Datierung der Kohelet-Fragment aus Höhle 4 von Qumrān (zwischen 200 und 150 v. Chr.) vereinen (vgl. CROSS, *JBL* 74, 1955, S. 153. 162; *RB* 63, 1956, S. 58). — An Antiochos III. dachten auch schon BÖTTCHER (bei HERTZBERG, *a.O.* S. 101) oder BARTON (*a.O.* S. 61. 120 f.) von anderen Erwägungen her.

⁴⁾ Vgl. KORNEMANN *a.O.* S. 290; BENGTON, *Griechische Geschichte*, 1950, S. 400.

⁵⁾ HIRTZIG, *Der Prediger Salomo's* 1847 z. St.;², 1883, S. 193.

⁶⁾ Vgl. iii 16, iv 1, v 7 f., vii 10.15, x 5-7.

ja, Kohelet gelegentlich sogar vor einem Abfall warnt¹⁾, dürfte sich der Herrschaftswechsel, der Palästina 200 v. Chr. an Antiochos III. brachte²⁾, noch nicht vollzogen haben. Die Jahre zwischen 202 und 200 v. Chr., nachdem das Land erfahren hat, dass auch der neue Herrscher, Ptolemaios V., keine Besserung der Verhältnisse bedeutet, das mag die Zeit sein, in der Kohelet seine Gedanken niederschrieb. War er in diesen Jahren, wie der Tenor des ganzen Buches vermuten lässt, bereits ein gealterter Mann, der auf ein Leben voller Erfahrungen zurückblicken konnte, in dem er seine eigene Weltanschauung gewonnen hatte³⁾, so ist es wohl vorstellbar, dass er sich dabei gelegentlich auch jener Ereignisse erinnerte, die vor etwa 4 Jahrzehnten den Thronwechsel im Nachbarreich begleiteten, als nämlich der junge Seleukos II. an die Stelle des alten Königs Antiochos II. trat.

¹⁾ Vgl. viii 2 f., x 4.

²⁾ Vgl. KORNEMANN *a.O.* S. 291.

³⁾ So auch GALLING *a.O.* S. 48; HERTZBERG *a.O.* S. 31.

SHORT NOTES

THE INTERPRETATION OF JEREMIAH XVII 5-8

There have been, broadly speaking, two approaches to this passage.

1) With the denial of Jeremicanic authorship there goes the assertion that xvii 5-8 is a characteristic saying in the tradition of the Wisdom literature. Thus P. VOLZ¹⁾ "es spricht hier auch nicht ein Prophet sondern ein Weisheitslehrer". In this connection the striking similarity to Ps. i is noted, there being general agreement that Ps. i is dependent upon the present passage²⁾.

Furthermore it is claimed that vv 7-8 contradict either Jeremiah's prophetic word or his own personal experience or both. B. DUHM³⁾ thinks that the picture of the unfailing resources available to "the man who trusts in Yahweh" is inconsistent both with the prophet's moods of extreme despair e.g. xv 10-21, xx 14-18, and with his insistence upon the coming total breakdown of the nation's life e.g. viii-ix. But a) vv 7-8 are not necessarily inconsistent with moments of extreme personal crisis or near despair. The figure of "the tree planted by water" stresses solely the never failing resources available to the man who trusts in Yahweh. Indeed if it were permissible to press the detail of the picture - which is doubtfully sound exegetically—it could be pointed out that periods of oppressive heat and drought

¹⁾ P. VOLZ, *Der Prophet Jeremia* (Kommentar zum Alten Testament) p. 186.

²⁾ Cf. J. P. HYATT *Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. 5, p. 951 describing the present poem as "more original and more spiritual than Ps. 1."

J. A. BEWER in H. M. Printers Annotated Bible, *Jeremiah*, Vol. 1, p. 57.

E. A. LESLIE, *Jeremiah*, p. 256.

H. W. ROBINSON in Peake's Commentary p. 483.

W. RUDOLPH, *Jeremia* (Handbuch zum Alten Testament 12) p. 99.

P. VOLZ, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

H. GUNKEL, *Die Psalmen*, p. 3.

C. A. BRIGGS, *Psalms*, Vol. 1, p. 3 (International Critical Commentary).

W. O. E. OESTERLEY, *The Psalms*, p. 120.

A. C. WELCH in *The Book of Jeremiah*, translated into colloquial English is less sure of dependence. He heads this section "A short psalm of the same character and probably of the same period as the first psalm in the Bible" cf. his remarks in Abingdon Bible Commentary, *ad. loc.*

³⁾ B. DUHM, *Jeremia* (Kurzer Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament) p. 145 cf. J. P. HYATT, *op. cit.*

J. A. BEWER, *op. cit.*

are specifically mentioned. The significant fact at this point is not the moods of bitter frustration and black despair which overwhelmed Jeremiah; but the way in which, even with such experiences, he continued to bear the burden of his prophetic calling to the end. He continually drew upon resources which were greater than his varied moods.

b) C. H. CORNILL¹⁾ countered DUHM's comment upon the difficulty of harmonising the theme of this passage 8 with Jeremiah's emphasis upon the total disaster awaiting his people by saying that we might as well deny the authenticity of Matt. vii 24-27 on the grounds that Jesus was convinced that dire tribulation was to befall his people. In so far as this is a protest against an over-severe logic which does scant justice to the sweep and flexibility of the prophet's thought, it is valid. Even when a prophet is convinced that his people have set their feet upon the way of Death, he nonetheless reminds them of the way of Life. (cf. Amos v 6, 14-15)²⁾.

None of the arguments adduced against Jeremianic authorship are conclusive. It is not sufficient to note that the present poem has characteristics which link it with the Wisdom tradition. As VOLZ³⁾ himself admits Jeremiah *could* have written such a poem. VOLZ is led to a negative conclusion by certain features of the language of vv. 10-12 which suggest a post-exilic date. xvii 5-13, however, form a very doubtful unity. It is more likely that vv. 5-8 and vv. 9-13 were originally distinct units. Arguments drawn from vv. 9-13, even where valid, do not, therefore, decide the issue in the case of vv. 5-8.

2) Commentators who accept that this passage contains an authentic word of Jeremiah have, under the influence of Isa. xxxi 1-3, been led to see in the passage an attack by Jeremiah upon the *pro-Egyptian* policy which held such a fatal fascination for the last kings of Judah. Thus A. S. PEAKE⁴⁾ refers to Isa. xxxi 3 as "a striking parallel to the present verse which may have been similarly conditioned by Judah's reliance on help from Egypt against Babylon". On this supposition the only problem outstanding is to discover the particular circumstances, if any, which the prophet had in mind. Two views have been widely canvassed.

¹⁾ C. H. CORNILL, *Das Buch Jeremia*, p. 212.

²⁾ A. S. PEAKE, *Jeremiah*, Vol. 1 (Century Bible) p. 223 seeks a chronological reason for the different emphasis.

³⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

⁴⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 222; cf. E. HENDERSON, *Jeremiah* (1851) p. 105.

- (a) The prophet is attacking Jehoiakim's foolish revolt against his Babylonian overlord (2 Kings xxiv 1-7), a revolt to which he was probably persuaded by promises of Egyptian help. "Quod vix dubium quin pertineat ad Jojakinum regem, Aegyptorum maxime praefidio fretum: uti recte Kimchi monuit".¹⁾
- (b) It has been more usual to see here a reference to Zedekiah's pro-Egyptian policy at least in the mind of the compiler who inserted these verses at this particular point in the book. The poem thus becomes a Jeremianic parallel to the condemnation of Zedekiah's policy in Ezekiel xvii, though the grounds of condemnation differ.²⁾

Is the parallel to Isa. xxxi 1-3 really as striking as is sometimes asserted? A close scrutiny of the two passages reveals that the only direct link lies in the words **בשר** and **אדם** used in opposition to God:

וּמִצְרַיִם אָדָם וְלֹא-אֵל וְסוֹסֵיהֶם בֶּשֶׂר וְלֹא רוּחַ Isa. xxxi 3

אֲרוּר הַגִּבֹּר אֲשֶׁר יִבְטַח בְּאָדָם וּשְׁם בֶּשֶׂר זֶרְעוֹ Jer. xvii 5

In other respects the passages are very different; Jeremiah xvii 5-8 developing the contrast between the two types of **גִּבֹּר**, Isa. xxxi 1-3 containing pointed references to the Egyptians, their horses and their chariots. The parallel is naturally suggestive as far as it goes, but it by no means necessitates our interpreting Jer. xvii 5-8 against the background of the anti-Babylonian, pro-Egyptian policies policies either of Jehoiakim or Zedekiah.

3) If we refuse to limit our vision to such policies, is there any other occasion in Jeremiah's ministry when this poem would be peculiarly apposite? We believe there is. Whatever Jeremiah's initial attitude towards the reform of 621 B.C.³⁾ there is abundant evidence that he became increasingly critical of the nationalistic, religious emphasis

¹⁾ E. F. C. ROSENMÜLLER, *Jeremiah* (1826) p. 442.

Cf. F. HITZIG, *Der Prophet Jeremia*, pp. 130 ff.

A. W. STREANE, *Jeremiah* (Cambridge Bible for Schools) p. 127.

²⁾ C. H. CORNILL, *op. cit.*, p. 212; E. A. LESLIE, *op. cit.*, 256 f.

J. P. HYATT, *op. cit.*, p. 952. J. A. BEWER, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

W. RUDOLPH, *op. cit.*, p. 99 though he refuses to limit these verses to a political reference, seeing in them the possibility of a more personal reference in the experience of the prophet.

³⁾ Cf. H. H. ROWLEY "The Prophet Jeremiah and the Book of Deuteronomy" in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy presented to T. H. Robinson*, pp. 157 ff. We cannot subscribe to the thesis of J. P. HYATT, *J.B.L.* lix (1940) p. 512, *J.N.E.S.* i, pp. 156-173, *Interpreter's Bible*, Vol. 5, pp. 789 f., that Jeremiah's prophetic career did not begin till the reign of Jehoiakim.

which was part of the legacy of the reformation, his criticism finding varied expression in the Temple Sermon (vii and xxvi) at the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, the letter to the exiles (xxix), and his own treasonable activities and advice to Zedekiah (cf. xxi 1-10, xxxiv 1-7, xxxvii 3-10, 11-21, xxxviii 1-23). The same nationalistic mood, however, was evident already in the latter part of *Josiah's* reign. In spite of the high regard in which Jeremiah held Josiah (cf. xxii 15-16, 1 Esdras i 32) there is no reason to suppose that he gave uncritical support to all the policies favoured by Josiah and his advisers. In endeavouring to oppose Pharaoh Neco at Megiddo (608 B.C.) Josiah was hoping to give final political expression to the Yahwistic movement which had initiated the reformation of 621 B.C. (2 Kings xxiii 28 ff. cf. xxiii 15). The outcome was disastrous. Would not xvii 5-8 be peculiarly fitting as the prophet's comment upon the news of Megiddo? It may even have been a prophetic warning against the policy which led to Megiddo, a warning delivered either to the king himself or more generally against the prevailing climate of opinion which supported the policy ¹). To Jeremiah the interests of true religion could not be advanced by this type of political adventure. This was to 'trust in man' and to arm oneself with 'flesh'. In the last analysis even the popular Josiah and his armies represented that creaturely weakness indicated by the words **אדם** and **בשר**. We thus see in xvii 5-8 one of the earliest evidences of Jeremiah's alienation from the nationalistic emphasis in the reform of 621 B.C. The rest of the prophet's long and stormy pilgrimage is the best commentary we have on what he meant by 'trust in Yahweh'; the remaining years of Judah's independence vividly illustrate the truth in his warning 'Cursed is he who trusts in man, and makes flesh his arm'.

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RESSERREMENT OU ANIMATION ?

H. J. STOEBE a pris la peine de critiquer (*VT*, 1959, 99-101) la modeste contribution philologique que nous avons présentée dans cette revue (*VT*, 1958, 297-302) pour tenter de résoudre la difficulté que représente le sens à donner au mot *ꜥdb* dans l'inscription de Siloé.

Nous sommes le premier à savoir que notre proposition pour le

¹) Cf. 1 Esdras i 28 where it is related that Josiah tried to oppose Pharaoh Neco at Megiddo "and did not heed the words of Jeremiah the prophet from the mouth of the Lord."

sens de *ꝛdh* ne réunira pas tous les suffrages. En effet, il n'y aura jamais de solution *définitive* sur ce point, pour deux raisons: le mot est jusqu'à présent un hapax et nous connaissons mal les conditions réelles de percement du canal. Toutefois nous voudrions montrer ici que la solution adoptée par STOEBE a moins encore en sa faveur que toutes celles qui ont été proposées jusqu'à ce jour.

D'abord, il ne suffit pas de dire que l'étymologie de *ꝛdh* n'est pas assez claire pour qu'on puisse en tirer des conclusions assurées. Il faut examiner les étymologies possibles du mot et retenir seulement celle qui repose sur une racine existant *en hébreu ou en cananéen*. Or la racine à laquelle s'arrête STOEBE¹⁾ n'est pas attestée en hébreu et il le reconnaît lui-même lorsqu'il écrit: "F. R. BLAKE l'a (le mot *ꝛdh*) rapproché avec beaucoup de vraisemblance d'une racine *ꝛnd* qui, à la vérité, n'est pas attestée en ouest-sémitique..."²⁾ D'ailleurs, pour arriver au sens retenu par STOEBE de "position étroite", "point de contact", la racine *ꝛnd* en arabe est ambiguë puisqu'elle retient à la I^{ve} forme la connotation "s'accroître"³⁾. A notre avis, STOEBE est dans l'erreur en négligeant l'apport de la philologie pour résoudre notre difficulté particulière.

Après avoir refusé le secours de la philologie, STOEBE se tourne alors vers la psychologie. Il décide souverainement des objections qui sont *décisives* contre l'explication que nous avons proposée pour éclairer le sens de *ꝛdh*.

Il veut bien faire abstraction des variantes de sens que nous donnons à *ꝛr*. Or, n'est-il pas conforme aux usages linguistiques les plus clairement attestés, qu'un même signifiant possède plusieurs variantes de sens puisque le signifié peut correspondre à un champ sémantique aux contours imprécis? L'usage de l'allemand aurait dû prévenir STOEBE d'une telle objection implicite. La psychologie est ici en défaut!

Pour STOEBE, comme pour d'autres interprètes, „à droite [et à gauche]" signifie, à droite et à gauche du mineur qui taille, c'est-à-dire, sur la paroi gauche et sur la paroi droite du canal (en orientation absolue, à l'est et à l'ouest). Cette interprétation est possible; elle ne s'impose nullement! Stoebe écrit: "Cette détermination... est dans un rapport étroit avec la personne qui fait l'affirmation; dans notre

¹⁾ I T, 1959, p. 99, note 1 et ZDPV, 1955, 133-134.

²⁾ ZDPV, 1955, p. 133.

³⁾ J. B. BELOT, *Vocabulaire arabe-français*, Beyrouth, 1896, p. 299.

pas ce sont les ouvriers...¹⁾ Pourquoi l'expression "à droite et à gauche" ne serait-elle pas en rapport avec celui qui grava l'inscription et qui, regardant une paroi, désignait par droite et gauche ce qui se trouvait à droite et à gauche du rocher restant à tailler? D'ailleurs, en poussant à la limite l'interprétation de STOEBE, on aboutit à une inconséquence dont notre critique n'a pas eu conscience. C'est que, si droite et gauche désignent les parois du canal de chaque côté des mineurs, il n'est pas précisé s'il s'agit des mineurs venant du nord ou de ceux venant du sud. "Il y avait *ꜥdh* à droite et à gauche", mais de quel côté? Des deux côtés du rocher à la fois? Il eût fallu le préciser, d'autant plus que, STOEBE le reconnaît, on insiste dans l'inscription sur ce qui se passe *des deux côtés* en même temps, au nord et au sud. Tout, dans l'inscription invite à comprendre que "à droite et à gauche" signifie de part et d'autre du rocher à abattre: "pic contre pic", "l'un à la rencontre de l'autre", "lorsqu'il ne resta que trois coudées à abattre, on entendit la voix de chacun appelant l'autre". Que "à droite et à gauche" puisse avoir le sens de "au sud et au nord" est évident. N'y a-t-il pas assez d'exemples en hébreu de l'emploi de droite pour désigner le sud et de gauche pour désigner le nord, sans qu'on pense encore à l'orientation de celui qui parle? La position géographique du Yemen (= droite) dépend-elle de celui qui parle? On pourrait poser la même question pour le royaume ancien de Chamal (= gauche). On nous rétorquera que dans l'inscription de Siloé on a affaire à une expression. Précisément nous donnons à cette expression sa valeur pleine en traduisant ainsi "car il y avait de l'ardeur (au travail) dans le rocher, venant du sud [et venant du nord]", donc des deux côtés à la fois, ce qui s'accorde parfaitement avec tout le texte.

La psychologie va être utilisée plus encore. Il paraît qu'à la ligne 3, l'ardeur au travail vient trop tôt, car c'est dans les lignes 5 et 6 que s'exprimerait l'éclatement de la joie des travailleurs. Or, aux lignes 5 et 6, il n'est pas question expressis verbis de la joie des travailleurs. Qu'on puisse la sous-entendre est possible. Mais ne sous-entendons pas trop, car il risquerait de s'agir plus de la psychologie de l'interprète que de celle du ou des auteurs de l'inscription. D'ailleurs, l'ardeur au travail n'a rien à voir avec la joie finale. Une plus grande activité dans le travail est tout autre chose qu'une réjouissance finale. Il y a bien ici une progression que STOEBE n'a pas sentie.

¹⁾ VT, 1959, p. 99.

Pourtant, selon STOEBE toujours, l'animation aurait dû se produire plus tôt. En effet, le bruit des voix aurait dû s'entendre bien avant qu'il ne reste plus que trois coudées de rocher à abattre. Il ajoute même qu'on se demande comment les travailleurs pouvaient savoir qu'il restait encore trois coudées. Mais on pourrait aussi bien se demander comment ils savaient qu'il y avait cent coudées au-dessus de leur tête. En fait ce ne sont pas les travailleurs qui savaient tout cela, mais les ingénieurs qui ont donné les indications techniques pour la rédaction de l'inscription¹⁾. A notre avis, c'est des ingénieurs aussi que venait l'expression „droite, gauche” au sens de “sud, nord” et non pas des travailleurs.

STOEBE ajoute que l'ardeur au travail n'a pas de signification décisive pour la réussite de la percée. Il nous semble le contraire. C'est parce que les deux équipes s'entendent tout proches, qu'elles se savent en face l'une de l'autre. Elles peuvent donc se diriger au bruit, assurées de la réussite. D'où l'intensification du travail.

Enfin vient une objection à laquelle KAUTZSCH avait en quelque sorte déjà pensé, mais qu'il avait sagement rejetée à cause du texte clair de l'inscription²⁾. Il n'y avait pas trois coudées de rocher à percer encore, mais six, dit STOEBE. Le texte de l'inscription dit 3, mais il y en avait 6, c'est-à-dire trois de chaque côté. Comme ces hébreux s'exprimaient mal! STOEBE nous explique qu'il restait trois coudées de chaque côté du point probable de rencontre. C'est naturellement contraire à la signification du texte très clair. On pourrait d'ailleurs retourner à notre interprète son argument psychologique antérieur et lui demander comment les ouvriers savaient à quelle distance ils se trouvaient de ce point *présumé*. Nous doutons même que les ingénieurs aient pris la peine de déterminer ce point dont il n'est pas parlé dans l'inscription. Pourtant, STOEBE prétend faire reposer son affirmation sur ses propres relevés effectués dans le canal à l'endroit qu'il croit être le point de jonction des équipes³⁾. Nous avons quant à nous toute confiance dans les relevés du R. P. VINCENT L'éminent archéologue écrit: “On n'est plus qu'“à trois coudées” et les “appels réciproques” mentionnés par l'inscription sont désormais très distincts. A XXIX enfin, c'est la rencontre et l'enthousiasme du succès.”⁴⁾

Pour STOEBE *ꜥdb* est un resserrement du canal au point de jonction

¹⁾ STOEBE le reconnaît lui-même dans *ZDPV*, 1955, p. 128.

²⁾ *ZDPV*, 1881, p. 265.

³⁾ *ZDPV*, 1955, pp. 124, 136-140.

⁴⁾ *RB*, 1912, p. 440. STOEBE ne semble pas d'accord avec le R. P. VINCENT sur le lieu de la jonction, *ZDPV*, 1955, p. 132.

des deux équipes, car le travail rapide aurait amené à creuser de moins en moins large le chenal. La manière dont STOEBE explique le travail des mineurs juste avant la jonction est du domaine de la pure hypothèse¹.) Pourtant, nous ne nous opposons pas à ce que l'ardeur au travail ait amené un resserrement du chenal, mais selon nous, *ꜥdb* n'est pas ce resserrement, car en ce sens le mot n'est appuyé sur aucune racine hébraïque.

Non seulement le resserrement de STOEBE n'a aucun fondement philologique sérieux, mais il était quelque chose de si naturel dans la technique de la taille, qu'il n'était pas nécessaire de le mentionner dans l'inscription.

Qu'était alors *ꜥdb*? Nous en restons à notre interprétation qui a l'avantage de s'appuyer sur une étymologie plausible et qui résoud plus de vraies difficultés que celle de STOEBE.

Paris

Henri MICHAUD

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON כָּרָאשׁ

In a note in *VT* VII, 398f. I have called attention to the idiom "on the head of" as meaning "on the responsibility of" in biblical Hebrew, in the Aramaic papyri and in some demotic contracts of the Ptolemaic period. One of the texts cited in my note is 1 K. ii 33. I have since found that the usage is a very old one, going back, at least, to the Old-Assyrian (Cappadocian) tablets. KOSCHAKER cites several Old-Assyrian documents in which this usage occurs. One of these documents contains a clause which is transliterated and translated by KOSCHAKER as follows: *kaspum i-na qā-qī-di-šu ù bi-tt-šu ra-ke-is*, "das Silber ist auf sein Haupt und sein Haus gebunden"²). The similarity with the Hebrew and Aramaic idiom is obvious and requires no further comment.

In *VT* VIII, 432f., R. YARON discusses 1 K. ii 33 and 44-45 and arrives at the conclusion that these passages represent "a fixed formula" of "curse—self-benediction". In support of his conclusion, he cites a parallel from the Judicial Papyrus of Turin of the end of the reign of Ramesses III (ca 1164 B.C.).

Now, a "fixed formula" is not a "magic formula" that will explain everything. By saying that a certain passage represents a fixed formula one does not explain the passage; he only lulls himself into a false

¹) *ZDPV*, 1955, figure 2, p. 137.

²) P. KOSCHAKER, *Neue Keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit* (Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss., Abhandl. philol.-hist. Kl. 39), 119.

sense of complacency, thinking that he has an explanation, whereas in reality he has none. One must ask himself the question: what is the meaning of the fixed formula, if it be such? Or, if in the course of time it has lost its meaning, what was its meaning originally? As it happens, however, there is very little of the fixity and rigidity of a petrified formula in the biblical passages in question and in the Egyptian parallel. The only residue of fixity in them is the idiom "on the head of" in the sense of "on the responsibility of", which, as indicated above, is very old Semitic *Rechtsgut*.

In 1 K. ii 33, Solomon says, in effect, that the death sentence about to be executed on Joab is his just due, that he, Solomon, will not be guilty of having shed innocent blood and that, therefore, "unto David, and unto his seed, and unto his house, and unto his throne, shall there be peace for ever from the Lord". In 1 K. ii 44-45, Solomon similarly says to Shimei that the death sentence about to be executed on him is his just due and that, therefore, "king Solomon shall be blessed, and the throne of David shall be established before the Lord for ever". That this is the true meaning of these passages and that there is no fixed formula of "curse—self-benediction" in them, is clearly shown by 2 Sam. iii 27-29, which reads: "And when Abner was returned to Hebron, Joab took him aside into the midst of the gate to speak with him quietly, and smote him there in the groin, that he died, for the blood of Asahel his brother. And afterward when David heard it, he said: 'I and my kingdom are guiltless before the Lord for ever from the blood of Abner the son of Ner; let it fall upon the head of Joab, and upon all his father's house'".

It seems to me that the language of 2 Sam. iii 29—"Let it fall upon the head of"—which is strikingly similar to the language of the Judicial Papyrus of Turin—"May (the responsibility for) all that they have done fall upon their (own) heads"¹⁾—is further proof of Semitic influence on legal phraseology in Egypt during the Twentieth Dynasty²⁾. That the language of the biblical passages cited above is strongly colored by the language of private legal documents may be seen from a comparison of the clause quoted above from the Old-Assyrian document ("upon the head and upon the house") with the similar formula in these biblical passages.

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¹⁾ See A. DE BUCK, "The Judicial Papyrus of Turin", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XXIII (1937), 154.

²⁾ Cf. my article "Semitic Elements in the Adoption Papyrus Published by Gardiner", *JNES* XVII (1958), 145 f.

REVIEWS

J. BOTTERO, *Archives royales de Mari, VII: Textes administratifs de la salle 110*. Transcription-traduction-commentaire. Paris. Imprimerie nationale, 1958, 364 pp.

Le texte cunéiforme de la plupart de ces pièces administratives avait paru en 1956 et fait déjà l'objet de recensions. Nous en avons maintenant une édition pratique qui en rend l'étude accessible aux non-spécialistes. Il y a là 309 documents compatibles, comprenant parfois jusqu'à 60 lignes, mais d'ordinaire beaucoup plus brefs, en tous cas relevant de différents „bureaux”. Dans une première partie J. B. en donne la transcription et la traduction, avec de brèves notes de lectures, mais aussi de précieux renvois aux différents numéros du commentaire qui suit. Ce commentaire constitue la *major pars* de la publication (pp. 169-353, plus 6 pp. d'addenda); dense, précis, il rend intelligibles et utilisables ces textes.

Ce commentaire est réparti en trois „époques”, très inégalement représentées. La première ne comprend qu'une page et qu'un texte. La seconde (Intermède assyrien) étudie la chronologie, la métrologie, le vocabulaire technique (dit „typologie”), le contenu matériel (voir pp. 177ss, les différents onguents), l'administration, les fonctionnaires, les métiers (p. 189s), les dieux, les fêtes et le rituel. C'est toutefois de la troisième époque, celle de Zimri-Lim, qui provient le plus grand nombre de pièces. Elles font l'objet d'études symétriques de celles de la période précédente, beaucoup plus développées toutefois dans l'ensemble. On notera la variété des genres: mémorandum, brevet de mise en place d'un fonctionnaire, commission d'achat, inventaire, relevé de compte, registre. On retiendra aussi les nombreuses pages si documentées sur les fonctionnaires et leurs titres. Quant à la centaine de pages consacrées à la vie économique, elles constituent une véritable monographie qui fourmille de renseignements de toutes sortes, sans oublier l'appendice sur la métrologie.

Voici quelques points intéressant spécialement le bibliste. Les données sur le parfum sacré (Ex., xxx 34-38) pourront être éclairées par les nouvelles précisions sur les onguents (p. 183 en particulier). Il est question d'un pectoral (p. 186). Mari connaît les dépôts faits entre les mains de prêtres (p. 191). Quelques noms propres sont à retenir: Daniel (N° 263, iii 23'), Iale Dagan (racine *l'h*, p. 79, 18'). On trouve des *šapitūtu* (héb. *šp̄t*, p. 242), des soldats d'élite, *beḫru* ou *ba'iru* (héb. *bḫyr*, p. 245), la fine fleur de farine (p. 264), le *mardatum* (p. 280, peut-être le *mwrd* 1 Reg. vii 29), le *saqu* (héb. *sq*, p. 281), le *ḫabalu* (p. 284, héb. *ḫbl*), le *ḫašmanu* (héb. *ḫšml*, p. 296). *ḫalussuhu* peut être rapproché de *maḫalaḡôt* d'Is. iii 22. Mais dans ces deux derniers cas il y a doute.

L'apport le plus curieux de ces textes concerne certainement les fonctions. L'interprétation reste toutefois épineuse comme le montre J.B. Il semble désormais prouvé (p. 204) que le *pašišu* n'est pas celui qui est oint mais

celui qui oint. Oindre se dit (*ana*) *pašaš*, sauf quand il s'agit du roi (*pišaš*). On oint aussi bien le personnel (*sabu* v.g. N° 17) que les „hommes” (*awelu*, N° 21), la *wašbut kussem* (v.g. N° 1, 8; traduit par „assistance”), le „béliér de siège” (*yašibu*, v.g. N° 16), le roi et les statues des dieux (p. 24 et 196). L'abondance de l'huile destinée à l'onction royale, et la fréquence de sa mention, semblent exclure qu'il s'agisse ici du rite d'intronisation. On pense plutôt à un rite journalier, rite de toilette comme pour les statues divines, mais par là même non dépourvu d'un certain sens religieux. Six espèces d'onguents sont utilisés pour ce rite (p. 182).

Concluons ces notations trop brèves, mais qui montrent le vif intérêt de cette publication, par les nouvelles précisions relatives aux Umman-Manda (p. 224ss). Les noms sont de frappe sémitique, mais les personnages ont quelque rapport avec l'Elam.

Paris

Henri CAZELLES

A. M. DUBARLE, *Le péché originel dans l'Ecriture*, Paris. Editions le Cerf, Lectio divina 20, 202 pp. avec 2 index

Nous avons dans ce volume six études, jusque la dispersées dans différentes revues, mais qui ont toujours été conçues par l'auteur en fonction de l'unité d'ensemble présentement réalisée. L'ouvrage commence par un chapitre d'anthropologie biblique sur la "Condition humaine dans l'Ancien Testament", chapitre indispensable pour confronter la problématique biblique et la nôtre. Viennent ensuite "le péché originel dans la Genèse" (p. 39-74), "le péché originel dans les livres sapientiaux" (p. 75-105), "le péché originel dans les suggestions de l'Evangile" (p. 105-120), "le péché originel dans St Paul" (un des plus développés comme il se doit, p. 121-172), et enfin, par un retour à des vues plus synthétiques, "le péché originel et la justice de Dieu". Ce dernier chapitre comme les trois premiers intéresse cette revue. Ajoutons tout de suite que l'auteur rectifie ici ou là dans ses notes certaines de ces opinions antérieures (ainsi pp 67, 79, 80, 97) et l'on voit ainsi le développement de sa pensée depuis la rédaction de ses "Sages d'Israël".

On aura donc, grâce au premier chapitre, l'arrière-plan d'anthropologie qui permet de saisir la portée des textes bibliques. Les données les plus intéressantes sont peut-être moins ce qui est dit du penchant au mal de l'homme, (le *yéçér* de Gen vi 5 et viii 21), que les observations très heureuses sur la solidarité humaine, aussi bien entre générations successives qu'entre contemporains. Pour le *yéçér* la difficulté vient de l'incertitude du sens de Sir. xv 14. On a le texte hébreu, et *yçr* équivaut à *diabolion*, mais c'est le seul cas où l'on trouve cette équivalence et l'on se demande pourquoi le suffixe se rapporte ici à l'homme, alors qu'à la ligne précédente et à la ligne suivante le suffixe se rapporte à Dieu. L'édition d'Israel Lévi parle ici de "doublets" et avec SMEND il faut remarquer (p. 70) qu'il faudrait donner au mot un sens différent de celui qu'il a en xxvii 6 et xxxvii 3 (aperçus sur ce texte de Roland E. MURPHY dans *Biblica* 39, 1958, p. 335 ss). On hésitera donc à trouver ici une affirmation isolée sur le libre arbitre donné à l'homme au moment de la création. L'inclination

mauvaise de l'homme dès sa jeunesse, enseignée par Gen. vii 21, semble bien avoir été la doctrine des Sages puisque Pr. xxii 15 affirme que "la folie est liée au coeur du jeune homme" et le Siracide lui-même, en xxxvii 3, paraît faire allusion à un mauvais penchant ayant répandu la perversité sur la terre; mais l'hébreu n'est pas bien conservé et il y a place pour discussions de critique textuelle (voir CHARLES, *Apocrypha*, in loco).

Que dit donc la Genèse de la condition de l'homme, de sa nature et de ses penchants, quand il vient au monde? Après avoir traité du genre littéraire des ch. ii et iii de la Genèse et "surmonté" l'opposition "entre vérité générale et mythe", A. M.D., souligne la préoccupation du Yahviste et de ses successeurs concernant le problème de l'héritage, "transmission physique et tradition sociale". Chaque génération recueille et ajoute. Donc "tout n'était pas immédiatement dans un état de perfection achevée" et "il ne faut donc pas donner de précisions trop grandes sur la perfection primitive" (p. 60). La Genèse entend surtout esquisser un état d'harmonie entre l'homme, l'univers et le créateur. Dans une page importante (p. 64) A. D.M. montre que, dans la Bible, la nudité n'évoque pas tant la sexualité que l'ignominie. Aussi, après la transgression et la malédiction "ce n'est pas un état de vie entièrement nouveau qui est inauguré, mais une altération de l'harmonie heureuse de l'innocence" (p. 67)... la communication sociale est combattue par la pudeur; la maternité et le travail deviennent douloureux; l'aide apportée à l'homme par la femme se réalise dans la servitude pour celle-ci" (p. 69). Pour bien comprendre le texte biblique, il importe de noter que le péché d'Adam et Eve n'est pas le seul qui, dans la Bible, "engage le sort d'une descendance", mais il a une "gravité unique... car il a fait perdre une harmonie parfaite". On ne perdra pas non plus de vue qu'en regard de cette solidarité dans le mal, il y a une solidarité dans la promesse faite à Abraham dont bénéficieront les familles de la terre. C'est ainsi que l'auteur dégage l'équilibre de la doctrine.

Il poursuit son étude dans les livres sapientiaux. C'est à cette occasion qu'il précise la valeur des termes "vie" et "mort" dans l'Ancien Testament; plus exactement, il constate leur imprécision. Peut-être que, dans la ligne de ce qu'il avait dit sur l'héritage il aurait pu remarquer que l'auteur biblique ne considère pas la vie et la mort comme un état fixe, ou plutôt comme deux états qui s'opposent; la vie est dans la Bible une activité, un développement de la vie, La mort, dit justement A.M.D., n'est pas une absence d'être, puisque l'Israélite croit à la survie au Schéol, c'est une diminution, une impuissance. Dans cette perspective les termes employés par Ez. xviii se comprennent fort bien.

L'auteur sait que le genre sapiential est, par définition, individualiste. Aussi aura-t-il tendance à repousser toute exégèse majorante et à restreindre ce qui, dans ces textes, pourraient impliquer une solidarité dans les répercussions de la faute d'Adam sur les descendants. Il ne croit pas que Qohèlèt ait subi une influence profonde de la Genèse. Pourtant certains versets comme iii 20, xii 7 me sembleraient indiquer que, tout en se préoccupant de problèmes nouveaux, Qohèlèt avait toujours le texte de la Genèse à l'arrière-plan de ses réflexions. Pour Ben Sirah, comme le souligne A.M.D., la question se pose autrement. Le Siracide a été attentif à recueillir l'hé-

ritage de tous les livres bibliques, "mais il a juxtaposé dans son oeuvre des apports divers qu'il n'a pas cherché à organiser logiquement"... "Relativement à la mort, il n'a fait qu'entrevoir un instant, dans un éclair de malice moqueuse, le parti qu'on pourrait tirer du récit de la chute" (p. 85). Ce verset n'en suffit pas moins à montrer (sans oublier xxxvii 3 cité plus haut) que, malgré ses préoccupations propres, Ben Sirah ne désavoue nullement la doctrine déjà bien acquise qu'il reçoit.

Le livre de la Sagesse pose d'autres problèmes. Tout d'abord, comment interpréter Sap. ii 24b? "Et ils l'éprouvent, ceux de son parti". Faut-il comprendre que les hommes pécheurs éprouvent, goûtent, le mort ou que les esprits mauvais tentent le monde? A.M.D. appuie cette dernière interprétation par I QS iii (et non iv) 23-24. Ce parallèle de Qumrân ne contient pas le *nissâb* auquel correspond toujours le *peirazô* des LXX. Mais justement ce *nissâb* ne signifie jamais "expérimenter" mais "mettre à l'épreuve". Or, on ne met pas la mort à l'épreuve, donc le complément *auton* représente nécessairement le monde. Il faut retenir la suggestion de l'auteur et voir dans le sujet, "ceux du parti (*meris*) de celui-là ou celle-là (*ekeinou*), ceux qui ont la mort pour partage (*hélèg*, rendu justement par *meris* dans la LXX); ce sont les impies (cf i 16). Le verset semble donc impliquer que, parallèlement à l'entrée de la mort dans le monde, des épreuves y viennent de la part des impies. Ce sont deux effets de l'"envie de Satan (le diable)". Il est difficile de ne pas y voir deux effets de la faute originelle dûe précisément à la perversité de Satan. L'auteur de Sap. se place ici comme en i 13, et même xv 8, dans la stricte ligne biblique: Dieu n'a pas fait la mort, mais les hommes la trouvent dans le monde. On aurait aimé un développement sur l'expression "venant dans le monde"; l'auteur remarque avec raison qu'elle sera reprise dans l'Épître aux Romains (v 12). Bien que le texte ne touche pas directement cette question, il semble traiter des problèmes de péché originel non en fonction de la génération et de la naissance, mais en fonction de la venue dans le monde.

Par ailleurs je serais plus porté que A.M.D. à admettre que la première faute était considérée par l'auteur du livre comme un culte (*Thrèskeia*) des idoles sans nom (xiv 27). Quel est le sens exact de ce *Thrèskeia*, évité par les LXX et utilisé par Symmaque pour *Çevi*? Le Nouveau Testament l'emploie dans le sens de "religion" (Actes xxvi 5), de culte des anges (Col. ii 18) et MOULTON-MILLIGAN, à la suite de HORT, ont montré que le mot n'avait pas une valeur strictement cultuelle, mais impliquait "reverence of the gods or worship of the Gods" (*Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, Londres, 1949 p. 293). Or l'Apocalypse (xii 9) identifie Satan, entouré de ses anges, au "serpent antique (cf 2 Cor. xi 3). Ce serpent antique ne serait-il pas une des "idoles anonymes" de notre texte? Ce terme est un hapax dans l'Ancien Testament. On peut y voir soit un hellénisme (les déesses anonymes étaient les Erinnyes), soit un sémitisme (sans nom = sans renom, le *belî šēm* de Job xxx 8); en tous cas ce ne sont pas des idoles mais des divinités représentées sous forme humaine ou animale, voire serpentiforme (Deut. iv 16-18). Certes, l'auteur insiste comme le Deutéronome sur la représentation artistique en pierre ou en bois laquelle a été donné le "nom incommunicable" (xiv 21), mais il me semble

très vraisemblable qu'il aie vu dans le faute d'Adam et Eve obéissants au serpent séducteur une première faute d'idolâtrie. On peut dire avec A.M.D. que "la conviction manifestée que les hommes sont mortels en vertu de leur descendance du premier homme, formé de terre (vii l), prouverait aussi bien que le premier père était mortel en vertu de son origine terrestre", mais j'ajouterais volontiers que l'auteur de Sap. connaissait assez sa tradition et le livre de la Genèse pour savoir que cette mortalité aurait été surmontée par une grâce de vie venant de Dieu si le premier homme n'avait péché; car "Dieu a créé l'homme sur l'incorruptibilité (*ep-aphtarsia*) et l'a fait image de sa propre nature" (ii 23; la tr. donnée p. 88 est à près la même). De ce péché, Adam a été tiré par la Sagesse tandis que, s'éloignant d'elle, le fraticide a péri. Le livre de la Sagesse, dite de Salomon, reste donc fidèle à la vieille doctrine qui lie le péché et la mort. Mais, comme l'indique A.M.D.; il insiste surtout sur la responsabilité personnelle et sur l'aspect bénéfique de la doctrine, c.-à-d. le salut par la miséricorde de Dieu et l'action de sa Sagesse.

Le dernier chapitre concerne le "Péché originel et le Justice de Dieu". L'auteur traite assez rapidement cet aspect de la doctrine et il renvoie au livre de R. MARTIN-ACHARD, "*De la mort à la résurrection d'après l'Ancien Testament*" (p. 175, n. 3). A.M.D. estime que la pensée biblique a résolu le problème par "l'espérance d'un juste jugement à venir" (p. 177). Il s'appuie essentiellement sur le Nouveau Testament. Mais il ajoute qu'il faut tenir compte également "d'une intention divine d'éprouver et d'instruire les hommes" (p. 184); il se réfère alors à l'Ancien Testament (Genèse, Juges, Job). Ici bas, en fonction de cette intention divine, il n'y a qu'une "justice boiteuse" et c'est à elle qu'il faut rapporter l'existence du péché originel; après la vie présente seulement se réalisera une rétribution parfaite. Mais, conclut l'auteur, aucun auteur inspiré n'a appliqué explicitement ce principe au péché originel (p. 186). Reste à savoir si les prophètes et les scribes n'attendaient pas pour ceux qui vivraient totalement de la foi en Yahvé, un don de Dieu achevé qui rendrait à l'homme la possibilité de vivre en harmonie parfaite avec l'univers qu'il avait créé. Il semble que ce soient les perspectives de textes comme Is. xi 6-9. Je ne crois pas que l'auteur de ces intéressantes études me contredirait (voir p. 108).

Paris

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Lachish IV. (Tell ed-Duweir). The Bronze Age. By O. TUFNELL. 2 Volumes: Text and Plates. Price £ 8/8/-. Published for the Wellcome Trust, by The Oxford University Press. London, 1958. *Text*: 351 pp.; 96 *Plates*.

The appearance of the fourth volume of the Wellcome-Marston Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East at Tell ed-Duweir completes the publication of the results of the excavations at Lachish.

Students of the Bible and archaeologists are greatly indebted to Miss O. TUFNELL for having accomplished the tremendous task of composing a clear publication out of the rough material derived from the excavation-field notebooks etc. Only too often excavations in Palestine have never

been published or very inadequately so because the leaders were occupied with other work. After the untimely death of James Leslie STARKEY, the leader of the expedition, Miss Olga TUFNELL has been working over the material, studying the pottery and stratigraphy of the site and preparing the final publication (*Fosse Temple, Iron Age and Bronze Age*) which was a work of many years.

Several others have contributed to the contents of this volume. It will be remembered that the excavations on the mound had barely reached the 7th century Iron Age levels, when the work came to standstill. The surrounding areas however had been investigated and many caves and tombs had been excavated. The results of this inquiry are published in this volume. It was the impression of the excavators that urban life on the mound did not appear before E.B.A. II, for which a date is given c. 2800-2700 B.C. The vicinity of the tell bears the traces of a much earlier occupation, starting in Chalcolithic times, and probably even earlier. The tombs yielded ample evidence especially from the so called Caliciform Culture and a continuous sequence of tombs dating from the middle of the 18th century up into Late Bronze. The catalogue of objects has been arranged basically in the same way as in previous reports, but in some cases charts have now been added with complete tomb groups. This is definitely an improvement, since the student of the pottery has otherwise to reconstruct surveys of the contents of each tomb, by collecting the individual pieces from the main catalogue. Another improvement in this volume is that more pots have been drawn with a clear indication of the profile of the rim and the wall. Part III of the book contains the study and comparisons with other sites of the pottery of the fourth—second millennium B.C. Part IV describes the cemeteries. The potter's workshop (Ch.13) is of particular interest.

Part II deals with Industries, Seals and Inscriptions. Especially the chapter on seals and that on inscriptions (by D. DIRINGER) will interest students of biblical literature and history.

Part I: History and Archaeology, exposes the contribution of Lachish to our knowledge of the history of Palestine. Here the shortcomings of Palestinian archaeology are clearly seen. Owing to lack of written records from more remote periods, and lack of properly stratified type-materials the dating of pottery from Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery is often highly uncertain. Most attempts to date them are based on typology without a sound stratigraphical basis. The result is that even indications of main periods are still confusing. Middle Bronze Age I includes, following Tell Beit Mirsim and Megiddo, the Caliciform Culture (TUFNELL) and the true M.B.A.I culture. Miss TUFNELL points out that they are two distinct cultures, which e.g. in Megiddo can easily be separated in Stratum XV by separating the tomb-materials from the pottery derived from occupational debris on the tell. The excavations at Jericho have greatly contributed to our knowledge of the Caliciform Culture which Miss K. M. KENYON is inclined on logical reasons to call the Transitional E.B. — M.B. culture, which goes with the first Intermediate in Egypt. There are probably more characteristics in common with E.B. than with the following time, but since it is found all over Palestine to represent a distinct culture

and a fairly long period it needs a name of its own both as a culture and as a general period. To call it M.B. I is only confusing, the more so since almost nothing is yet known about the transition from this culture to M.B.I.

At the North East corner of the tell a small trench was dug on which information about the occupation of the tell is mainly based. This is probably the least satisfactory part of the book. Ch. 4 and Pl. 96 deal with this cut through and alongside some of the defences of the town. Since this section was cut and drawn before the last World War it would seem unfair to criticise it by comparing it with the magnificent work done by Miss KENYON at Jericho in Trench I. Archaeological research in Western Europe and England has developed a system of cutting trenches and drawing sections that is to be considered as absolutely indispensable for every excavation, including those in Palestine. Some misunderstanding seems to have been caused by the fact that this system is *introduced* in Palestine at Samaria and Jericho. It should by no means be considered as a new method. The main reason of laying stress on the necessity of applying this method is that post-war excavations still seem to produce unintelligible sections (photographs instead of drawings: temple at Shechem, chalcolithic levels at Tell Abu el Alayiq and Hazor). Hence attention may be drawn to some anomalies in the section of Duweir on pl. 96. At 22 feet a glacis is seen in the south face of the trench. This is supposed to have been built not long before 1700 B.C. (p. 33) and lasted for no longer than about 100 years. It is labelled M.B. III. Next comes Stratum VIII, represented by a streak of charcoal at 24-25 feet. This is separated from the glacis by a streak of burnt red brickwash. Cut into the glacis further south however is a rather substantial brick-wall (19-23 feet) covered by a different layer of debris, which in its turn is covered with presumably the same charcoal level. The glacis is supposed to be situated outside the city boundaries; the mudbrick wall would then have caused an extension of the city towards the south, and the charcoal level runs up in that direction so there may easily have been a later town wall even further to the south. The charcoal level cannot possibly have belonged to the destruction of the wall which crowned the M. B. III glacis, since two phases at least come between the glacis and the charcoal. Fig. 2-5 show the pottery from this trench. The stratigraphy is indicated by so-called absolute levels, which in fact do not exist. One glance at the section can convince everybody that there is one phase, alongside the slope, running from 1 foot till 23 feet. This almost certainly consists of more than one level (debris from underneath the mudbrick wall, from the destruction of that wall and later debris as well), but what happened to the pottery found in the stratum? As published it is mixed with the sherds from all the adjoining levels. Among the more diagnostic sherds from this trench no. 206 might come from this level. The reviewer is afraid that the types of this trench have been so much mixed that not much information can be obtained from it. Instead of indications of the height above bedrock or the like, one wants the precise record of each level and the description or interpretation thereof, combined with a description of the contents. A section full of disconnected elements is usually an indication of the quality of the excavation as a whole. It shows

that, more or less, finds are still used to define levels and strata, instead of vice versa, by which process quite a few objects automatically become unstratified. In the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 1950 p. 82 it is said that this is a schematic drawing of the section (Pl. XIII). Even so it remains a riddle what happened to the drawing since then.

Keeping in mind that dating the earlier remains can only be approximate in the present stage of our knowledge, and that rather important corrections to the dating of the comparative material from Professor GARSTANG's excavations at Jericho will be available as soon as the full publication of Miss KENYON's study of the site appears, one has only reason to be very grateful to Miss Olga TUFNELL for the painstaking labour she has given to rescue the dig from undergoing the fate of e.g. the excavations at Bethel, at Shechem (by WELTER and SELLIN) and several others, which have been carried out so long ago that it seems almost superfluous now to bother about what happened there. Attention may be drawn to a find from Tell Balata, published in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 1927, p. 206 and Tafel 20 h of a fragment of a pot which resembles the anthropomorphic jar of locus 7013, and was attributed by SELLIN to the L.B.A. It is thanks to Miss Olga TUFNELL and her collaborators in many fields that the student of the archaeology and history of Palestine can find all the information which could be derived from the excavation of a site which still seems to hide a great deal more extremely valuable evidence for the discovery of the cultures of southern Palestine, covering a period from the Late Stone Age until shortly before our era.

Leiden

H. J. FRANKEN

William L. HOLLADAY, *The Root Šûb in the Old Testament, with Particular Reference to its Usages in Covenantal Contexts*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959. x + 191 pages.

This excellent study was presented as a doctoral dissertation to the faculty of theology of the University of Leiden, and was apparently written under the direction of Prof. P. A. H. DE BOER, editor of this journal. The author is now a member of the staff of the University of Colorado, U.S.A.

This is a study of a single Hebrew root, *šûb*, which is characterized by high frequency,—occurring some 1059 times in the OT,—by a rich variety of meanings, and by what the author calls “a deliberate, specialized ambiguity.” Perhaps the latter should be called polarity of meaning, a characteristic of a number of Hebrew verbs. This feature is well illustrated by Jer. viii 4, where it means both “turn away” and “turn back.” The theological polarity is expressed in the two phrases, “to repent” and “to become apostate.”

HOLLADAY's survey of the root in cognate languages shows that the Semitic root **twb* does not appear in Akkadian, but in both Northwest and Southwest Semitic. The oldest written evidence now available is found in Amorite personal names, such as *yašûb-Dagan* and *šûbnā-ilû*, which appear on Akkadian tablets of the time of Hammurabi. It appears in ALBRIGHT's proposed decipherment of the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions (at least once in a

religious usage), in Ugaritic (34 times), on the Mesha Stone, in various Aramaic dialects, and in North and South Arabic. The verb *ṭawaba* in classical Arabic has in the first form (according to LANE) the meaning which HOLLADAY believes is the central meaning of the Hebrew verb (see below).

The second chapter is devoted to a very careful and meticulous survey of the rendering of *šûbh* in the ancient versions. The author concludes that, because the nuances of meaning of *šûbh* are so various and the renderings in the versions often so ambiguous, they offer little real help in defining the verb. However, the survey does confirm some of the things previously known or conjectured regarding the versions, such as the multiple-authorship of LXX, the literalness of Aquila, and the freedom of Symmachus; and it gives support to NÖLDEKE's theory that the Targum of Proverbs is dependent on the Peshitta or—more precisely—to the view that the Targum of that book is the adaptation of a form of Proverbs which underlies the present Peshitta. The interesting fact is uncovered that Symmachus seems to have recognized what HOLLADAY calls the covenantal usage of *šûbh* by his employment of the verb *metanoō*. Also, the Targum uses the verb *š'bhāq* 8 times in Amos i-ii to render *āššbēnū*—a rendering which is probably correct, in the opinion of this reviewer, although HOLLADAY apparently does not think so (see p. 102).

Chapter III is a lexical study of *šûbh*, which attempts to discover the central meaning of the verb and show its great variety of connotations. The author believes that context is the best guide to meaning; since less than one-tenth of the occurrences are in poetic passages, poetic parallelism is of little aid. HOLLADAY proposes a central meaning for *šûbh*; by this he does not mean its oldest or most original meaning, but simply "a pragmatic statement of the most useful single definition of the root": "having moved in a particular direction, to move thereupon in the opposite direction, the implication being (unless there is evidence to the contrary) that one will arrive again at the initial point of departure." (p. 53) This meaning is very important for his theory regarding the covenantal usage of the root. This chapter is so detailed that no summary is possible. It is noted that the verb occurs almost exclusively in the qal and hiphil. Consideration is given to the question whether there is a qal transitive; the author finds the only clear-cut example of it in the phrase *šûbh š'bhûth*. On the origin and meaning of that phrase he follows DIETRICH's theory that the phrase originally was *šûbh *šābhûth*, meaning "render a restoration", a technical term for the eschatological restoration of the nation to its primal glory; in post-exilic times it came to be applied primarily to return from exile.

The most important chapter, number IV, is devoted to a study of the covenantal usage of *šûbh*. By the covenantal usage HOLLADAY means that usage which expresses "a change of loyalty on the part of Israel or God, each for the other" (p. 116). There are 164 instances of this usage; of that number 48 (or almost 30%) are found in the Book of Jeremiah, while only 10 (or 6%) are in the Book of Isaiah. HOLLADAY argues that this category is essentially a semantic category, not basically a stylistic or contextual category. One of the most remarkable of his findings is that in the covenantal usage the subject of the qal is Israel (or Egypt, Job, the righteous,

or the unrighteous) 123 times, and God only six times; and of those six, there is only one in which God's change of relationship is not contingent upon what Israel does, or on how Israel changes her relationship to God—the exception being Jeremiah xxxii 40, a Deuteronomistic passage. Also, of the 11 hiphils, all of them have Israel, or the like, as object or subject. His conclusion is that “the covenant led the Israelite to think overwhelmingly more about his relationship to God than about God's relationship to him” (pp. 119-20). He insists that the *qal* means to return to God, to whom one has a prior obligation, not merely to “change one's loyalty by turning to God.” Would it not be true to OT theology to say that the Israelites believed that God would not forsake them, by breaking his side of the covenant, but that they might forsake him by departing from his covenant? Thus they did not normally speak of God turning away from the covenant, or from them.

The covenantal usage occurs only sparingly before the time of Jeremiah: 5 times (in one long passage) in Amos; only once for certain in Hosea; 6 times in all of Isaiah i-xxxix; once (doubtful) in Micah (ii 4). In the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets it occurs 24 times, and of these 17 are in Deuteronomistic material. It becomes quite obvious that the usage became popular in the time of Jeremiah and Deuteronomy.

HOLLADAY treats the book of Jeremiah in considerable detail. Of the 48 instances in the book, he assigns 24 to Jeremiah, 19 to the Deuteronomistic editor, and 5 to a miscellaneous or doubtful group. As for the prophet Jeremiah, he says: “The root embodies the germ of his message in a way that it had not for any prior writer or source.” (p. 152) It was he who “isolated the verb from the moorings of its prepositional phrase”, and used it alone to mean repent. Also, Jeremiah was the first to employ word-plays on the verb, as he does in iii 12, 14; viii 4-5; xv 19. Thus he was clearly a master in the use of this word. “Jeremiah saw in the two-facedness of this verb a fitting picture of the two-facedness of his people.” (p. 153).

The author finds that the verb was frequently used by the Deuteronomists. In the Book of Jeremiah he sees several striking differences between the usage of Jeremiah and that of the D editor (pp. 138-39)—a conclusion that lends support to the theory (held by this reviewer and others) that there was a Deuteronomic editing of the book of Jeremiah. HOLLADAY does not try to solve the problem of Jeremiah's attitude toward the Deuteronomic reform, but he does say that, if the Deuteronomist was not Baruch, then he was certainly an expression of a Jeremianic tradition. This conclusion is hardly necessary—or perhaps this reviewer should say he is not sure what it means; is it not better to say that the prophet and the Deuteronomists had similar views of the covenant?

After Jeremiah the word was not frequently used in its covenantal usage, and with no new pattern. Ezekiel, for example, uses covenantal *šābb* with monotonous and unoriginal regularity, and always in a negative way (“turn back from evil/good”). There are only two occurrences in Isaiah xl-ly, namely in xlv 22 and lv 7.

HOLLADAY's work in this monograph is careful and judicious. Through careful, detailed, and even statistical studies such as this progress is made in

understanding the Old Testament. This study should enable us to see how important repentance was in Hebrew religion; and one may add that it was of great significance in Judaism and Christianity, perhaps a great deal more than is generally realized. The present volume is a good supplement to the earlier monograph by Erich DIETRICH, *Die Umkehr (Bekehrung und Busse) im Alten Testament und im Judentum* (1936).

This book points up an important facet of Jeremiah's originality. As one reflects on this study, perhaps he should go on to say: as important as the covenant was in the religion of Israel, the OT scholar may find some embarrassment in the fact that covenant terminology (including use of the word *b'rit*) is not really used with much frequency until the seventh century. This is not to deny the early existence of the covenant idea (for it occurs in JE); it may be, however, that the covenant idea is more emphasized by the modern scholar than it was by the early religious leaders in Israel.

Nashville, Tenn.

J. PHILIP HYATT

Talmud Babilonese. Trattato delle Benedizioni a cura di E. ZOLLI con uno studio introduttivo di Sofia CAVALLETTI. lii, 440 page, Laterza. Bari 1958 (3.600 liras)

Le traité *Berakboth* (Benédiction) est le premier traité de la première section du Talmud, la section *zera'im* (les semences); c'est de la version babylonienne de ce traité, déjà traduite en d'autres langues, que la librairie Laterza nous offre une nouvelle traduction, en langue italienne.

Cette traduction est précédée d'une introduction assez importante due à la plume de Sofia CAVALLETTI. Elle comprend 9 études sur les sujets suivants: 1. Les Scribes et les Pharisiens; 2. la Loi et la Tradition (pourquoi n'avoir pas cité l'auteur de la sentence rapportée p. XXI, qui n'est autre que Yochanan b. Zakkay?); 3. une notice historique sur l'histoire juive depuis 70 de notre ère jusqu'à la fin de la période talmudique; 4. une étude sur la Mishnah (les diverses étapes de sa rédaction); 5. une analyse de la Mishnah (ses six sections); 6. une étude sur le Talmud (les deux versions palestinienne et babylonienne et les écoles dont elles proviennent); 7. les règles d'herméneutique; 8. Les commentaires du Talmud: les Géonim, Raschi, Mamonide, Joseph Caro (Shulchan Arukh); 9. l'histoire du Talmud (les controverses qu'il a suscitées et ses diverses éditions).

Il ne pouvait être question de traiter avec quelques détails des sujets aussi complexes; l'auteur a réussi à en donner un aperçu suffisamment clair pour les non-initiés. On fera quelque réserve sur l'étude consacrée aux Pharisiens et aux Sadducéens dans laquelle la distinction entre les deux sectes ne paraît pas suffisamment définie au point de vue doctrinal.

La traduction vise avant tout à la clarté; et elle l'a obtenue dans l'ensemble sans que le texte hébreu (ou araméen) ne soit „trahi". Le texte de la *Mishnah* est transcrit en caractères italiques: elle est ainsi nettement distinguée de la *Gemara*, c'est à dire de son commentaire. Le traité comprend 9 chapitres, et ces chapitres ont un nombre variable de *mishnayyoth* (versets ou sentences) Il y aurait également eu avantage à indiquer en haut des pages le No. du Folio du Talmud.

Une des particularités de cette traduction est de diviser les longs et parfois touffus développements du Talmud en paragraphes avec indication de l'idée développée dans ceux-ci; ces idées sont rassemblées au début de chaque chapitre et répétées au début de chaque paragraphe: bien qu'on puisse discuter parfois si ces "sommaires" sont adéquats, ils n'en sont pas moins utiles à la compréhension du texte, en guidant le lecteur dans les dédales de la *gemara*.

Bien que, par sa matière, le traité *Berakhoth* soit un des plus faciles à comprendre, il ne manque pas de passages obscurs; des notes relativement nombreuses tendent à les expliquer au sujet desquelles nous ferons deux remarques. Certaines sont inexactes: ainsi le *ṣadougi* de 7a est traduit par "sadduceo" (p. 45); le terme, au singulier, signifie hérétique en général et non proprement sadducéen. Même traduction dans 10a (p. 70), et une note spécifie qu'il s'agit d'un sadducéen authentique: or le contexte (qui parle du rejet d'Israël par Dieu) indique nettement que ce *ṣadougi* est un judeo-chrétien, un *min* à proprement parler. D'autre part, d'autres notes auraient été les bienvenues, soit pour expliquer le texte, soit pour en indiquer la portée: ainsi le terme "Okhthériel" (et non Okatriel) (7a; p. 43) qui est une appellation de Dieu et signifie probablement le "couronnant" (*kéther* = couronne); dans 9b (p. 66) il est question de certains pieux appelés les *wathiqin* et dans 30b (V 1) (p. 219) d'autres pieux appelés les *ḥasidim*: les deux termes sont traduits par "pii"; il eût été bon de signaler au moins les termes hébreux qui désignent ces deux classes de pieux. Aux *Wathiqin* est attribuée la coutume de prier avant le lever du soleil: une note aurait pu indiquer la parenté de ce rite avec la "prière au soleil" des Esséniens. De l'Okhthériel, il est dit qu'il demande à Ismaël b. Elisha de le bénir; c'est un des rares parallèles rabbiniques avec Mathieu iii 13-15: le fait mériterait d'être souligné¹). Ce que nous venons d'indiquer a trait aux rapports externes du texte; une autre remarque porte sur ses rapports internes. Dans 7a (p. 46-47), deux opinions se font jour sur les épreuves du juste et le bonheur du méchant; la première resoud la question au point de vue social (de la solidarité familiale); la seconde, au point de vue individuel (de l'action morale de l'individu); une petite note aurait pu indiquer cette différence capitale de conception. Il est vrai qu'une traduction n'est pas un commentaire, mais elle peut l'amorcer.

Le traité *Berakhoth* traite *ex professo* de la prière: soit de la récitation du Shéma, soit de la prière officielle (les 18 bénédictions) soit des autres prières individuelles ou collectives, soit de la nature et des qualités de la prière; à ce seul point de vue, il est riche en enseignements non seulement sur les pratiques, mais aussi sur la piété juive qui, quoiqu'on en ait dit, ne se résout pas dans un formalisme sans âme: on en trouvera d'abondants témoignages dans notre traité. Par ailleurs si, comme tous les autres traités du Talmud, le nôtre déborde souvent son objet propre, il est le plus riche en développements haggadiques sur les sujets les plus divers de la pensée rabbinique: Dieu et ses hypostases, angélogologie et démonologie, prédétermination et liberté, messianisme et eschatologie sans parler des exhortations morales et des notices historiques précieuses pour la connaissance de la

¹) Même observation pour la mention de la „Communaute sainte" de Jérusalem (9b; p. 67).

tradition rabbinique. Tous ces points sont révélés dans un excellent index analytique qui permettra au lecteur de les retrouver facilement. Qu'il n'oublie pas cependant que les données de notre traité ne sont que partielles sur les sujets indiqués; et qu'elles n'engagent que les auteurs au nom desquels elles sont enseignées. Il eût été bon sans doute que les noms des amoras (c'est à dire des rabbins posterieurs au 2ième siècle) aient été signalés par un astérisque.

Cette traduction rendra donc les plus grands services à ceux qui veulent s'initier à la pensée juive et arriver par là à une meilleure compréhension du Nouveau Testament dont les racines plongent dans le milieu juif contemporain dont la littérature rabbinique est le meilleur témoin. Peut-être aussi y trouvera-t-il de précieux renseignements pour expliquer certaines données des manuscrits de la Mer Morte¹).

Paris

A. MICHEL

NOTICE

A circular letter with the full *programme* of the third Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament to be held in Oxford from Monday 31st August to Saturday 5th September 1959, and with information on arrangements, conditions of admission etc. will be sent on application by the Secretary of the Congress: Miss E. A. LIVINGSTONE, The Priory House, Christ Church, Oxford, England.

BOOK LIST²)

Australian Biblical Review, Vol. VI, January 1958, ix + 199 pp. University of Melbourne. From the Contents: Obituary-Professor M. D. Goldman, by S. B. GUREWICZ (editor); F. I. ANDERSEN, Who built the Second Temple?; P. E. BROUGHTON, The call of Jeremiah; L. MORRIS, The punishment of sin in the O.T.; S. B. GUREWICZ, The Deuteronomic Provisions for Exemption from Military Service; J. A. THOMPSON, The economic significance of Trans-jordan in O.T. times. — Price: 10/-.

Bibeltheologisches Wörterbuch herausgegeben von J. B. BAUER. Styria, Graz-Wien-Köln, 1959. 859 pp. Mitarbeiter dr. A. N. ADLER, P. ASVELD, A. AUER, P. BLAESER, J. BOTTERWECK, H. CAZELLES, J. DANÉLOU, A. DEISSLER, J. DEY...

Dødehavs Teksterne. I oversættelse og med noter ved E. NIELSEN og B. OTZEN, København 1959. 246 pp.

Polski Komitet do Spraw Unesco. Pismo i Ksiazka Orientalne. Katalog Wystawy Warszawa, Museum Narodowe. Redaktorzy S. STRELCHYN. 431 numéros et 30 fig. 1958.

A signaler dans ce catalogue fort bien présenté le texte samaritain (n° 5) et le texte hébraïque du IXème s. (n° 6).

Studii biblici franciscani, Liber Annuus VIII (1957-1958), Jérusalem 1958. Apud aedem Flagellationis.

Après plusieurs études sur St. Paul, on trouvera dans ce nouveau Liber Annuus le résultat des fouilles du R. P. BAGATTI sous le couvent de la Flagellation,

¹) Voir note précédente et Ch. RABIN, *Qumram Studies*, p. 37 sq. Sur les rapports entre les prières de Manuel et celles mentionnées dans notre traité, voir A. NEHER, *Les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, p. 45 sq.

²) The mention of books in this list neither implies nor precludes subsequent review at length.

- au Nord du Temple. C'est une importante contribution à toute étude sur l'extension de Jérusalem dans cette région de Bézétha.
- D. BONHOEFFER, *Creation and Fall*, a theological interpretation of Genesis 1-3. SCM press, London. 96 pp. 1959. A translation of *Schöpfung und Fall*, Munich 1937.
- W. G. BRAUDE, *The Midrash on Psalms*. A translation, in 2 Vols. xxxvi + 563 and 630 pp. Yale Judaica Series: Vol. XIII 1 and 2. Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, Conn. 1959. Two Vols. \$ 15.00.
- A. H. J. GUNNEWEG, *Mündliche und schriftliche Tradition der vorexilischen Prophetenbücher als Problem der neueren Prophetenforschung*, Göttingen 1959. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des A. und N. Testaments, N.F. Heft 55. 128 pp.
- A. HAMMAN, *La prière, Le Nouveau Testament, Prière et Liturgie dans la Bible*, Desclée, Paris-Tournai 1959. 484 pp. avec tables des références scripturaires et patristiques, index des termes grecs et des matières traitées.
- Les lecteurs de V.T. seront intéressés par les pp. 9-58 sur la prière dans l'A.T., la prière du psautier et les caractéristiques de la prière juive.
- O. KAISER, *Der Königliche Knecht*. Eine traditionsgeichtlich-exegetische Studie über die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder bei Deuterocesaja. Göttingen 1959. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des A. und N. Testaments. N.F. Heft 52. 146 pp.
- W. S. LASOR, *Great Personalities of the O.T.* Their lives and times. 192 pp. Westwood, N. J. Price \$ 3.00.
- W. LESLAU, *The verb in Harari (South Ethiopic)*, Univ. of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. 21. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1958. xi + 86 pp. Price \$ 1.75.
- Joh. LINDBLOM, *A study on the Immanuel section in Isaiah*, Isa. vii 1-ix 6. Lund 1958. 57 pp.
- M. MARTIN, *The scribal character of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. I. Bibliothèque du Muséon, Vol. 44. Louvain 1958. xxxii + 408 pp., plus 70 pp. indexes and tables.
- R. MARTIN-ACHARD, *Israël et les nations*. La perspective missionnaire de l'A.T. Cahiers théologiques 42, Neuchâtel-Paris 1959. 77 pp. Prix Fr.S. 4.50.
- BONAVENTURA UBACH, *Paralipomena, Esdras-Nehemias*, La Biblia VII, Monastir de Montserrat 1958. 377 pp. avec carte de la satrapie d'Abar-Nahara et plan de Jérusalem.
- C'est la 15ème volume de l'A.T. paru dans cette importante traduction annotée de la Bible en langue catalane; sans compter les volumes d'illustration publiés à part.
- A. PELLETIER, *Flavius Josèphe, Autobiographie*. Texte établi et traduit. Paris 1959. xxxvii + 69 pp. texte et 69 pp. traduction, notes complémentaires et index, carte.
- J. B. PRITCHARD, *Hebrew Inscriptions and Stamps from Gibeon*. The University Museum, Philadelphia, Penn. 1959. vi + 32 pp., and 12 pp. figures. Price \$ 1.00.
- I. SOISALON-SOININEN, *Der Charakter der asterisierten Zusätze in der Septuaginta*, Helsinki 1959. 200 pp.
- J. A. THOMPSON, *Archaeology and the Pre-Christian centuries*. A Pathway Book. Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1958. 140 p., illustrated.
- J. VERGOTE, *Joseph en Egypte*, Genèse chap. 37-50 à la lumière des études égyptologiques récentes. 219 pp. et 8 illust. Louvain 1959.
- Important commentaire égyptologique, admirablement documenté, sur ces derniers chapitres de la Genèse, dont le texte est donné en tête de chaque chapitre, compte tenu de la théorie documentaire. On regrettera seulement l'absence d'index.
- J. WEINGREEN, *A practical Grammar for classical Hebrew*. 2nd Edition. xii + 316 pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford U.P. Oxford 1959. Price 21/-. A revised edition of an excellent grammar.

THE PROVINCE-LIST OF JUDAH

BY

Y. AHARONI

Jerusalem (Isr.)

Since ALT ¹⁾ published the profound essay in which he recognized in the town list of the southern tribes a complete list of the administrative districts of the Kingdom of Judah, few scholars have dealt with this problem, and ALT's opinion has been accepted by most ²⁾.

Recently, however, this question has been taken up afresh in two essays, one by CROSS and WRIGHT ³⁾, and the other by KALLAI-KLEINMANN ⁴⁾, and a number of new suggestions has been made.

Some of these new suggestions help to solve certain problems arising from ALT's method. They are based on the results of the latest research, especially on the examination of places, which either appear or are lacking in the list.

Most important, it seems to me, is CROSS and WRIGHT's proposal (accepted by KALLAI) that the description of Dan (Josh xix 40-46) should be excluded from the province list, for there is definitely no reason to add this section to the list, either with regard to the text, or to the contents ⁵⁾.

One of the main problems, however, important for the understanding of the list, has not yet been solved satisfactorily, i.e. the area occupied by the provinces in relation to the boundary of the Kingdom of Judah at different times in history.

KALLAI comes to the conclusion that the town lists of Judah and Benjamin are of different origin. He therefore deals with each of them separately and suggests that the first should be dated to the period of Hezekiah, and the second to the reign of Abijah, son of Rehoboam.

¹⁾ A. ALT „Judah Gaue unter Josia“, *PJB* 21 (1925), pp. 100-116; repr. *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* II, München 1953, pp. 276-288.

²⁾ Minor changes, adhering to the method and the date of ALT, cf. M. NOTH, *Das Buch Josua*², Tübingen 1953, pp. 14; 92 ff.

³⁾ F. M. CROSS and G. E. WRIGHT “The Boundary and Province Lists of the Kingdom of Judah”, *JBL* 75 (1956), pp. 202-226.

⁴⁾ Z. KALLAI-KLEINMANN “The Town Lists of Judah, Simeon, Benjamin and Dan”, *VT* 8 (1958), pp. 134-160.

⁵⁾ *JBL* 75, pp. 204 f.; 209 ff.

This suggestion eliminates some difficulties, but it by-passes the main problem. The list of Judah in Josh xv comprises only an area south of Jerusalem and can therefore never be identical itself with the territory of the Judahite Kingdom, for the Judahite Kingdom always comprised at least part of the territory of Benjamin north of Jerusalem. Hence, even if it seems justified to discard the list of the Dan towns, without getting into conflict with the border of the kingdom in most periods, it is impossible to exclude from the list the towns of Benjamin without drawing the conclusion that the town list of Josh xv does not reflect the district division of the Kingdom of Judah, but was compiled for another purpose ¹).

However, ALT's main conclusion that our list reflects the original administrative division of the Kingdom of Judah seems to be unshaken. In this respect we have to remember and to stress two facts:

a) The town list surpasses the area defined by the description of the boundary of the patrimony of Judah, and we have therefore two lists of different origin and date.

d) The town list of Josh xv is grouped according to a geographical principle, as stressed by the different headings; one group is in the Negeb, three in the Shephelah (Lowland) ²), six in the hill country ³), and one in the wilderness. Thus the text of Josh xv enumerates eleven town-groups in Judah ⁴). If we add Benjamin, which belonged to the Kingdom at least in part, we get a list of twelve groups of cities ⁵). Hence ALT is certainly right in his conclusion that the list reflects the administrative division of Judah achieved after the division of the Kingdom, similar to the twelve Solomonic districts of northern Israel (1 Kings iv 7-19).

KALLAI's suggestion that the town lists of Judah and Benjamin should be considered separately avoids the main problem, especially as he fails to propose an alternative purpose for the town lists.

CROSS and WRIGHT, on the other hand, follow ALT in his suggestion that the towns of Benjamin of Josh xviii 21-28 ought to be added to the province list, although they suggest a somewhat different method.

¹) KALLAI does not reach this conclusion definitely, but occasionally he speaks of "units or provinces of which the list is composed" (*VT* 8, p. 154).

²) Excluding Josh xv 45-47, cf. below.

³) Including Josh xv 59a, preserved only in the Septuagint.

⁴) In this connection there is no difference if Josh xv 60 comprises a separate district of two cities, or if we have to add to them further towns, a question to which we shall return below.

⁵) On the division of Benjamin into two groups and its meaning, see below.

ALT through adding the list of Dan of Josh xix 41-46 to the Judahite town list of Josh xv counts twelve provinces without the list of the Benjamin towns. He thinks that the provinces disregarded the boundary between Judah and Benjamin, and that therefore the editor cut the provinces in two, and ascribed some towns to Judah and some to Benjamin. But, fortunately for us, this editor's work, according to ALT contained some "Unachtsamkeiten"¹⁾, and he left some towns near the border in both lists: Kirjath-jearim in the second group of Benjamin (Josh xviii 28) and in the last district of the hill country of Judah (Josh xv 60) and Beth-haarabah in the first group of Benjamin (Josh xviii 22) and in the wilderness district of Judah (Josh xv 61). ALT therefore suggested that the two town groups of Benjamin should be added to the two provinces of Judah, in accordance with the common names. CROSS and WRIGHT accept the first but reject the second. They emphasize the geographical and administrative absurdity of creating a province from En-gedi in the wilderness up to the mountains of Ephraim. After they have deducted the Dan province, they can deal with the wilderness district and the northern group of the Benjamin towns as with two separated provinces, without clashing with the number of 12 provinces.

On the other hand they agree to combine Kirjath-jearim and Rabbah with the southern town group of Benjamin, for a district containing only two towns seems too small to them. Moreover, without this combination there would be 13 provinces, which cannot be accepted. Thus the province list gives the northern boundary of Judah, according to CROSS and WRIGHT, exactly as ALT suggests; they differ here only in their method of dividing the provinces.

This boundary, however, extended much farther than that of the Kingdom of Judah in most periods, which ran south of Beth-el, which had already been made a royal sanctuary during the reign of Jeroboam. This boundary therefore seems to be one of the main factors determining the date of the list, for it can only date from a time, when these towns belonged to Judah, i.e. during the reign of Josiah according to ALT and to that of Jehoshaphat according to CROSS and WRIGHT.

CROSS and WRIGHT justify and elucidate many points in the method of ALT, but it seems to me that they fail to draw the full consequences of their criticism. What is more, the method they suggest is open to precisely the same critical arguments that they themselves apply.

¹⁾ KS II, p. 278.

1) CROSS and WRIGHT are opposed to ALT's view that the editor's work was negligent: "One does not cut apart a list leaving the same place name on both sides of the document" ¹⁾.

They therefore disagree with ALT's proposed joining of these groups, on the sole ground that some town names are mentioned twice, but they do not follow their own rule consequently.

They leave the northern district of Benjamin and the wilderness district of Judah as two separate districts, but fail to give a convincing explanation for the appearance of Beth-haarabah in two districts of the same list. And in dealing with the tenth province they even abandon this principle and accept ALT's proposal to join Kirjath-jearim and Rabbah with the southern district of Benjamin. Their only reason is: "that they obviously could not have constituted in themselves a sufficient area for an administrative unit" ²⁾.

The only difference is that ALT thought the division of the towns between the two tribes was carelessly done, while CROSS and WRIGHT suppose that the two cities originally also appeared in the southern district list of Benjamin, "the text of which is corrupt" and were put in again in the Judahite group, because the editor thought they belonged to Judah in the light of the ancient patrimonial division.

CROSS and WRIGHT's suggestion that Rabbah and Kirjath-jearim were also originally included in the town list of Benjamin confronts us with another difficulty. The text of Josh xv 60 has: "Kirjath-baal, which is Kirjath-jearim". It is difficult to understand, why the name of Kirjath-baal should be inserted here, if this group was copied from Josh xviii, where not only Rabbah but also Kirjath-baal are missing.

But already the supposition that Kirjath-jearim appears in both lists is based on a correction of the present text. In Josh xviii 28, there appears "and Gibeath (and) Kirjath" (גבעה קרית). The text is undoubtedly corrupt here, and even if we accept the version of the different MSS of the Septuagint "and Gibeath and Kirjath-jearim" there is still one city lacking in the number of fourteen ³⁾.

However, we know a locality called "the hill (גבעה)" of Kirjath-jearim, where the house of Abinadab stood, to whom the ark of the Lord was entrusted on its return from the Philistines (1 Sam vii 1; 2 Sam vi 3-4).

¹⁾ *JBL* 75, p. 209.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

³⁾ The omission of 2-3 towns is felt in the list of Benjamin; cf. KALLAI, *VT* 8, p. 139, who attempts to see in them a third, missing group of Benjamin.

The most probable restoration of the text therefore is "Gibeath Kirjath-jearim fourteen cities with their villages" (גבעת קרית יערים), on the assumption that the word "Jearim" was dropped by a simple haplography.

Thus in the present text of the Benjamin town list "Gibeath Kirjath-jearim" is mentioned, and perhaps the Gibeonite-Hivite (Horite according to the Septuagint) city is meant, which was attached to the patrimony of Benjamin, and in its vicinity a new Judahite town or quarter was built. This is "Kirjath-jearim, a city of the children of Judah" (Josh xviii 14).

On the other hand there seems no reason to maintain that Kirjath-jearim and Rabbah cannot have been a separate province. Generally the districts were not intended to destroy the old patrimonial order, but to reorganize the kingdom in accordance with the new circumstances that had arisen. Thus Solomon too preserved in his administrative division the ancient tribal and political territories, and we do not know of any incident where cities of one tribe, which appear as a separate province, were added to a district of another tribe¹). The addition of Judahite cities to the Benjamin district would therefore have been an unusual act, to be justified and explained. This matter seems still less probable in the light of our information about Rabbah. We have no reason to deny the identification of Rabbah with *Rubute* of the Amarna letters and *rbt* of the Egyptian topographical lists, for their names actually are identical and we have to look for them in the very same vicinity. In two of his letters Abdi-hipa, king of Jerusalem, blames Milkilu, king of Gezer, together with his allies, for the conquest of *Rubute* and its territory and for their intention now to conquer Jerusalem²). These letters thus point to a place on the road from Gezer to Jerusalem, which is also in accordance with its place in the Egyptian topographical lists. In the Thutmose list *rbt* (105) appears together with Gezer (*qdr*, 104) and *qpt* (Gibbethon?, 103), and in the Shishak list *rbt* is mentioned on the road from Gezer to Aijalon³). If we assume that Rabbah was situated to the west of Kirjath-jearim, we reach the very district, where the Egyptian sources

¹) A. ALT "Israel's Gaue unter Salomo", *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament* 13 (1913), pp. 1-19; repr. *KS* II, pp. 76-89. There are of course some cases where neighbouring tribes were adjoined into one district.

²) EA 289, 11 ff.; 290, 5 ff.

³) Cf. B. MAZAR "The Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak to Palestine", *VTS* 4 (1957), p. 60. The appearance of *Rubute* in the Taanachletters has no significance for its identification.

locate *Rubute*, i.e. east from Gezer and south from Aijalon. There is therefore no reason to deny their identity ¹⁾.

Thus the district of Kirjath-jearim extended west of Jerusalem to the border of the Kingdom of Judah in the *Shephelah*, and it is farfetched to assume that this western area was added to Benjamin. The fact that only two cities are mentioned in this district is not a sufficient reason to deny its separate existence, for the list does not contain all the cities of every district, and the latter are not equal, either in size or in number of cities. There is the large Negeb province with about 30 cities, and on the other hand the provinces of the hill-country and the wilderness with only 6 cities. It is therefore obvious that other factors than size or the number of towns were decisive in determining the area of the provinces.

2) CROSS and WRIGHT stress the geographical character of the province-list and refuse to accept a district uniting the wilderness of Judah with the hill-country of Ephraim. But they leave the northern town group of Benjamin as one district, lumping together cities like Beth-el and Ophrah in Mount Ephraim with Jericho and Beth-haarabah in the Jordan Valley, that same Beth-haarabah which in Josh xv 61 is ascribed to the wilderness district. The "nonsense of Geography" has thus crept into their method as well, and it is difficult to understand the reason, why such a district should be created in the framework of the Kingdom of Judah.

3) Archaeological considerations led CROSS and WRIGHT to the conclusion that the list originated in the ninth century, and they are convinced that during the reign of Jehoshaphat the area of Beth-el and Ophrah belonged to the Kingdom of Judah. It is impossible to accept this suggestion, as KALLAI rightly points out ²⁾. As a matter of fact the son of Rehoboam, Abijah, conquered this approximate area from Jeroboam (2 Chron xiii 19), but during the reigns of Asa and Baasha we have already heard that the latter not only re-conquered it but penetrated into Judahite territory up to Ramah. It was only after Asa had called in the assistance of Ben-hadad, the Aramean king of Damascus, that he succeeded in repulsing the invasion and fortified Mizpah as a boundary town (1 Kings xv 16-22; 2 Chron xvi 1-6). Henceforward we have no hint that this boundary underwent any

¹⁾ Its exact location is still difficult to determine, especially as the political situation forbids an archaeological survey of the area between *Bâb al-Wâd* and *Latrûn*.

²⁾ VT 8, p. 141.

major changes. In the days of Jehoshaphat good neighbourly relations were established between Judah and Israel, and thereafter the boundary line, which ran between Mizpah and Beth-el, remained unchanged till the end of the Kingdom of Israel. Thus, when we read of the garrisons, which Jehoshaphat had set "in the land of Juda and in the cities of Ephraim, which Asa his father had taken" (2 Chron xvii 2), only this area up to the vicinity of Mizpah can be meant, and there is no reason for the assumption that his kingdom extended any farther to the north. Jericho too belonged to the Kingdom of Israel in the days of Ahab and Jehoshaphat, as is clearly indicated in the stories of Elijah and Elisha, and in the note that it was built in the days of Ahab by Hiel, the Beth-elite (1 Kings xvi 34) ¹⁾.

We must therefore reject the view of CROSS and WRIGHT that the first town group of Benjamin represents one of the Judahite provinces in the days of Jehoshaphat. According to our knowledge the border line between Judah and Israel ran through this vicinity only twice for a short time, i.e. at the end of the tenth century in the days of Abijah and the first part of the reign of Asa (2 Chron xiii 19, xv 8) and in the second half of the seventh century for a short time during the reign of Josiah (2 Kings xxiii 8). For historical and archaeological reasons these dates are improbable for the dating of the list. The first, because part of the settlements mentioned in the list did not yet exist, as shown by CROSS and WRIGHT (we will return later to this point), and the second from the historical point of view, as already convincingly demonstrated by CROSS and WRIGHT ²⁾. ALT himself assumes that the division of the Kingdom of Judah into districts was certainly earlier, and that Josiah reorganized the old system in the middle of his reign ³⁾. It is hard to explain, why he was satisfied with this re-organization, when in the course of the time he annexed much larger areas and reached Megiddo at least. Neither can we understand why he should add the new district, most of which extended over Mount Ephraim to the wilderness district of Judah. According to CROSS and WRIGHT, who see in this district a self-dependent one, this would not have been a re-organization but an entirely new division, which seems quite improbable.

To sum up our arguments:

- a) There is no reason to join the district of Kirjath-jearim and

¹⁾ Cf. ALT, *KS* II, p. 281.

²⁾ *JBL* 75, pp. 222 f.

³⁾ *KS* II, p. 284.

Rabbah with the southern group of the Benjamin towns. We thus have in Josh xv eleven districts and only one province is missing to complete the conventional number of twelve.

b) It is difficult to see in the northern town group of Benjamin one of the Judahite districts for the following reasons: 1) The double appearance of Beth-haarabah. 2) The geographical absurdity of uniting the Jordan Valley with the Mount of Ephraim in the light of the clearly geographical division of the other parts of the list. 3) A border comprising these towns existed only for a short period in the beginning and at the end of the Kingdom of Judah, i.e. during the reigns of Abijah and Josiah, and for historical and archaeological reasons it is impossible to attribute to the province list a date as early or as late as this.

We have therefore to look elsewhere for a solution, and it seems worthwhile to tackle again the question of the reason for the division of the Benjamin town list into two separate groups. CROSS and WRIGHT believe that these were divided into cities west and east of the watershed, and the cities conquered in the days of Abijah were attached to the latter ¹). Firstly we want to point out that this is not exact, for Ramah (*ar-Râm*) and Mizpah (*Tell an-Naşbeh*) are situated near the watershed, but they are east of it. On the other hand this idea seems strange, for near the line of the watershed the main road ran through the hillcountry, uniting the settlements that lay beside it and not separating them; indeed an artificial division of this kind is not found in any of the other districts.

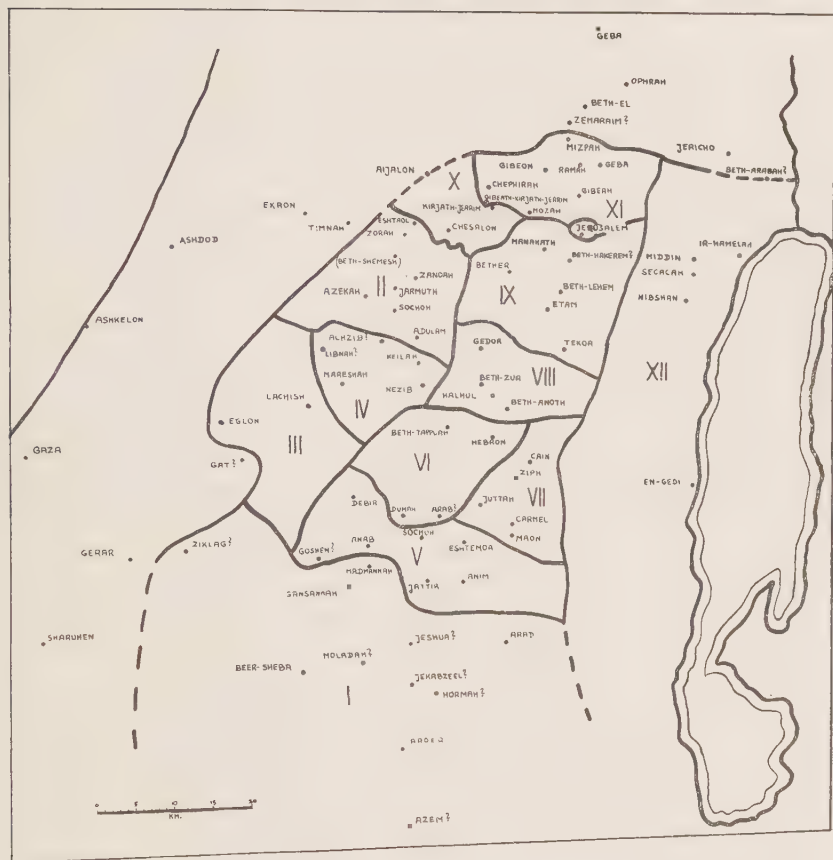
Furthermore CROSS and WRIGHT's suggestion is based on the identification of Geba with the southern place of this name, located at *Jaba'*, east of Ramah. However, according to its place on the list, we may reasonably conclude that the Geba north of Beth-el is meant, which has been identified with *Khirbat at Tell*, three km. north of Jeshanah (*Burj al-Isâneh*) ²).

On the other hand there exists a striking difference between the towns of the two groups. When we compare the Benjamin towns to the border between Israel and Judah in most periods, including the days of Jehoshaphat, it becomes obvious that the second group definitely includes cities of the Kingdom of Judah, while the first group comprises cities of Israel only. The second group includes

¹) *JBL* 75, pp. 222 f.

²) B. MAISLER (MAZAR), *BJPES* 8 (1940), pp. 35-37; id., *Encyclopaedia Biblica* II, Jerusalem 1954, p. 412 (Hebrew); KALLAI, *VT* 8, p. 140.

cities up to Mizpah in the north, which was, as we have said, a border town of Judah from the days of Asa onward ¹). The first group however includes cities on Mount Ephraim to the north of this boundary (Zemaraim, Beth-el, Ophrah, the northern Geba) as well as some cities in the Jordan Valley, headed by Jericho, which also



belonged to Israel, as mentioned above. This fact was fully recognized by ALT, who is quoted by CROSS and WRIGHT: "Hier treten (um von unidentifizierten Namen ganz zu schweigen) mit Beth-el, Ophra und Jericho Orte auf, die ohne Zweifel dem Reich Israel angehörten, solange dieses bestand"²⁾.

¹⁾ KALLAI is right in pointing out that some towns of Benjamin are missing (VT 8, p. 139), however not all the settlements appear in the town lists and some names are missing, for the text is corrupt.

²) *KS* II, p. 281; *JBL* 75, p. 205.

On these grounds we may suggest the following solution: The second group of the Benjamin towns is the missing province of the Kingdom of Judah, the first group, on the other hand, contains only cities of the Kingdom of Israel, which did not belong at all to the administrative division of Judah.

The question of course arises, where was this list of Israelite cities taken from, and why was it added to Benjamin, notwithstanding the fact that it much exceeds the border of this tribe.

In ALT's opinion town lists of Israelite Mount Ephraim are completely lacking. He points out that we have town lists only in the description of the southern and northern tribes, and he therefore accepts as a fundamental assumption that the lists of Judah, Benjamin and Dan have the same origin in the Judahite list, and that the editor had at his disposal no town list of Mount Ephraim proper ¹). NORTH went still further and tried to prove that in the description of the northern tribes there exists actually only a border list, which was compiled basically of "Grenzfixpunkten"; and that we have no town-list at all of the northern tribes ²); this opinion has been accepted by CROSS and WRIGHT ³). But the view that we have no town list except for the province list of Judah is impossible to maintain in the light of the following considerations:

a) The town list of Dan has been already excluded by CROSS and WRIGHT from the district division of Judah; they have tried to explain its composition in accordance with the various sources at our disposal but concede that this is only tentative ⁴).

b) It is quite impossible to accept the opinion that with the northern tribes we have only a shortened border description with the addition of the Levite towns and the unconquered cities enumerated in Jud i. There is an especially obvious difference between the boundary description of Naphtali and its list of fenced cities: some of these were so far from any border that any effort to interpret them as a boundary list is unacceptable ⁵). Issachar has only a typical town

¹) KS II, pp. 276 ff. The Galilean town list represents, according to ALT, the Assyrian province Megiddo, cf. A. ALT „Eine galiläische Ortsliste in Jos. 19", ZAW NF. 4 (1927), pp. 59-81.

²) M. NORTH „Studien zu den historisch-geographischen Dokumenten des Josua-Buches", III. Eine galiläische Ortsliste?, ZDPV 58 (1935), pp. 215-230.

³) JBL 75, p. 208.

⁴) Ibid., pp. 210 ff.

⁵) Y. AHARONI, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Upper Galilee*, Jerusalem 1957, pp. 77 ff. (Hebrew).

list, perhaps with the addition of a fragmentary boundary section, and we do not obtain any logical border, if we try to join the cities known to us. With the tribe of Asher too we have long town lists, fitted into a fragmentary boundary description, and such cities as Achshaph (*Tell Harbaj?*), Beth-haemek (*Tell Mimâs* near *ʿAmqāʿ?*) and Abdon (*Khirbet ʿAbda*) are far from its boundary, which ran along the Carmel in the south and passed Cabul in the east. In contrast to this the description of Zebulun begins with a detailed boundary description followed by a short town list. But even this short list includes three cities which appear neither among the Levitical cities nor in the list of Jud i: Shimron, Idalah and Beth-lehem. Two of these which have been identified, Shimron-Shimʿon (*Tell Simūniye*) and Beth-lehem (*Beit Lahm*) are in the midst of Zebulun and not on its boundary.

c) In Josh xiii there are town lists of Gad and Reuben in Transjordan. NOTH tried to explain these too as boundary points in part ¹⁾, a suggestion, which has been already refuted by GLUECK ²⁾. But even NOTH was forced to admit that a town list did remain in Transjordan, and he suggested that this should be taken as a thirteenth district, which was added to the Judahite province in the days of Josiah. This far-reaching assumption is based on his axiom that there existed no town list but the administrative division of Judah ³⁾.

We have of course to admit that the descriptions of the Joseph tribes lack a town list. But this fact hardly justifies the ignoring of the town lists of *all the other tribes*, which definitely do exist. In speculating on the reason for the omission we should remember that the descriptions of Ephraim and Manasseh are neglected from all points of view. They are given between the detailed description of Judah and the story about the casting of the lot for the seven remaining tribes. Not only is there no town list, but the description of the boundaries is most fragmentary. A somewhat more detailed description is given only of the border between Ephraim and Manasseh. The southern boundary of Ephraim is described in detail only as far as its eastern part is concerned, which is identical with the northern boundary of Benjamin. The continuation of the whole western

¹⁾ M. NOTH „Die israelitischen Siedlungsgebiete im Ostjordanland“, *ZDPV* 58 (1935), pp. 230-255.

²⁾ N. GLUECK “Explorations in Eastern Palestine” III, *AASOR* 18-19 (1939), pp. 249 ff.

³⁾ NOTH, *ZDPV* 58 (1935), p. 255.

section is described in a few words only: "and to Gezer, and the goings out thereof are at the sea." (Josh xvi 3)¹⁾. The other boundaries of Ephraim and Manasseh are entirely lacking, e.g. the northern border of Manasseh. It seems quite clear, that the editor cut short the material concerning the northern tribes, whereas he took a broad interest in the southern tribes²⁾, and the two Joseph tribes suffered mostly from this method.

If, then it is obvious that other town lists existed beside the Judahite province list, nothing can induce us to deny that the northern town group of Benjamin belongs to this kind. We may still ask, where these lists came from. A comparison with Judah shows that these town lists too were perhaps taken from the province list of Israel. We know that in the Kingdom of Israel a new administrative division was made during the reign of Solomon (1 Kings iv 7-19). This was based partly on the existing tribal boundaries, in some cases through the amalgamation of neighbouring tribes, and partly on separate districts of Canaanite areas, which had been only recently conquered³⁾

The town lists of Josh xiii-xix fit in remarkably with the districts composed of the traditional tribal territories, but for the absence of a town list for the first district, i.e. the district of Mount Ephraim already mentioned. In the north there were the provinces of Naphtali, Asher and Issachar - the three tribes, which have detailed town lists, whereas Zebulun, which apparently was added to the district of Asher, has only a very fragmentary town list. In Transjordan there were three districts, of which the southern ones, Mahanaim and the country of Gilead (Septuagint: Gad) perhaps fit the town lists of Gad and Reuben in Josh xiii⁴⁾. It appears therefore that the first group of the Benjamin towns is the Benjamin district of the Kingdom of Israel, as it remained or was newly formed after the partition of the kingdom. We do not know, whether all these towns were from the beginning in the Benjamin district of Solomon (1 Kings iv 18) and we may assume that the attaching of most of the area of Benjamin to Judah demanded a re-organization and an enlargement of the remaining province.⁵⁾

¹⁾ It is instructive to compare this laconic description with the detailed description of the northern boundary of Judah (Josh xv 5 ff.).

²⁾ Cf. ALT, *ZAW NF*. 4 (1927), pp. 59 ff.

³⁾ ALT, *K'S* II, pp. 83 ff.; 285.

⁴⁾ This may explain the contradiction between Josh xiii and the town lists of Reuben and Gad in Num xxxii 34-38.

⁵⁾ If this assumption is correct, we may conclude that the city lists of northern Israel also do not represent the Solomonic province list, but are from a later

The unification of Jericho and Beth-el into one district also makes sense only within the framework of the Kingdom of Israel, for there was probably no other solution than to unite Jericho and the few Israelite settlements in its neighbourhood with the Israelite cities on Mount Ephraim. With this it becomes evident that the border conflicts between Israel and Judah were mainly on the two Benjamin districts, which were on both sides of the border. CROSS and WRIGHT point out the striking resemblance between the area conquered by Abijah (2 Chron xiii 19) and the northern group of the Benjamin town-list: "Its resemblance to the eleventh Judahite Province is too clear to be a matter of coincidence".¹⁾ This resemblance has a simple explanation, if we assume that Abijah annexed the Benjamin district of Israel. ALT, on the other hand, pointed to the resemblance between our list and the annexations made by Josiah during the first half of his reign²⁾. This resemblance is still more striking, if we agree with the suggestion of MAZAR that the Geba mentioned on the northern border of Josiah (2 Kings xxiii 8) and the Geba of our list are not Geba or Gibeah of Benjamin, which during his reign were not border cities, but Geba on Mount Ephraim, north of Bethel and Jeshanah³⁾. The solution we suggest for this repeated resemblance is that on both occasions the kings of Judah first of all annexed the Benjamin district of the northern Kingdom⁴⁾. This situation also explains,

period after the division of the kingdom, like the Judahite province list. We may further assume that the administrative division in Israel remained mainly as performed in the days of Solomon, and that only in the south changes occurred, in accordance with the new boundaries. In this case too the Danite list does not represent the second Solomonic district, as suggested by KALLAI (*VT* 8, pp. 144 ff.), but may represent the later Israelite district, in addition to parts of the boundary-description of Judah. This fact may explain the absence of Gezer from the Danite list: it was destroyed by Shishak. We may therefore assume that the city-lists of the northern and the transjordanian tribes of Josh xiii-xix, perhaps with addition of a part of the Danite list, were taken from the Israelite province-list, mainly from the last six districts:

Province	II. Dan	Josh xix 42, 44-46.
„	VII. Mahanaim (Gad)	Josh xiii 25-27.
„	VIII. Naphtali	Josh xix 35-38.
„	IX. Asher (and Zebulun?)	Josh xix 25-28 (15?).
„	X. Issachar	Josh xix 18-22.
„	XI. Benjamin	Josh xviii 21-24.
„	XII. Gilcad-Gad (Reuben)	Josh xiii 16-21.

¹⁾ *JBL* 75, p. 223.

²⁾ *KS* II, p. 281.

³⁾ Cf. p. 232, note 2.

⁴⁾ On the other hand the invasion of Baasha and the fortification of Ramah were perhaps an attempt to annex the Benjamin district of Judah.

why these towns were listed among the Benjamin cities of Josh xviii, especially, as Jericho and Beth-haarabah belonged to Benjamin according to the boundary description also. Beth-haarabah was apparently situated on the border between Judah and Israel, and its position as a border city explains its appearance on both lists of Judah and Israel.

We thus suggest that the list of the twelve Judahite provinces comprised the following sections: Josh xv 21-44; 48-62 (in addition to 59a of the Septuagint); xviii 25-28 (see map, p. 233). It is not necessary to reiterate here a detailed description of every district ¹⁾; we will confine ourselves to details, in which our map differs from the map given by CROSS and WRIGHT.

Province I. For an analysis of the composition of this district, comprising the different Negeb areas, see my paper on the Negeb of Judah ²⁾. New identifications are: Ziklag (*Tell ash-Sbari'a*); Jekabzeel (*Khirbat al-Gharra?* The capital of the district was transferred to this place from Beer-sheba) and the proposals of Prof. MAZAR: Moladah (*Khureibat al Waṭan*); Hormah (*Tell al-Milḥ*).

Province III-IV. These two districts are in the Shephelah, stretching from south to north according to CROSS and WRIGHT, and from west to east according to KALLAI ³⁾. The identification of Makkedah and Libnah is still controversial, but the identification of Libnah with *Tell as-Ṣāfi* is unacceptable, for Σαφιθα already appears on the Madaba map, while Eusebius still knows a place called Λοβανα ⁴⁾. The places which can be located point to a west-east position rather than to a south-north position of the two districts, and this also fits better the consequent geographical arrangement of our list.

Province V. As this is the first province in the hill-country, there is no justification for extending it to the west in the Shephelah up to the border of the Philistine territory. This province extended westward up to Debir (*Tell Beit Mirsim*) and Goshen (*Tell Khuweilifa?*, as Prof. MAZAR suggests).

Province X. This district comprises the hill country west of Jerusalem, bordering in the south-west on the northern district of the Shephelah (Province II). As its second main city, Rabbah, has not yet been located

¹⁾ Cf. NOTH, *Das Buch Josua*², pp. 92 ff.; Map p. 91; CROSS and WRIGHT, *JBL* 75, pp. 212 ff.; Map p. 213, Fig. 1.

²⁾ Y. AHARONI: "The Negeb of Judah", *IEJ* 8 (1958), pp. 26-38.

³⁾ *VT* 8, pp. 155 f.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

exactly, we do not know its western extension. However, we know the name of at least one other settlement in its area, i.e. Chesalon (*Keslā*) mentioned on the boundary of Judah (Josh xv 10).

Province XI. This is the southern (second) group of the Benjamin towns (Josh xviii 25-28). As this district is in the hill-country, its insertion at this point on our list as the last northern hill-district is justified. Though "Jebusi, which is Jerusalem" appears in this province we may assume that the city itself was excluded from the jurisdiction of the province, and that perhaps Gibeon, which appears as head of the group, was the district-capital.

Province XII. This is the only district in the wilderness, and KALLAI is probably right in suggesting that it extended over the whole area of the sparsely populated Wilderness of Judah¹). There is no reason to believe that one of the hill-districts extended down to the Dead Sea. Thus, apparently the first Province of the Negeb and the last Province of the Wilderness bordered on one another, but there are not enough data to fix this border exactly.

The Date of the List

In accordance with the agreed supposition that this is a list of the administrative division of the Kingdom of Judah, the date of its origin is limited between the time of the partition of the state and the destruction of the first temple. Various scholars have tried to determine more exactly the date of the list by comparing its content and extension to specified historical circumstances: The reign of Jehoshaphat (middle of the ninth century) according to CROSS and WRIGHT²); the reign of Hezekiah (end of the eighth century) according to KALLAI; the reign of Josiah (end of the seventh century) according to ALT and NOTH. It is of course obvious that even if the origin of the list in its present form can be ascribed to a certain period, this does not prove that the administrative division of the Kingdom of Judah was made for the first time at this date. Thus ALT, who suggested the latest date, believed that the division itself was much earlier, assuming that Josiah only made certain changes in adaptation to new conditions, and that in this last composition the list has been preserved³).

¹) *Ibid.*, pp. 156 f.

²) This date had already been suggested by Prof. MAZAR, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Jerusalem 1950, p. 718 (Hebrew).

³) *KS* II, pp. 284 f.

Two principal facts are decisive for the fixing of the date:

a. The borders of the kingdom, i.e. the attempt to determine a period during which the boundaries corresponded to the total extension of the province-list; b. The composition of the list in comparison to certain towns which did not exist permanently during the whole period in question, and whose history is known to us from archaeological investigations.

ALT's suggestion is based on his opinion that the borders of the kingdom reached these dimensions only in a certain period of expansion during the reign of Josiah. These arguments cannot be upheld with the removal of the Danite and the northern Benjamin towns from the list. The northern boundary now corresponds to the borders of the Kingdom of Judah in most periods, and therefore is of no value for a more exact dating of the list.

KALLAI, on the other hand, based his opinion on the western boundary of the kingdom, between Judah and the Philistines, adducing the following arguments: *a.* In Josh xv 45-47 Ekron, Asdod and Gaza are mentioned. The appearance of these Philistine cities recalls the political situation during the time of Hezekiah, for, according to the annals of Sennacherib, Hezekiah was active together with the king of Ashkalon against Ekron, Ashdod and Gaza ¹⁾. Josh xv 45-47, however, differs completely from the other town groups, in form as well as in contents, and therefore hardly belongs to the original province-list; we have to consider it as a clear addition, as CROSS and WRIGHT point out ²⁾. Furthermore it is difficult to believe that these Philistine cities constituted a district of Judah at any period. Possibly KALLAI is right in asserting that this addition was influenced by the state of affairs during the reign of Hezekiah, but we cannot learn anything from it about the dating of the province list. *b.* In 2 Chron xxviii 18 we read of the conquest of six Judahite towns by the Philistines during the reign of Ahaz, namely Beth-shemesh, Aijalon, Gederot, Sochoh, Timnah and Gimzo. Most of these cities are missing in Josh xv, and KALLAI explains this fact by ascribing the origin of the list to approximately this time ³⁾.

The Philistine conquest was apparently connected with the Israelite-Aramean invasion of Pekah and Rezin, and it seems very doubtful,

¹⁾ VT 8, p. 153.

²⁾ JBL 75, pp. 204 f.

³⁾ VT 8, p. 153.

whether these events left permanent traces lasting until the days of Hezekiah. Even the resemblance is not complete. Two of the cities conquered by the Philistines none the less appear in Josh xv, viz. Gederoth¹⁾ and Sochoh, and KALLAI too is therefore forced to assume that part of the conquered area had already been returned to Judah in the days of Hezekiah, if the list was compiled then²⁾. These towns are border cities, and we possess only sparse and casual knowledge of boundary changes in this area. The composition of our list actually does not correspond with the Philistine conquest in the days of Ahaz but only recalls in some way the then prevailing conditions. We therefore cannot know in which period the boundaries were identical with our list, even if we accept KALLAI's suggestion that the absence of these towns is explained by their being excluded from the borders of the kingdom.

The absence of Aijalon indicates only that the list cannot be dated to Rehoboam, who fortified this town (2 Chron. xi 10). We possess no further information on changes of the boundary between Judah and Israel in this area, but as border-city it is not impossible that Aijalon fell to the Kingdom of Israel already during the conflict in the reigns of Asa and Baasha. Some support for this assumption may be found in the fact that Joash in his campaign against Amaziah reached Beth-shemesh, without encountering any resistance. The fact that in the days of Ahaz Aijalon again belonged to Judah and was conquered by the Philistines does not demonstrate the state of affairs during the previous 200 years since the division of the kingdom.

Neither of KALLAI's arguments is therefore decisive, moreover they contradict each other, and it seems impossible to use both to determine the date of the list. Either the list was compiled in a period of decline and diminution, when border-cities like Beth-shemesh, Aijalon etc. were outside the boundary of the state, or in a time of expansion and enlargement, when even Philistine towns up to Gaza were included. It is hard to see, how the date of the list can be determined with the help of these two conflicting arguments³⁾.

It seems to us impossible to determine the date of the list by examining the borders of the state in different periods, for the striking

¹⁾ In this connection the exact location of the place is not important.

²⁾ VT 8, p. 153, n. 1.

³⁾ KALLAI tried to solve this contradiction by the suggestion that the missing towns "still formed part of the Ekron territory (Josh xv 45) or were at least summarily referred to in such manner" (VT 8, p. 153), a very unconvincing solution.

contradictions disappear, if we agree to the composition of the list proposed by us, and we lack sufficient historical data to be aware of minor border-changes in the boundary areas.

In the final resort we must examine the composition of the list and attempt to fix the date through the appearance or absence of some places at which archaeological investigations have been carried out.

a. *Sharuben*, which has been identified very plausibly with *Tell al-Fâr'a*, was partially excavated by Sir FLINDERS PETRIE. CROSS and WRIGHT conclude ("in so far as one can judge from the inadequate publication"), that there was a gap in habitation at this place from the ninth century to the Persian Period ¹). This conclusion may be right, but Sharuben actually is not mentioned at all in Josh xv ²). Instead of it Shilhim appears, and it is not at all certain, whether these are only textual variations, or whether another name was inserted in its place. In the same way Beth-marcaboth and Hazar-susah (Josh xix 5) were exchanged for Madmannah and Sansannah (Josh xv 31).

b. *The Wilderness Towns*. CROSS and WRIGHT point out that the investigations of the Judahite settlements in the plateau of *al-Buqê'a* and at *Khîrbat Qumrân* proved that they were founded only in Iron Age II ³), and that the same date was established by our survey of the fortress at En-gedi ⁴). Usually the typical pottery of Iron Age II is dated approximately to 900-600 B.C. Assuming that these settlements represent a part of these of the wilderness district of Judah, CROSS and WRIGHT fix a *terminus a quo* for the date of our list at approximately 900 B.C.. But the present writer, together with Mrs. Ruth AMIRAN attempt to prove that the appearance of this pottery has been dated too early ⁵). In the light of our stratigraphical results from Israelite Hazor, the period hitherto called Iron Age II (Israelite Period III, according to our new nomenclature) can hardly begin before about 840 B.C. This is true also for the pottery discovered at the settlements of the *Buqê'a*, compare, for example the cooking pot from the earliest level of *Khîrbat el-Maqârî* ⁶), a type which does not appear at Hazor before the second half of the ninth century (Hazor Stratum VII).

¹) JBL 75, p. 214.

²) AHARONI, IEJ 8, p. 31, n. 9; KALLAI, VT 8, pp. 148 f.

³) R. DE VAUX, RB 1954, p. 567; F. M. CROSS and J. T. MILIK, BASOR 142 (1956), pp. 5-17.

⁴) Y. AHARONI, BIES 22 (1958), pp. 27 ff. (Hebrew).

⁵) Y. AHARONI and Ruth AMIRAN "A new Scheme for the Sub-Division of the Iron Age in Palestine", IEJ 8, (1958), pp. 171-184.

⁶) BASOR 142 (1956), p. 16; Fig. 6.

If this assumption is correct the *terminus a quo* of our list has to be pushed down to the second half of the ninth century B.C..

We can note a similar state at other places:

c. *Beth-bakerem*. This place appears as *καρεμ* in the ninth province, preserved only in the Septuagint (Josh xv 59a). We have suggested its identification with the tell of *Ramat Raḥel* south of Jerusalem, on the basis of our excavations at this place ¹). In *Ramat Raḥel* only Iron Age II (=Israelite Period III) material has been discovered, and the place was therefore not founded before the middle of the ninth century B.C.

d. *The Negeb Province*. The survey of this district revealed a situation similar to that in the *Buqê'a*, i.e. great development and foundation of new settlements in Iron Age II (=Isr. Per. III). In our paper on the Negeb of Judah we tried to prove that the Negeb Province of Josh xv reflects this situation, and that the new district-capital discovered in *Khirbat al-Gharra* (Jekabzeel?) and the large fortress at *Khirbat Ghazẖa* were founded only in that period ²). The appearance of the large and developed Negeb Province with its 30 cities therefore strengthens once again the *terminus a quo* of our list in the middle of the ninth century B.C.

e. *Beth-shemesh*. The omission of this important town, where extensive excavations were also made, is the strongest foothold for the dating of the list. A glance at the map shows that this city ought to have been included in the second province, i.e. the northern district of the Shephelah, which includes towns to the south and to the north of Beth-shemesh. As Beth-shemesh dominates the thoroughfare of *Wâdi aṣ-Ṣarâr* (Nahal Sorek?), at its entrance to the hill-country, Zor'ah and Eshtaol would actually be separated from the rest of the district, if we had to consider a time, when Beth-shemesh belonged to the Philistines.

Is it possible to ascertain a situation during this period, when Beth-shemesh was destroyed and deserted for some time? In the final volume of their excavations, published in 1939, GRANT and WRIGHT came to the following chronological conclusions concerning the Iron Age strata: ³)

Strata	IIa	cir.	1000-950	B.C.
	IIb	„	950-825	B.C.
	IIc	„	825-586	B.C.

¹) Y. AHARONI "Excavations at Ramat Raḥel", *IEJ* 6 (1956), pp. 152 ff.

²) *IEJ* 8 (1958), pp. 26 ff.

³) *AS* V, p. 15.

In his last paper, however, WRIGHT together with CROSS changed his mind and suggested that both Strata IIa and IIb should be dated in the tenth century B.C., i.e. IIa to the days of David and IIb to the days of Solomon, terminating with the campaign of Shishak about 920 B.C.¹⁾ According to this opinion Beth-shemesh was deserted during the ninth century, and the place was resettled only at the beginning of the eighth century B.C. (Stratum IIc). It seems to us that the new dates of CROSS and WRIGHT are impossible and that the previous suggestion of GRANT and WRIGHT is far more probable²⁾. KALLAI pointed to the cooking pots, the water-decanter and the hole-mouth jars of Stratum IIb, which cannot be earlier than the ninth century B.C.. Comparison with Hazor shows that Stratum IIb of Beth-shemesh contains pottery which does not appear in Hazor before Stratum VII (cir. 841-815 B.C.); we refer especially to the late type of the shallow cooking pot³⁾ and the first appearance of the water-decanter⁴⁾. Thus Stratum IIb of Beth-shemesh definitely terminates not earlier than the end of the ninth century.

It seems plausible to link this catastrophe with an historical event recorded in the Bible, namely the war between Joash and Amaziah about 795 B.C. The battle took place in the vicinity of Beth-shemesh, and Amaziah was captured in this town (2 Kings xiv 11-13; 2 Chron xxv 21-23). The excavations of Beth-shemesh proved that Stratum IIb was the last fortified town and after the destruction the fortifications were not rebuilt and the houses of IIc were built partly on the ancient wall⁵⁾. It is unlikely that Amaziah would have chosen as his base of operations an unfortified town; on the other hand it is possible that Joash, king of Israel, destroyed the city and its walls after victory, as he also broke down a big section of the Jerusalem city-wall (2 Kings xiv 13; 2 Chron xxv 23).

We know from 2 Chron xxviii 18 that Beth-shemesh existed at the time of Ahaz about 732 B.C., but it is interesting to note that the place does not appear here as one of the more important rural centres. In contrast to other cities, whose dependent villages are especially

¹⁾ *JBL* 75, pp. 215 ff.

²⁾ Cf. Y. AHARONI "The Date of Casemate Walls in Judah and Israel and their Purpose". To be published in a forthcoming *BASOR*, note 14; KALLAI, *VT* 8 pp. 149 ff.

³⁾ E. GRANT and G. E. WRIGHT, *Ain Shems Excavations IV*, Haverford 1938, Pl. LXIII, 36-39; *AS V*, p. 138; compare *Hazor I*, p. 20; Pl. L, 6-9.

⁴⁾ *AS V*, pp. 140 f.; compare *Hazor I*, p. 20; Pl. L, 23.

⁵⁾ *AS V*, p. 25.

mentioned, for instance Sochoh and Timnah, Beth-shemesh appears without any further indication. Thus a more precise date can be established for the Strata dealt with, in accordance with historical considerations. If we have to assume a gap between IIb and IIc, this can only have been at the end of the reign of Amaziah and at the beginning of the reign of his son Uzziah. Already during the later days of Uzziah, or in the reign of his son Jotham as co-regent, the place was resettled, though its fortifications were never rebuilt.

Thus it is possible to suggest the following dates for Beth-shemesh in the period dealt with:

Strata	IIa	cir.	1000-925 B.C.
	IIb	cir.	925-795 B.C.
	gap	cir.	795-750 B.C.
	IIc	cir.	750-587 B.C.

Conclusions

From the historical point of view MAZAR and CROSS-WRIGHT are certainly correct in saying that we should expect a new administrative division of the Kingdom of Judah to be made during the reign of Jehoshaphat. The first 50 years after the partition of the kingdom were filled with quarrels and conflicts between Judah and Israel, and the Davidic kings still cherished the hope of gaining control once again over northern Israel. It is probable that at this time a certain provincial division also existed, which was perhaps an inheritance from the united kingdom; and thus we hear that Rehoboam "dispersed of all his children throughout all the countries of Judah and Benjamin, unto every fenced city" (2 Chron xi 23). We must assume, however, that the first kings of Judah were in no hurry to reorganize the administrative division in accordance with the new borders, for they took them only as temporary, and frequent changes took place during the days of Abijah and Asa.

With the rise of the Omrid Dynasty in Israel relations improved, and from the time of Jehoshaphat and perhaps already at the end of the reign of Asa, the kings of Judah renounced their ambition to expand. Peaceful relations were established between Judah and Israel, which were strengthened by intermarriage between the two dynasties. The assumption that Jehoshaphat, an efficient ruler who distinguished himself through his organizing capability, performed the re-organization of the provinces of his state according to the existing boundaries, is strengthened by the Bible: "And he placed forces in

all the fenced cities of Judah, and set garrisons (נִצְיָנִים) in the land of Judah and in the cities of Ephraim, which Asa his father had taken" (2 Chron xvii 2). However, the province list in its present form cannot date from the reign of Jehoshaphat, for it includes cities which did not exist at this time, i.e. the wilderness towns, the large Negeb district and Beth-hakerem, and omits Beth-shemesh, which was then an important city. The omission of Beth-shemesh points to the period of Uzziah and so does the appearance of the long series of cities in the Negeb and the wilderness, a situation which corresponds well to the Biblical statement: "Also he built towers in the desert (מִדְבָּר = pastureland, wilderness) and digged many wells: for he had much cattle" (2 Chron xxvi 10)¹.

From the historical point of view too Uzziah was one of the most important kings of Judah, so that it is plausible to ascribe to him the administrative re-organization of Judah reflected in our list.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AASOR* = Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
AS V = E. GRANT and G. R. WRIGHT, *Ain Shems Excavations V*, Haverford 1939.
BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
BIES = Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society (Hebrew).
BJPES = Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (Hebrew).
Hazor I = Y. YADIN, Y. AHARONI, Ruth AMIRAN, Trude DOTHAN, I. DUNAYEVSKY and J. PERROT, *Hazor I*, Jerusalem 1958.
IEJ = Israel Exploration Journal.
JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.
KS II = A. ALT, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel II*, München 1953.
PJB = Palästina Jahrbuch.
RB = Revue biblique.
VT = Vetus Testamentum.
VTs = Vetus Testamentum Supplement.
ZAW NF. = Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft; Neue Folge.
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.

¹) Also CROSS and MILIK (*BASOR* 142 [1956], p. 17) believe that at least a part of the fortresses and the irrigation works in the *Buqê'a* belong to the days of Uzziah.

ARABISCHE ETYMOLOGIEN UND PARALLELEN ZUM BIBELWÖRTERBUCH

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Die folgenden Ausführungen schliessen sich als Fortsetzung einer gleichbetitelten früheren Veröffentlichung an ¹⁾. Dieselben Prinzipien und Methoden sind auch hier angewendet worden, wozu auf die Einleitung des erwähnten Aufsatzes verwiesen sei. Ich möchte jedoch noch besonders hervorheben, dass zur Auffindung arab. Entsprechungen und zur Erklärung schwieriger hebr. Wörter nicht nur die in den verglichenen Wurzeln tatsächlich vorhandenen Bedeutungen, sondern in manchen Fällen auch die in synonymen Sprachelementen vorliegenden semantischen Gegebenheiten berücksichtigt wurden ²⁾. Es bedarf keines Beweises, dass der Bedeutungskomplex derselben Wurzeln in den verschiedenen semitischen Sprachen sich nicht im gleichen Umfang und in der gleichen Richtung ausgedehnt hat, sodass wir zwar häufig dieselben materiellen Sprachelemente in mehreren Idiomen finden, eine semantische Beziehung zwischen ihnen jedoch nicht immer entdecken können. Da nun anzunehmen ist, dass die gleichen Gedankenassoziationen in verschiedenen Sprachelementen ihren Niederschlag gefunden haben können, ist der Vergleich synonyme Wurzeln zur Herstellung semantischer Verbindungen durchaus gerechtfertigt. Nur auf die Weise wird es möglich sein, die häufig zu Tage tretende Beziehungslosigkeit zwischen Wurzeln gleicher sprachlicher Materie in verschiedenen Fällen zu überbrücken.

In mehreren Fällen wurden in den folgenden Ausführungen spezifische Bedeutungen für einzelne Wörter angenommen, die zu sonst in ganz anderen Anwendungen auftretenden Wurzeln gehören. Ein solches Verfahren mag gewagt erscheinen, ist aber unter den gegebenen Umständen nicht von der Hand zu weisen. Da die biblische Litteratur in einem langen Zeitraum erwachsen ist, kann angenommen werden, dass hier und da altertümliche semantische

¹⁾ VT VIII (1958), S. 161 ff.

²⁾ Siehe besonders Nr. 28 der folgenden Ausführungen.

Züge erhalten geblieben sind, die sich im Rahmen des überkommenen Sprachmaterials als Aussenseiter darstellen. Ein bestechendes Beispiel dafür ist das in meinem vorigen Aufsatz behandelte מַחְמֵל (S. 172). Dies sei besonders hervorgehoben, um etwaigen Einwänden von vornherein vorzubeugen.

Wie der Titel dieser Veröffentlichung besagt, handelt es sich hier um Parallelen und Etymologien, die dem Arabischen entnommen sind. Andere semitische Sprachen sind nur in Einzelfällen herangezogen worden, da die Benutzung von Wörterbüchern ein bedenkliches Verfahren ist ¹⁾ und verlässliche Angaben nur bei gründlicher und umfassender Eigenkenntnis der betreffenden Gebiete gemacht werden können. Andererseits ist die Materie heute so weitverzweigt und umfangreich, dass ein Einzelner sie gar nicht mehr zuverlässig beherrschen kann, besonders was die lexikalische Seite anbetrifft. Eine gewisse methodische Unvollkommenheit der folgenden Ausführungen ist also durch objektive Gründe bedingt. Demgegenüber muss jedoch betont werden, dass der Vergleich anderer semitischer Sprachen höchstens den einen oder anderen der folgenden Etymologievorschläge in Frage stellen könnte, während die exegetischen Vorschläge, die ja weitgehend subjektiver Beurteilung anheimgestellt sind, davon kaum berührt werden. Falls eine auf das Arabische gestützte Erklärung annehmbar erscheint, wobei ja letztlich der hebr. Kontext ausschlaggebend ist, kann ein unterschiedlicher Gebrauch derselben Wurzel in einer anderen semitischen Sprache nicht als entscheidendes Gegenargument angeführt werden. Die gleichen Sprachelemente finden sich ja öfters in verschiedenen semitischen Sprachen in fern von einander liegenden Bedeutungen.

Bei den unter Nummer 18 und 33 angeführten Artikeln wurde ich erst nach Fertigstellung des Manuskripts auf die in den Fussnoten angegebenen Vorarbeiten aufmerksam. Da meine Ausführungen jedoch viel weiter gehen und z.T. abweichende Auffassungen vertreten, hielt ich es nicht für notwendig, die betreffenden Artikel zu streichen oder sie auch nur entsprechend zu kürzen.

Bei der letzten Durcharbeitung des Materials konnte ich wieder die bewährte Hilfe meines Freundes S. E. LOEWENSTAMM in Anspruch nehmen. Einige wichtige Anmerkungen, die ich für meine Ausführungen verwertete, wurden mir von Prof. C. RABIN zur Verfügung gestellt. Es sei ihnen hiermit mein aufrichtiger Dank ausgesprochen.

¹⁾ Vgl. VT VI (1956), S. 286 ff.

1) In Jud. vi 5 (כִּי הֵם וּמִקְנֵיהֶם יַעֲלוּ וְאֶהְיֶיהֶם יָבֹאוּ כְּדִי־אַרְבֵּה לָרֶב) kann אֶהְיֶיהֶם nach der Bedeutung des arab. اهل, Pl. اهل als *ihre Familien* aufgefasst werden. Mit diesem Wort beginnt ein neuer Satz, der sich bis zu לָרֶב erstreckt.

Nach Auffassung der Masoreten, die יבאו anstatt יבאו lesen wollten, ist אֶהְיֶיהֶם drittes Subjekt zu יַעֲלוּ, das wiederum seine Fortsetzung in וְאֶהְיֶיהֶם hat. Dadurch wird jedoch einerseits der Satzrhythmus erheblich gestört und andererseits ein und derselbe Gedanke am Versende zweifach ausgedrückt: וְאֶהְיֶיהֶם לָרֶב וְלֹהֶם וְלִגְמֻלֵיהֶם אֵין מִסְפֵּר. Nach der obigen Erklärung bezieht sich כְּדִי־אַרְבֵּה לָרֶב lediglich auf אֶהְיֶיהֶם *ihre Familien*.

Dass Nomaden ihre Angehörigen auch auf Kriegszüge mitnahmen, ist aus der Geschichte der arab. Beduinen genügend bekannt ¹⁾.

Das *Qerē* ist wohl darauf zurückzuführen, dass der eigentliche Sinn von אֶהְיֶיהֶם den Masoreten nicht mehr verständlich war und das Verb יבאו als Prädikat zu diesem Wort in der Bedeutung *ihre Zelte* nicht passend erschien.

Der metonymische Bedeutungszusammenhang zwischen der gewöhnlichen und der hier hervorgehobenen Anwendung von אהל hat eine Parallele in בית, das im übertragenen Sinne auch *Familie* bedeutet. Diese Feststellung stützt die obige Erklärung, auch wenn man mit NÖLDEKE (*ZDMG* 40, 154) die schon früher übliche Zusammenstellung von اهل und אהל *Zelt* bezweifelt.

2) Da שמח s. freuen mit arab. شَمَّ *hoch sein* in Verbindung steht (vgl. weiter unten, Nr. 30), kann man dem synonymen גיל eine gleiche Etymologie auf Grund des arab. جَلَّ (جَلَلٌ) *gross, hoch, erhaben sein* zuschreiben. Hierzu ist besonders an Ps. lxxxix 17 zu erinnern: בְּשִׂמְךָ יִגְלוֹן כָּל־הַיּוֹם וּבִצְדָקְתְּךָ יִרְמוּ, wo das parallele ירמו auf eine solche Etymologie direkt hinweist. Auf diese Weise findet sich gleichzeitig eine genauere Erklärung für das letztere Verb, das bisher nicht recht verstanden wurde ²⁾ (siehe die Korrekturvorschläge bei KITTEL). Es ist mit שמח und גיל nicht nur synonym sondern hat auch dieselbe Etymologie.

In demselben Sinne ist wohl auch das schwierige ירמו in Ps. cxi 9 ³⁾ aufzufassen, falls der Text nicht verderbt ist ⁴⁾: *sodass sie*

¹⁾ S.z.B. I. LICHTENSTÄDTER, *Women in the Aiyām al-ʿArab*, 39.

²⁾ Vgl. auch Ps. lxvi 7.

³⁾ Vgl. *VT* VIII (1958), S. 192.

⁴⁾ Prof. TUR-SINAI versucht die Schwierigkeit durch eine Textkorrektur zu

froblocken = *sonst würden sie froblocken*. Eine ähnliche asyndetische Verbindung liegt z.B. in Hi. ix 32 vor: *כִּי-לֹא-אִישׁ כְּמוֹנִי אֶעֱנֶנּוּ* *Denn er ist nicht ein Mensch wie ich, sodass ich ihm erwidere*. Fälle wie die Inkongruenz zwischen der pluralen Verbform *יִרְמוּ* und dem Singular *רָשַׁע* sind auch sonst in der Bibel zu finden.

Zu unserer Gegenüberstellung von *גִּיל* und *جَلَل* ist zu bemerken, dass ein Nebeneinander der beiden betreffenden Wurzelkategorien sich selbst innerhalb des Hebräischen findet (z.B. *מֹשֶׁה* — *מוֹשֶׁה*) und auch nicht selten beim Vergleich verschiedener semitischer Sprachen postuliert wird. Die Bibelwörterbücher stellen zu *גִּיל* das arab. *جال* (*جَوَلَّ* *s. kreisförmig bewegen, herumstreifen usw.*¹⁾), das weniger gut passt²⁾.

3) Der semantische Zusammenhang zwischen *גַּב* und *جنب*, der von mir in Bezug auf Gen. xl 15 (*כִּי-גַב גִּבְתִּי מֵאֶרֶץ הָעֵבְרִים*) hervorgehoben wurde (s. *VT* VIII (1958), S. 169), lässt sich noch an zwei anderen Beispielen aufzeigen. Nachdem das *Qal* in Verbindung mit *לב* (Gen. xxxi 20, 26; mit Akk. der Person V. 27) die Bedeutung *täuschen* hat, wird auch das *Pi'el* in 2 Sam. xv 6 (*וַיִּגַּב אֶבְשָׁלוֹם אֶת-לֵב*) von GES.-B. in diesem Sinne erklärt. Eine passendere Übersetzung geben B.-D.-B. (*steal away*) und KÖHLER (*sich durch Diebstahl aneignen*), doch ist auch damit der genaue Sinn nicht wiedergegeben. Eine Parallele zu dem betreffenden Ausdruck finden wir z.B. in 2 Sam. xix 15: *וַיֵּט אֶת-לֵבָב כָּל-אִישׁ-יְהוּדָה*, wo die Erklärungen der Bibelwörterbücher (GES.-B.: *das Herz jem. leiten*, B.-D.-B.: *turn = influence, heart*; bei KÖHLER nicht verzeichnet) den eigentlichen Sinn auch nicht treffen. Es handelt sich hier um einen elliptischen Ausdruck, der in seiner volleren Form z.B. in Jos. xxiv 23: *וְהָטוּ אֶכָּן יָטוּ אֶת לִבְכֶּם אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהֵיהֶם* und 1 Reg. xi 2: *אֶת-לִבְכֶּם אֱלֹהֵיהֶם* vorliegt.

Diese Gegenüberstellung ermöglicht ein genaueres Verständnis des Ausdrucks *גַּב לב* an der betreffenden Bibelstelle. Das *Pi'el* von *גַּב* muss hier mit dem *Hif'il* von *נָטָה* ungefähr gleichbedeutend sein, und diese Feststellung führt auf einen Zusammenhang mit dem

bcheben (TORCZYNER, *Mišlê Š'lōmō*, S. 125): *נָמְמוּ אֶל תְּפָקִירָמוּ סִלָּה* *Bändige sie (die Begierden des Bösewichts), lass sie nicht frei schalten*.

¹⁾ Eine weitere Erklärung bei B.-D.-B. *be excited to levity* ist ein semantischer Brückenbau.

²⁾ Die obige Gegenüberstellung kann ferner die Bedeutung des Eigennamens *אֲבִיגַיִל* erhellen, der auch in der Form *אֲבִיגַל* vorkommt, und eben wegen dieser Duplizität noch keine allgemein anerkannte Erklärung gefunden hat. Nach der arab. Etymologie kann er mit *אֲבִירָם* gleichbedeutend sein.

arab. جنب, das u.a. *abwenden* bedeutet. Es liegt also auch hier ein elliptischer Ausdruck vor, dessen eigentlicher Sinn erst durch eine zu ergänzende Präposition genauer festgelegt wird. Die Ergänzung kann, wie an den oben angeführten Stellen, einen positiven Sinn ergeben (*zu sich selbst hinwenden*) oder aber die Bedeutung des Ausdrucks ins Negative abwandeln (Absalom machte die Leute seinem Vater abspenstig), wie z.B. in 1 Reg. xi 9: כִּי־נָטָה לִבּוֹ מֵעַם יְהוָה.

Die arab. Etymologie kann auch die Bedeutung des *Hithpa'el* erhellen, das nur in 2 Sam. xix 4 vorkommt: וַיִּתְּנָב הָעָם בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא לְבוֹא הָעִיר כְּאִשֶּׁר יִתְּנָב הָעָם הַנִּכְלָמִים בְּנוֹסִם בַּמִּלְחָמָה. Die Bibelwörterbücher erklären es in Anlehnung an die häufigste Anwendung der Wurzel mit *sich fortstehlen*, *heimlich entfernen* (GES.-B.), *go by stealth*, *steal away* (B.-D.-B.), *sich auf die Seite stehlen* (KÖHLER). Die letztere Erklärung ist in etymologischer Hinsicht die richtigste, da das arab. Substantiv جنب Seite bedeutet. Die in europäischen Sprachen gebräuchlichen metaphorischen Redewendungen ermöglichen eine Übersetzung des Verbs, die eine Verbindung mit der Hauptbedeutung der hebr. Wurzel herstellt; doch braucht ein solcher Sinn, wie die arab. Etymologie zeigt, gar nicht in dem *Hithpa'el* zu liegen. Ursprünglich kann es einfach *sich auf die Seite machen* bedeuten, was an der Anwendung im zweiten Halbvers noch einigermassen ersichtlich ist. Die entsprechende arab. Form تَجَب hat die Bedeutung *meiden*, s. *fernhalten*. Der erste Halbvers wird auf Grund der arab. Etymologie ungefähr folgendes besagen: *Die Leute zogen nicht wie ein siegreiches Heer auf einem Hauptweg geschlossen in die Stadt ein, sondern suchten auf Nebenwegen unauffällig hineinzugelangen.*

4) Die Etymologie von גרה ist noch nicht eindeutig festgestellt, und demnach werden auch die verschiedenen Anwendungen der Wurzel nicht zufriedenstellend erklärt. Als arab. Entsprechungen finden wir bei GES.-B. und KÖHLER اَغْرَى ^{اغر} *anreizen*, *anstacheln* bzw. ^{اغر} *kühn sein*, die zwar semantisch zu den üblichen Erklärungen der hebr. Wurzel irgendwie passen, ihr jedoch in lautlicher Hinsicht nicht entsprechen. Demgegenüber wird bei B.-D.-B. das genaue phonetische Äquivalent جرى (*run, esp. of water, flow, etc.*) angeführt, doch ohne Bezugnahme auf die semantische Verbindung.

Zur genaueren Feststellung der eigentlichen Bedeutungen der hebr. Wurzel sind zunächst Parallelausdrücke zu vergleichen. Das *Pi'el* kommt nur in Verbindung mit מָדוֹן vor und bedeutet dann *Streit erregen*, z.B. Prov. xv 18: אִישׁ חָמָה יִגְרָה מָדוֹן (auch Prov. xxviii

25, xxix 22). Als Parallele dazu findet sich **איש תהפכות ישלח מִדּוֹן** (Prov. xvi 28; ebenso vi 14, 19). Der Vergleich mit **שלח** führt auch zu einem genaueren Verständnis des Ausdrucks **יד תגרת** in Ps. xxxix 11 (**הסר מעלי ננעך מתגרת ידך אני כליתי**), wo GES.-B. nicht ganz verständlich *ob des Haders deiner Hand* übersetzt (ähnlich B.-D.-B.: *from (i.e. through) the hostility of thy hand*), während KÖHLER das erstere Wort zwar mit *Erregung* wiedergibt es aber zu **גבורת** (so schon SCHWALLY nach der Septuaginta; s. GES.-B.) korrigieren will. Wenn wir an die häufige Redewendung **יד שלח** denken¹⁾, hat die erwähnte Stelle folgende Bedeutung: *vom Schicken Deiner Hand = indem Du Deine Hand (gegen mich) schickst, verende ich*. Da aber **שלח** mit dem *Pi'el* von **גר** in Verbindung steht, während **יד תגרת** offensichtlich zu einem nicht belegten *Qal* gehört, ist die obige Bedeutung entsprechend zu modifizieren: *Indem Deine Hand (gegen mich) fährt . . .*²⁾ Ähnliche sprachliche Bilder werden z.B. in **תנופת יד־יהוה** (Jes. xix 16) und **במקנך יד־יהוה הויה**³⁾ (Ex. ix 3) ausgedrückt.

Ebenso lässt sich das *Hithpa'el* in 2 Reg. xiv 10 (vgl. 2 Chr. xxv 19) erklären: **הכבד ושב בביתך ולמה תתגרה ברעה ונפלתה אתה ויהודה עמך** . . . und warum willst du dich selbst ins Unheil schicken (stürzen)⁴⁾? Die inhaltlich mögliche Übersetzung bei GES.-B. *das Unglück herausfordern* geht von einer Bedeutung aus, die, wie noch gezeigt werden soll, in der hebr. Wurzel gar nicht liegt. Ferner würde sie ein determiniertes **ברעה** voraussetzen. KÖHLER sucht diese Schwierigkeit zu beheben, indem er *sich unter ungünstigen Bedingungen in Kampf einlassen* übersetzt. Das Sprachgefühl muss sich jedoch einer solchen Auslegung widersetzen.

Ein noch besserer Sinn ergibt sich, wenn **רעה** mit *Krieg* erklärt wird. Eine solche Bedeutung hat nämlich auch das arab. **شر** = Böses. Der Sinn wäre dann: *warum willst du dich in Krieg einlassen?* Auf diese Weise wird ein passenderer Zusammenhang mit dem Versende erreicht.

Die obigen Ausführungen zeigen, dass **גר** eine ganz andere Grundbedeutung haben muss als gewöhnlich angenommen wird. Zu deren Aufhellung kann das schon von B.-D.-B. angeführte arab. **جرى** herangezogen werden. Es bezeichnet ursprünglich eine Bewegung wie z.B. *fließen, laufen*, wird aber sehr häufig in übertragenen Be-

¹⁾ Vgl. besonders Ex. ix 15: **כי עתה שלחתי את־ידי ואך אותך ואת־עמך בדבר**.

²⁾ Targum Onkelos übersetzt **ידך תגרת** mit *Schlag Deiner Hand!*

³⁾ Steht mit arab. **هوى** *fallen* in Verbindung.

⁴⁾ Vgl. z.B. Prov. xvii 20: **ונהפך בלשונו יפול ברעה**.

deutungen wie *stattfinden*, s. *ereignen*, *geschehen*, *in Gang sein* usw. angewandt. Der Verbalstamm IV hat entsprechende kausative Bedeutungen, mit denen hebr. יגרה מדון in Verbindung gebracht werden kann. Zu erwähnen ist noch, dass die arab. Wörterbücher den 2. Verbalstamm جری im Sinne von (*einen Boten*) *schicken* anführen, was unseren Vergleich mit שלח auch vom Arabischen her bestätigen kann.

Mit den erwähnten Bedeutungen von جرى lässt sich auch das *Hithpa'el* in Dan. xi 10 erklären: וישב ויתגור עד מעזה. KÖHLER verzeichnet die besondere Bedeutung des Verbs an dieser Stelle überhaupt nicht. Sinngemäß richtig wird der Ausdruck bei GES.-B. übersetzt: *kämpfend vordringen bis* (weniger treffend B.-D.-B.: *and he shall return and war, even to his stronghold*), wobei jedoch durch das erstere Wort (*kämpfend*) eine Verbindung mit den sonst angenommenen Bedeutungen des Verbs hergestellt werden muss. Ein solches Verfahren wird überflüssig, wenn man zur Erklärung auf die obigen Gegenüberstellungen zurückgreift. יתגור kann einfach *vordringen* (*gegen den Feind*) bedeuten, wenn auch der eigentliche Sinn nach dem arab. جرى am besten mit *sich in Bewegung setzen*¹⁾ wiederzugeben ist.

Eine Bestätigung erfährt diese Erklärung durch die Bedeutungen die Dozy I 190 f. für zwei Ableitungen der arab. Wurzel anführt: جری الأرض *faire des incursions dans un pays*; تجرية *incursion, course de gens de guerre en pays ennemi*.

Die anderen Anwendungen des *Hithpa'el* lassen sich ebenfalls mit Hilfe der erschlossenen Grundbedeutung erklären. התגרה mit folgendem ב im Sinne von *herausfordern* heisst eigentlich *sich selbst gegen jem. (in feindlicher Absicht) schicken* oder *in Bewegung setzen*. Wenn es in der Bibel ein *Pi'el* oder *Hif'il* in entsprechender Anwendung gäbe, müsste es einen ähnlichen Sinn haben wie ... שלח ב. ... השליח z.B. in Dt. xxviii 48 und 2 Reg. xv 37. An manchen Anwendungen des *Pi'el* mit ב im nachbiblischen Hebräisch lässt sich eine solche Bedeutung noch ganz gut erkennen; s. die Belege bei BEN JEHUDA 836.

Die Tatsache, dass parallele Wurzeln im Akkadischen und Aramäischen vorliegen, wo sie eher den bisher für das Hebräische angenommenen Bedeutungen entsprechen, braucht die hier vertretene Etymologie nicht in Frage zu stellen. Es ist durchaus möglich, dass alle betreffenden Anwendungen sich auf die im Arabischen vor-

¹⁾ So etwa ist יתגור am Versanfang zu verstehen, im Sinne der Vorbereitung auf den Kampf.

liegende Grundbedeutung zurückführen lassen, anderfalls wäre immer noch die Existenz homonymer Wurzeln in Rechnung zu ziehen.

5) *המון* *Geräusch, Lärm, lärmende, wogende Menge* hat an manchen Stellen geradezu die Bedeutung *Heer*, z.B. in Jud. iv 7: ... *את-סיסרא* ... *ואת-רכבו ואת-המונו*; Dan. xi 11: *והעמיד המון רב*. Eine interessante Parallele zu dieser semantischen Entwicklung bietet das arab. جيش *Heer*, dessen Wurzel ähnliche Bedeutungen hat wie das hebr. *המה*¹⁾.

6) Für *למה יראה את-פניכם וזעפם* in Dan. i 10 wird bei GES.-B. und B.-D.-B. eine besondere Erklärung gegeben — *eingefallen, abgemagert; dejected, of face* —, die mit den sonstigen Anwendungen der Wurzel schlecht zu vereinbaren ist. Ebenso verhält es sich mit der gleichen Form in Gen. xl 6, die bei GES.-B. und B.-D.-B. mit *verdriesslich, mürrisch aussehend, be out of humour* erklärt wird, während KÖHLER sie als gleichbedeutend mit der Anwendung in Dan. im Sinne von *schlecht aussehen* anführt.

Da diese aus dem Kontext erschlossenen Bedeutungen aus dem semantischen Rahmen der Wurzel fallen und auch etymologisch nicht begründet werden können, erscheint es gerechtfertigt, einen anderen Zugang zu diesem lexikologischen Problem zu suchen.

Wahrscheinlich haben wir es hier mit einer phonetischen Variante von *צעף* zu tun (vgl. z.B. *זעק* und *צעק*), dessen arab. Entsprechung *ضعف* die erforderliche semantische Grundlage für den betreffenden Ausdruck an den beiden obigen Stellen ergibt. Von der Wurzel *צעף* kommt in der Bibel nur das Substantiv *צעף* vor, zu dem das arab. *ضعف, ضَعُف, ضَعُف* im Sinne von *verdoppeln, doppelt* gestellt wird. In einer häufigeren Anwendung bedeutet aber die arab. Wurzel *schwach sein* und zumindest im nachklassischen Arabisch *abmagern* (s. Dozy II 9 f.). In der heutigen Umgangssprache wird das Adjektiv *ضعيف* oft im Sinne von *mager* gebraucht. Von diesen beiden Bedeutungen, die sich z.B. auch im hebr. *דל* vereint finden (s. 2 Sam. xiii 4 und Gen. xli 19), passt die letztere zur Danielstelle, während die erstere auf Gen. xl 6 bezogen werden kann und somit für KÖHLER's Erklärung eine Stütze bietet. Inhaltlich vergleiche man 2 Sam. xiii 4: *מדוע אתה ככה דל*, wo ebenfalls ein durch Kummer bedingtes schlechtes Aussehen bezeichnet wird.

7) In Ps. li 12 (*לב טהור ברא-לי אלהים ורוח נכון חדש בקרבי*) erklären

¹⁾ Die obige Gegenüberstellung kann das Substantiv جيش gegen gewisse Bedenken (s. FRÄNKEL, *Aram. Fremdw.*, S. 238) als echt arabisch erweisen.

die Wörterbücher die Verbform **חדש** mit *aufs neue geben* (GES.-B.), *renew, make anew* (B.-D.-B.), *einen neuen Geist geben* (KÖHLER, unter Voranstellung des hebr. Ausdrucks **ח' רוח**). Damit wird zwar eine Verbindung mit der gewöhnlichen Bedeutung der hebr. Wurzel hergestellt, der Sinn jedoch nicht genau wiedergegeben. Der erste Halbvers spricht von der Erschaffung eines reinen Herzens, d.h. eines anderen Herzens als bisher, und genau so meint wohl der zweite Halbvers nicht eine Erneuerung des Geistes, wie er früher war ¹⁾, sondern die Neuschöpfung eines anderen, festen Geistes.

Zur Erklärung der Verbform ist das arab. **أحدث** heranzuziehen, das wie **ברא** (vgl. den ersten Halbvers) *schaffen, erzeugen* bedeutet. Im mittelalterlichen Hebräisch kommt **חדש** öfters in dieser Bedeutung vor (s. BEN JEHUDA 1457), doch ist hier wohl arab. Einfluss anzunehmen.

8) Verschiedene hebr. Verben, die *hoffen, harren, warten* bedeuten — wie **קוה** und **והחיל** — sind auf eine Etymologie des Starkseins, Festseins zurückzuführen (s. VT VIII (1958), S. 176 f.). Dieselbe Grundbedeutung liegt wohl noch in einem weiteren Synonym vor, nämlich **חכה**, das auch in der Anwendung genaue Parallelen zu den erwähnten Verben aufweist (z.B. **חכה ליהוה** = **קוה ליהוה**). Hierzu ist das arab. **حس** zu vergleichen, das zwar meistens ganz andere Bedeutungen hat (*erzählen, nachahmen, ähneln*), in gewissen Anwendungen aber den Sinn *stark, fest* in sich trägt; z.B. **أحس العقد** *einen festen Knoten machen, einen Knoten fest anziehen* ²⁾).

Die arab. Wurzel wird schon von GES.-B. erwähnt, jedoch in einer ganz ungewöhnlichen Anwendung: **حس في** *jem. anhalten* (nach WALLIN, ZDMG V, 7). Sonst weiss die Bibellexikographie, ausser dem Vergleich mit dem nachbiblischen Hebräisch und dem Jüdisch-Aramäischen, keine Entsprechung aus anderen sem. Sprachen anzugeben.

9) **מחקק** wird an verschiedenen Stellen mit *Kommandostab* (KÖHLER: *Ordner-Stab*) erklärt. Diese Bedeutung, die in den sonstigen Anwendungen der Wurzel keine Stütze hat — wenigstens was das Hauptelement *Stab* anbetrifft ³⁾ — und auch etymologisch nicht begründet werden kann, scheint auf Grund von Gen. xlix 10 und Num. xxi 18

¹⁾ KÖHLER's Erklärung verwischt den Tatbestand, indem sie von der Verbform ein Attribut abstrahiert, das den Sinn des Adjektivs **גבון**, auf dem gerade die Betonung liegt, in den Hintergrund drängt.

²⁾ Weitere entsprechende Anwendungen, die mir allerdings aus dem Sprachgebrauch nicht bekannt sind, z.B. in *Täğ al-'Arūs* X 95_{ett}.

³⁾ Vgl. BEN JEHUDA 2930, Anm. 1.

erschlossen zu sein, wo das Wort neben שבת bzw. משענת steht. In demselben Sinn wird מחקק auch in Ps. lx 9 (= cviii 9) erklärt: אפרים מעוז ראשי יהודה מחקקי. Hier scheint eine Anspielung auf Gen. xlix 10 (לא-יסור שבת מיהודה ומחקק מבין רגליו) vorzuliegen, wobei jedoch das betreffende Wort höchstwahrscheinlich in einer anderen Bedeutung gebraucht ist¹⁾. Da מחקק einen Gegenstand bezeichnen soll, wird auch das vorangehende מעוז ראשי in ähnlicher Weise als *Helm* (GES.-B., B.-D.-B.) gedeutet, wofür es keinen anderen Beleg als eben die beiden Psalmenstellen gibt.

Die übliche Auslegung erscheint also keineswegs als gesichert. Inhaltlich ist zu bezweifeln, ob es mit biblischen Anschauungen vereinbar ist, wenn ein israelitischer Stamm als *Helm Gottes* oder *Kommandostob Gottes* bezeichnet wird. In sprachlicher Hinsicht ist es auffällig, dass die gewöhnliche Erklärung weder eine semantische noch eine etymologische Grundlage hat und daher, falls sie wirklich auf die beiden zuerst erwähnten Bibelverse zutreffen sollte, nicht zwangsläufig auf die Psalmenstellen Anwendung finden muss.

Die schon in den Bibelwörterbüchern verglichene arab. Wurzel حَقَّ kann zu einer besseren Interpretation führen. Von deren Anwendungen passt für unsere Zwecke das nur von GES.-B. in der Bedeutung *zukommen* angeführte Verb حَقَّ. Das Substantiv حَقَّ bedeutet u.a. *was einem zusteht, zukommt*, wie auch wahrscheinlich חק, z.B. in dem mehrfach vorkommenden לָחֶם חֲקִי. Danach könnte מחקקי als passives Partizip in einem ähnlichen Sinn aufgefasst werden. Israel und seine Stämme werden in der Bibel als *Anteil* (חֶלֶק) Gottes bezeichnet (z.B. Dt. xxxii 9: כִּי חֶלֶק יְהוָה עָמוֹ; Sach. ii 16: וְנָחַל יְהוָה), und auf diese Weise kämen wir zu einer Bedeutung von מחקק, die dem Anfang der Psalmenstellen לי גלעד ולי מנשה sinn-gemäss entspricht: *Jehuda ist mein Anteil*. מעוז ראשי braucht dann nicht mehr mit *Helm* erklärt zu werden sondern hat die in dem ersten Element liegende örtliche Bedeutung.

10) In Prov. xxviii 11 (חכם בעיניו איש עשיר ודל מבין יחקרנו) hat das letztere Wort sicherlich eine besondere Bedeutung, die von der Bibellexikographie nicht erwähnt wird. Die Wörterbücher, die diese und andere Bibelstellen nebeneinander verzeichnen, erklären das betreffende Verb mit *einen Menschen durchschauen* (GES.-B.), *examine thoroughly, so as to expose weakness in a case* (B.-D.-B.) oder *jm. (nach seiner Gesinnung) ausforschen* (KÖHLER). Nach all diesen Erklärungen

¹⁾ Ähnliche Beispiele bei BLAU in *Sēfer Biram*, 181 ff.; vgl. weiter unten, Nr. 14.

ergibt jedoch der obige Vers keinen rechten Sinn. Am besten passt noch die bei GES.-B. angegebene Bedeutung, doch ist hervorzuheben, dass es sich bei dem Reichen nicht um betrügerische Absichten handelt, die der Arme durchschaut, sondern um einen Verstoß gegen die sittliche Vorschrift (Prov. iii 7): אל־תהי חכם בעיניך. Auf Grund seiner materiellen Erfolge dünkt sich der Reiche klug, doch wird Weisheit nicht an äußerlichen Anzeichen, wie z.B. Reichtum, gemessen. Sogar ein armer Mensch, der Verstand besitzt (דל מבין), kann der Einbildung des Reichen mit einer Haltung gegenüberreten, die durch das Verb יחקרנו bezeichnet wird. Dieses nun kann durch das arab. حقر *verachten, gering denken von* erklärt werden. Der Reiche ist wegen seines Eigendünkels zu verachten, und die Verachtung wird ihm sogar von einem Armen zuteil. Nur auf diese Weise wird verständlich, dass der Bibelvers dem dunkelhaften Reichen einen verständigen Armen gegenüberstellt.

Auf eine derartige Erklärungsmöglichkeit wird schon bei BEN JEHUDA 1726 in einer Anmerkung hingewiesen.

11) *חרדת אדם* in Prov. xxix 25 (*חרדת אדם יתן מוקש ובוטח ביהוה ישגב*) wird gewöhnlich als *Furcht vor Menschen, Zittern vor Menschen* gedeutet. Nach dieser Erklärung bilden jedoch die beiden Halbverse keinen genauen Gegensatz in dem Sinne, wie er sich z.B. in Ps. cxviii 8-9 ausdrückt: טוב לחסות ביהוה מבטח באדם: טוב לחסות ביהוה מבטח בנדיבים.

Nachdem *חרד* mit der Präposition אל (Gen. xlii 28) auf Grund des arab. الى etwa im Sinne von *bei jem. Zuflucht suchen* aufzufassen ist (s. VT VIII (1958), S. 173), kann auch *חרדת אדם* mit *Zuflucht suchen bei Menschen* erklärt werden.

Einen parallelen Bedeutungsübergang haben wir wahrscheinlich noch bei *פחד* mit der Präposition אל, wie z.B. in Mi. vii 17: אל־יהוה; vgl. auch Jer. xxxvi 16, Hos. iii 5. Ferner bedeutet vielleicht *פחד יצחק* (Gen. xxxi 42, 53) *die Zuflucht Isaaks*. Dazu ist zu erwähnen, dass das Substantiv مفزع im Arabischen *Zufluchtsort* bedeutet, also den Sinn des Verbs mit der Präposition الى angenommen hat, während فزع allein hauptsächlich für *s. fürchten, erschrecken* gebraucht wird.

12) In Ps. cxliv 8, 11 ימין אשר דבר־שוא וימינם ימין שקר hat die Bedeutung *Schwur* wie das arab. يمين, das die Bibelwörterbücher nur im Sinne von *rechte Hand, rechte Seite* usw. anführen. שקר hat dann eine genaue Parallele in שבעת שקר Sach. viii 17.

Bei GES.-B. wird auf die beiden Psalmenstellen mit der Bemerkung *Hand, mit der man schwört* hingewiesen, während KÖHLER die be-

sondere Bedeutung des Wortes an diesen beiden Stellen überhaupt nicht hervorhebt. B.-D.-B. übersetzen: *their right hand is a right hand of falsehood*.

Den richtigen Sinn des biblischen Ausdrucks gibt schon BEN JEHUDA 2059 an, ohne aber dem Wort direkt die Bedeutung *Schwur* beizumessen. Diese wird jedoch für eine Anwendung im nachbibl. Hebräisch unter Bezugnahme auf das Arabische angeführt (S. 2060).

13) Die Form שָׁבַת wird in den Wörterbüchern in einem eigenen Artikel behandelt und demnach als Substantiv angesehen. Als Wurzel werden sowohl שָׁבַת als auch יָשַׁב in Betracht gezogen, wobei die Ansichten der verschiedenen Lexikographen auseinandergehen. Die Behandlung des Wortes in einem besonderen Artikel deutet jedoch darauf hin, dass der ersteren Ableitung von Anbeginn der Vorzug gegeben wurde, denn andernfalls hätte שָׁבַת als absoluter Infinitiv zusammen mit dem Verb יָשַׁב angeführt werden müssen. Bei Vergleichung des arab. قَعَد *sitzen* ist aber die letztere Ableitung vorzuziehen. Zu Prov. xx 3 (כְּבוֹד לְאִישׁ שְׁבַת מְרִיב) passt nämlich قَعَدَ *im Sinne von Abstand nehmen von*, wonach die vorgeschlagene Korrektur שָׁבַת (s. GES.-B.) unnötig wird. Zu der Bedeutung *Untätigsein* in Ex. xxi 19 (רַק שְׁבַתוֹ יִתֵּן וְרָפָא יִרְפָּא) ist zu erwähnen, dass das Partizip قَاعِد auch im Sinne von *untätig* gebraucht wird, und ähnliche Bedeutungen haben noch andere Ableitungen der arab. Wurzel, wie z.B. رُحَاة *Ruhestand* im modernen Arabisch.

14) שׁוּב steht an einigen Bibelstellen im Sinne von *werden*, wozu das arab. عَاد eine Parallele bietet¹⁾. Bei Vergleich mit رَجَعَ stellt sich dieselbe semantische Entwicklung auch bei رָזָה heraus, wonach das *Hif'il* in Jes. li 4 *zu etwas machen* bedeutet²⁾.

Diese Feststellungen lassen sich noch in anderer Hinsicht zu exegetischen Zwecken verwerten. Öfters sehen wir eine Kontamination der beiden Wurzeln יָשַׁב und שׁוּב, wie z.B. in 2 Sam. xix 33 שִׁיבָתוֹ, das den Sinn von שָׁבַתוֹ hat; umgekehrt Hos. xi 11, Sach. x 6 (s. die Wörterbücher). Aus diesem Grunde ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass an der schwierigen Stelle Ps. cxiii 9 (מוֹשִׁיבֵי עֶקֶרֶת הַבֵּית) (אִם-הַבְּנוִים שִׂמְחָה מוֹשִׁיבֵי), die zuletzt von BLAU erörtert wurde³⁾, מוֹשִׁיבֵי anstatt מוֹשִׁיבֵי steht und nach den obigen Gegenüberstellungen im Sinne von *zu etwas machen* aufzufassen ist.

¹⁾ Siehe VT VIII (1958), S. 206.

²⁾ Siehe a.a.O., S. 202.

³⁾ *Sēfer Biram*, Jerusalem 1956, S. 184 ff.

BLAU vergleicht die Stelle mit dem Liede der Channah in 1 Sam. ii 5 (עַד-עַקְרָה יִלְדָּה שְׁבַעָה וּרְבַת בָּנִים אִמְלִלָּה), geht aber von der Voraussetzung aus, dass die Parallele, wie an anderen von ihm erwähnten Stellen der biblischen Poesie, keine semantische Identität beinhaltet sondern als eine Art Wortspiel anzusehen ist. Nach seiner Auffassung hat עַקְרָה הבית nicht die gewöhnlich angenommene Bedeutung und ist nicht direktes Objekt von מוֹשִׁיבִי sondern ein Akkusativ des Ortes, der nach dem arab. عِتر الدار *inmitten des Hauses* bedeuten soll. אִם הַבָּנִים und שְׁמַחָה sind direkte Objekte von מוֹשִׁיבִי, die sich zu einander wie Subjekt und Prädikat verhalten. Auf diese Weise ist auch die syntaktische Schwierigkeit behoben, die nach der gewöhnlichen Auffassung der Stelle durch das indeterminierte שְׁמַחָה dargestellt wird. Inhaltlich führt BLAU aus, dass mit אִם הַבָּנִים die Frau des Armen gemeint ist, der in Staub und Kot sass und von Gott unter die Edlen des Volkes versetzt wurde (Vers 7 f.). Die Frau befindet sich nunmehr in einem festen Hause.

Wenn auch BLAU's Erklärung in sprachlicher Hinsicht einwandfrei erscheint, ist sie doch inhaltlich nicht ganz befriedigend. Es entspräche nicht dem poetischen Schwung des Psalms, wenn ein nebensächliches Moment — die Behausung der Frau — durch einen eigenen Vers ausgedrückt sein sollte, besonders da es in Bezug auf das Vorangehende eigentlich keinen neuen Gesichtspunkt darstellt. Der biblische Dichter beabsichtigt, wie aus dem Liede der Channah deutlich ersichtlich ist, tiefgreifende Umwälzungen aufzuzählen, die in ihrer aussergewöhnlichen Art von der Allmacht Gottes zeugen können. Dazu gehört, wenn eine Unfruchtbare plötzlich Mutter wird.

Aus diesen Gründen hat der betreffende Vers wohl folgende Bedeutung: *Der die Unfruchtbare der Familie* ¹⁾ *zur frohen Mutter von Kindern werden lässt.* Zu der oben erwähnten syntaktischen Schwierigkeit sei bemerkt, dass dieselbe ungewöhnliche Konstruktion z.B. auch in 2 Sam. vi 3 vorliegt: וְעֹזָא וְאֶחָיו בְּנֵי אֲבִינָדָב נְהִיגִים אֶת־הָעֹלָה חֲדָשָׁה.

15) Zu כָּבָה *erlöschen* führen die Bibelwörterbücher das arab. كَبَا (KÖHLER falsch كَبَا) *glimmen* ²⁾ an, das in dieser Bedeutung keine genaue semantische Entsprechung darstellt ³⁾. Es ist ausserdem

¹⁾ Vielleicht Anspielung auf die Verhältnisse der Channah, deren Ehemann noch eine andere, mit Kindern gesegnete Frau hatte.

²⁾ Bei B.-D.-B. ist nicht genau ersichtlich, welche Bedeutung dem arab. Verb beigemessen wird.

³⁾ BEN JEHUDA 2231 vergleicht das arab. خَبَا, das dieselbe Bedeutung wie כָּבָה hat, doch ist diese Gegenüberstellung aus phonetischen Gründen nicht einwandfrei.

fraglich, ob ein solcher Sinn tatsächlich in der arab. Wurzel liegt ¹⁾. Eine auf ein Sprichwort gestützte Anwendung wird jedoch in *Tag al-‘Arūs* X 310₁₂ genau in der Bedeutung des hebr. כבה erklärt: *الکابی الفحم الذى قد خدت ناره فکبا أى خلا من النار al-Kābī ist eine Kohle, deren Feuer erloschen ist und die nun . . . frei von Feuer ist.*

Die eigentliche Bedeutung von کب, in der das Verb öfters vorkommt, scheint aber *hinstürzen* zu sein, und von hier aus kann sich eine semantische Entwicklung zu *erlöschen* (= *das Feuer stürzt hin*) vollzogen haben. Für das Hebräische ergibt sich ein solcher Bedeutungs-zusammenhang aus folgenden Erwägungen: שמח, das mit arab. شخ *hoch sein* zusammenhängt, kommt an einer Bibelstelle im Sinne von *hoch aufflammen* vor (s.w.u. Nr. 30) und bildet so einen gewissen Gegensatz zu כבה ²⁾. Es ist deshalb möglich, dass wir auch für das Hebräische die Grundbedeutung *hinstürzen* oder etwas ähnliches anzunehmen haben.

16) Nach der herkömmlichen Auffassung ist der erste Halbvers in Prov. xxvii 19 כמים הפנים לפנים כן לב-האדם לאדם etwa folgendermassen zu übersetzen: *Wie im Wasser das Gesicht sich spiegelt . . .* (so ausdrücklich GES.-B., S. 646; vgl. auch TÖRCZYNER, *Mišlê Š‘lōmō*, Tel-Aviv 1947, S. 23 f.). Klar ist, dass mit einer derartigen Auslegung, die auch im zweiten Halbvers keine passende Fortsetzung findet, dem hebräischen Text Gewalt angetan wird.

Der Versbau deutet darauf hin, dass כמים הפנים und לב האדם in Parallele stehen und dass demnach die ersten beiden Ausdrücke des Verses eine syntaktische Einheit bilden, während nach der üblichen Erklärung הפנים Subjekt und כמים ein adverbialer Ausdruck sein sollen. Der vermutliche Tatbestand lässt sich jedoch weder mit der überlieferten Textgestalt noch mit den im Hebräischen üblichen Bedeutungen der betreffenden Wörter in Einklang bringen.

Anders steht es, wenn man das arab. ماء الوجه vergleicht, das zwar wörtlich *Wasser des Gesichts* bedeutet, tatsächlich aber im Sinne von *Schamgefühl, Ehrgefühl* ³⁾ أراق ماء وجهه *seine Ehre preisgeben*) gebraucht wird. Wenn wir von kleinen grammatischen Unebenheiten absehen, kann demnach der Bibelvers wörtlich folgendes bedeuten: *Was das Schamgefühl (Ehrgefühl) für das Gesicht ist, das ist das Herz des Menschen*

¹⁾ Eine entsprechende Angabe findet sich auch nicht in dem neuen *Wörterbuch der klass. arab. Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1957, 1. Lief., S. 33 ff.

²⁾ An der betreffenden Bibelstelle steht דעך in Parallele zu שמח.

³⁾ Scham und Ehrgefühl scheinen auch sonst im Arabischen verwandte Begriffe zu sein; s. z.B. WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, S. 227, Anm. 1.

für den Menschen; oder in freier Wiedergabe: *Das Schamgefühl (Ehrgefühl) gibt dem Antlitz erst ein menschenwürdiges Aussehen, und nur ein Mensch mit Herz (oder Verstand; vgl. חסר-לב Prov. vii 7) ist ein vollwertiger Mensch.*

Inhaltlich ist zu erwähnen, dass auch nach biblischer Auffassung Charaktereigenschaften sich im Gesicht ausdrücken, wie z.B. aus Eccl. viii 1 hervorgeht: חכמת אדם תאיר פניו; vgl. ferner בשת פנים *Schamgefühl, Schämen* und פנים עז *frech*.

Die grammatischen Schwierigkeiten, die sich aus der masoretischen Punktation ergeben, brauchen diese inhaltlich befriedigende Erklärung nicht in Frage zu stellen. Auf Grund unseres Bibelverses und ähnlich gelagerter Fälle (wie z.B. מים לחץ, 1 Reg. xxii 27; מים ברכים Ez. xlvi 4) — die allerdings nach der üblichen Auffassung appositionelle Verbindungen darstellen (s. GES., *Gramm.*, § 131b-d) — ist wohl anzunehmen, dass ursprünglich neben מי und מימי ein dritter Stat. constr. מים (vgl. auch das Nebeneinander von שנים עשר, שתי עשרה, שני עשרה vorlag, der den Masoreten nicht mehr bekannt war ¹⁾). Auf diese Weise würden מים und הפנים tatsächlich eine Genetivverbindung darstellen, und die vorangehende Partikel wäre mit Šwā zu vokalisieren.

17) Zu מלך im Sinne von *herrschen, König sein usw.* führen die Bibelwörterbücher das arab. ملك *besitzen* an, doch dient der Vergleich lediglich zur Erhellung der Grundbedeutung und wird zu exegetischen Zwecken nicht verwandt. Das nur einmal vorkommende Nif'al יִמְלֹךְ (Neh. v 7: ויִמְלֹךְ לִבִּי עָלַי) wird dagegen zu einer anderen Wurzel מלך (GES.-B., KÖHLER II; B.-D.-B. III) gestellt, wo es nach einer im Aramäischen vorkommenden Bedeutung als *mit sich selbst zu Rate gehen* (B.-D.-B.: *I considered carefully*) erklärt wird. Im späteren Hebräisch findet sich zwar häufig das blosse, persönlich konstruierte Nif'al in dem von der Bibellexikographie angegebenen Sinn, doch ist die biblische Redewendung in der vorliegenden Form — mit לב als Subjekt — schwerlich in derselben Bedeutung zu verstehen. Hinzu kommt, dass im vorangehenden Vers Nehemia von sich selbst sagt, er wäre zornig geworden (ואת הדברים אשר שמעתי את-זעקתם ואת הדברים), wonach es nicht recht einleuchtet, wenn er in seinem Zorn sich zunächst kühlen Überlegungen hingegeben hätte, nur um nachher mit den betreffenden Leuten zu streiten (ואריבה את-החרים ואת-הסגנים).

¹⁾ Eventuell könnte man auch die z.B. von H. D. HUMMEL (*JBL* 76, 85 ff.) behandelte Erscheinung des enklitischen Mēm zur Erklärung heranziehen.

Das arab. ملك bedeutet nicht nur *besitzen*, wie die Bibellexikographen angeben, sondern auch *in Besitz nehmen*, s. einer Sache bemächtigen, und von hier aus entwickelten sich verschiedene übertragene Redewendungen, wie z.B. ملك عليه نفسه jds. Seele in Besitz nehmen, d.h. ihn hinreissen. Hier haben wir eine ziemlich genaue sprachliche Parallele zu dem biblischen Ausdruck, der wörtlich etwa *mein Herz wurde mir entrissen* und in freierer Wiedergabe *ich war ausser mir, geriet ausser Rand und Band* bedeutet.

Im nachbibl. Hebräisch vergleiche man die Redewendung נטרפה דערו (wörtlich: *sein Verstand wurde (ihm) entrissen*) im Sinne von *verwirrt werden, den Verstand verlieren*.

18) Die Wurzel נוף ist bei bei GES.-B. und B.-D.-B. zweigeteilt. Zu II, wovon nur die Substantive נוף, נפה (*Höhenzug*) und נפת abgeleitet werden, stellen sie das arab. نواف (اناف *übertagen*, منيف *hoch* usw.), während für I, wo die verschiedenen Verben aufgeführt sind, eine andere Etymologie ohne Berücksichtigung des Arabischen angesetzt wird. KÖHLER folgt im grossen und ganzen seinen Vorgängern, nur zweigt er von I eine weitere Wurzel ab, zu der er nach DRIVER — auf Grund des arab. سَفَّ *son* (*the earth*), *blow* (*the nose*)¹⁾, نَفَّ *drizzle* — die betreffenden Verben in Prov. vii 17, Ps. lxxviii 10 und Sir. xliii 17 stellt.

Die Bibellexikographie geht bei der Erklärung von I נוף von einer Grundbedeutung *hin und her bewegen, schwingen* aus, die auch dem in der Beschreibung eines Opferritus häufig gebrauchten Hif'el zugeschrieben wird. Hier jedoch ergeben sich Schwierigkeiten, die am deutlichsten von B.-D.-B. dargestellt werden: Oft. term. techn. ... of rite in which originally the priest lifted his share of offering and waved it, i.e. moved it toward altar and back, in token of its presentation to God and its return by him to priest ... but same phr. of entire lamb, with oil, Lev. xiv 12, 24, and of offerings wh. were burnt, entirely Ex. xxix 24 ... or in part, Num. v 25 ... in these the orig. sign. seems lost; so, clearly, of contribution for tabernacle, = offer ... Ex. xxxv 22.

Ganz und gar nicht passt die angegebene Bedeutung zu denjenigen Stellen, an denen die Leviten Objekt sind, wie z.B. Num. viii 11: והניף אהרן את־הלויים תנופה לפני יהוה מאת בני ישראל (s. auch Vers 13, 15, 21).

Diese Unstimmigkeiten lassen an der Richtigkeit der üblichen

¹⁾ KÖHLER übersetzt ungenau: *bestreuen*.

Erklärung zweifeln ¹⁾. Grade die zu II (bzw. III) נוף verglichene arab. Wurzel kann die Schwierigkeiten beheben, indem sie auf eine Bedeutung von I נוף hinweist, die nicht nur die betreffenden Bibelstellen besser erklärt sondern auch noch mit anderen Gegebenheiten in Einklang steht.

Nach der arab. Etymologie sind נוף und רום ziemlich gleichbedeutend, und diese Annahme bestätigt sich durch eine Reihe von Parallelanwendungen der beiden Wurzeln ²⁾. Zunächst sei auf Ex. xxxv 22 hingewiesen: ויבאו האנשים על-הנשים כל נדיב לב הביאו חה ונום וטבעת וכזמו זהב התנופה (vgl. auch וזהב וכל-כלי זהב וכל-איש אשר הניף תנופה זהב ליהוה Ex. xxxviii 24; נחשת התנופה Vers 29), wozu Ex. xxxv 24 eine Parallele bietet: כל-מרים תרומת כסף ונחשת הביאו את תרומת יהוה. Vgl. noch Lev. xxii 15, Num. xviii 19, 24. An diesen Stellen haben die betreffenden Verben die übertragene Bedeutung *darbringen*, *spenden*, die besonders deutlich beim *Hif'il* von רום in 2 Chr. xxx 24, xxxv 7-9 zu Tage tritt und sich auch bei anderen Verben ähnlicher Etymologie herangebildet hat ³⁾.

Aus diesen Vergleichen und aus dem arab. ناف *hoch, erhaben sein* ergibt sich *hochheben* als eigentliche Bedeutung des *Hif'il* von נוף ⁴⁾. Einen solchen Sinn kann es auch bei der Bezeichnung des Opferritus haben, ähnlich wie entsprechende Anwendungen des synonymen רום. Diese Annahme wird durch die folgende Mischnastelle (*Sōṭā* iii 1-2) bestärkt, die sich auf Num. v 25 bezieht: היה נוטל את מנחתה מתוך כפיפה מצרית ונותנה לתוך כלי שרת ונותנה על ידה וכהן מניח ידו מתחתיה ומניפה; הניף והגיש קמץ והקטיר והשאר נאכל לכהנים. Der Priester nahm also die Opfergabe der Frau, tat sie in ein Ritualgefäß und legte sie auf die Hand der Frau. Dann legte er seine eigene Hand darunter und *hob sie* (die Opfergabe ⁵⁾) *hoch*. Er hob sie hoch, brachte sie an den Altar heran, nahm etwas davon ab und liess es räuchern, und der Rest wurde von den Priestern gegessen.

Die Tatsache, dass der Priester seine Hand darunter legte, weist

¹⁾ Vgl. G. R. DRIVER, *Journal of Semitic Studies* I, S. 100 ff., wo bei einer Untersuchung über die Bedeutung des Substantivs תנופה dieselben Probleme aufgeworfen werden.

²⁾ DRIVER, *a.a.O.*, kann keinen wesentlichen Unterschied in der Anwendung von תנופה und תרומה feststellen.

³⁾ Siehe VT VIII (1958), S. 192 f.

⁴⁾ Im modernen Hebräisch heisst הניף דגל eine Fahne hissen und מנוף *Hebekerahn*.

⁵⁾ Nach der Erklärung der *Gmārā* legte der Priester seine Hand nicht unter die Opfergabe sondern unter die Hand der Frau, wonach das Suffix von מניפה sich eigentlich auch auf die Hand beziehen sollte. Am einfachsten erklärt sich jedoch die Stelle, indem das weibliche Suffix überall auf die Opfergabe bezogen wird.

deutlich darauf hin, dass es sich um ein Hochheben handelte, durch das offensichtlich die Weihe an Gott symbolisch bezeugt werden sollte. Wenn ein Schwingen beabsichtigt gewesen wäre, hätte der Priester anders verfahren müssen. Das הניף an der Mischnastelle noch kein Annähern an den Altar beinhaltet (vgl. die oben angeführte Erklärung von B.-D.-B.), geht aus dem folgenden והגיש hervor.

Auf diese Weise werden auch die Stellen verständlich, an denen von den Leviten die Rede ist. Diese werden wohl zum Zwecke der Weihe hochgehoben worden sein¹⁾.

Die auch in Bezug auf den Opferritus festgestellte grundsätzliche Bedeutungs-gleichheit zwischen נוף und רום könnte sich jedoch im tatsächlichen Sprachgebrauch etwas modifiziert haben, wie z.B. aus Ex. xxix 27 hervorzugehen scheint: אשר הונף ואשר הורם. Vielleicht wurde im Ritual durch הניף ursprünglich ein Aufwärts- und Abwärtsbewegen bezeichnet²⁾, woran sich eine Bedeutung *schwingen* tatsächlich entwickeln konnte. Der Tatbestand ist jedoch nicht mehr feststellbar.

Im Sinne von *hochheben* (an manchen Stellen vielleicht *auf und ab bewegen*) ist הניף auch in Verbindung mit יד zu verstehen. Eine parallele Anwendung von הרים — z.B. 1 Reg. xi 26 f.: ירים יד במלך — deutet darauf hin, dass z.B. in Sach. ii 13: כי הנני מניף את־ידי³⁾ eigentlich ein Erheben der Hand gemeint ist, ursprünglich als Zeichen der Drohung und dann als bildlicher Ausdruck für *zuschlagen*, *Gewalt anwenden* usw. Die eigentliche Bedeutung hat הניף יד wahrscheinlich noch in 2 Reg. v 11, Jes. xiii 2.

Genau so sind die Stellen zu verstehen, an denen *Sichel* (Dt. xxiii 26), *Eisen* (Dt. xxvii 5, Jos. viii 31), *Schwert* (Ex. xx 25) oder *Speer* (Sir. xlvi 2) als Objekte auftreten. Das Hochheben dieser Werkzeuge und Waffen ist ein bildlicher Ausdruck für deren tatsächliche Anwendung. Ähnlich heisst es in Gen. xli 44: ובלעדך לא ירים איש את ידו ואת רגלו *wo Hand, Fuss hochheben für etwas unternehmen* steht.

¹⁾ DRIVER, *a.a.O.*, erklärt תנופה unter Bezugnahme auf die oben verglichene arab. Wurzel und das neubabyl. *nūptu* mit *special contribution* (ebenso ALBRIGHT, *HUCA* XXIII [1950/51] S. 20) und nimmt an, dass sowohl תרומה als auch תנופה babylonischer Herkunft sind. Seine Erklärung passt jedoch nicht zu Num. viii 11, 13, 15, 21, und gerade der Gebrauch des Wortes an diesen Stellen scheint gegen einen fremden Ursprung zu sprechen.

²⁾ Neben *hin und her bewegen* schreibt der *Midrasch* auch diese Bedeutung dem betreffenden Verb zu; s. BEN JEHUDA 3581.

³⁾ Vgl. auch Jes. xi 15, xix 16, Sir. xii 18, xxxiii 3, xlvii 4.

In Jes. x 15 (... אִם-יִתְגַּדֵּל הַמִּשּׁוֹר עַל-מִנְיֹו כְהִנִּיף שֶׁבֵּט אֶת-מִרְיָמֹו ...) heisst מִנְיֹו *der sie (die Säge) hochzieht*, während כְהִנִּיף שֶׁבֵּט אֶת-מִרְיָמֹו wohl folgendes bedeutet: *als ob ein Stab den überragt¹⁾, der ihn hochhebt, hochhält.*

תִּנִּיף in Ps. lxxviii 10 (גֶּשֶׁם נִדְבוֹת תִּנִּיף) kann vielleicht mit *spenden* erklärt werden ²⁾, während יִנִּיף שֶׁלֹּג in Sir. xliii 17 wohl *den Schnee aufwirbeln* bedeutet ³⁾, was mit der Grundbedeutung der Wurzel in näherer Verbindung steht. Das *Qal* in Prov. vii 17 wird dagegen, wie KÖHLER angibt, eine andere homonyme Wurzel erfordern.

19) An der unklaren Stelle Ps. xxxix 6 אַךְ כָּל-הֵבֶל כָּל-אָדָם נֹצֵב, die zu Korrekturvorschlägen Anlass bot, erklären die Bibelwörterbücher das letztere Wort, entsprechend den sonstigen Anwendungen der Wurzel, mit *fest stehn* (GES.-B.), *dastehn* (KÖHLER), *firm standing* (B.-D.-B.), obgleich dadurch der Vers keinen ansprechenden Sinn ergibt. Vielleicht ist hier נֹצֵב mit dem arab. نَضَب zu vergleichen, das zwar hauptsächlich *im Boden versickern, versiegen, schwinden* bedeutet, in der Verbindung نَضَبٌ عَمْرٍ (عمر = *Lebenszeit*) aber auch *sterben* heisst. Der Sinn der Stelle wäre dann: *doch alles ist ein Nichts, jeder Mensch schwindet dahin, stirbt*. In diesem Falle müsste נֹצֵב wahrscheinlich als Partizip des *Qal* gelesen werden.

20) Die Wurzel נִשַּׁק ist in den Bibelwörterbüchern zweigeteilt. Zu II, wofür ausser dem unsicheren ugaritischen *nšq* ⁴⁾ (KÖHLER) keine passende Entsprechung aus anderen semitischen Sprachen angeführt ist ⁵⁾, werden lediglich das dreimal vorkommende Partizip נִשְׁקִי (Ps. lxxviii 9; 1 Chr. xii 2; 2 Chr. xvii 17) und das Substantiv נִשְׁק (*Waffen, Rüstzeug, Kampf*) gestellt. Gerade zu diesen Anwendungen jedoch lässt sich das arab. نَسَق *reihen, ordnen* ⁶⁾ vergleichen, das neben einer anderen arab. Entsprechung in den Bibelwörterbüchern zu I נִשַּׁק gestellt wird.

¹⁾ Vgl. das arab. يُتَغَدَّلُ und يُتَغَدَّلُ im ersten Halbvers.

²⁾ Vgl. oben, S. 263.

³⁾ Vgl. die Erklärung bei BEN JEHUDA 3581.

⁴⁾ Siehe GORDON, *Ugaritic Manual* 299; vgl. aber w.u., S. 266, Anm. 1.

⁵⁾ Nur B.-D.-B. verweisen auch hier auf das zu I gestellte arab. نَسَق; siehe weiter unten.

⁶⁾ Bei B.-D.-B. daneben noch die Erklärung *fasten together*, die von KÖHLER allein angeführt wird (*an einander befestigen*). Hier scheint jedoch eine Bedeutungsverfälschung vorzuliegen, die eine bessere semantische Verbindung zwischen der hebr. und der arab. Wurzel herstellen soll. Der Ausgangspunkt ist wohl die Bedeutung *Perlen aufreihen*, wobei jedoch — wie auch bei dem synonymen نَظَم — lediglich der Sinn des Ordnen und nicht des Befestigen ausgedrückt wird.

نسق is gleichbedeutend mit dem hebr. ערך, das öfters ähnlich wie נשק angewandt wird. Zu vergleichen sind zunächst einerseits die an den oben erwähnten Stellen vorkommenden Ausdrücke נושקי רומי (1 Chr. xii 8), ערכי צנה ורמה (Jer. xli 3) und andererseits נשקי קשת ומגן, נשקי קשת קשת (Ex. xl 23) und ערכו מגן וצנה וגשו למלחמה (Jud. xvii 10). Aus diesen Parallelen ergibt sich, dass in נשק tatsächlich die Bedeutung des arab. نسق liegt, wenn auch die Beziehung nicht mehr direkt ersichtlich ist.

Das Substantiv נשק im Sinne von *Waffen, Rüstzeug* kann als elliptischer Ausdruck für נשק כלי קרב (vgl. Eccl. ix 18) oder נשק כלי מלחמה aufgefasst werden (vgl. ferner נשק ברזל Hi. xx 24), wofür nach dem Vergleich mit ערך Ausdrücke wie ערך לחם (Ex. xl 23) und ערך בגדים (Jud. xvii 10) eine Stütze bieten können. Ähnlich steht חליפות in Jud. xiv 19 für das sonst übliche חליפות בגדים¹).

Im Sinne von *Kampf* (Ps. cxi 8: ביום נשק, Hi. xxxix 21: יצא לקראת נשק) ist נשק mit מצרכה *das in Schlachtordnung stehende Heer, Schlacht(feld)* zu vergleichen.

Von den in den Wörterbüchern zu I gestellten Anwendungen kann z.B. נשק in Ps. lxxxv 11 (חסד-ואמת נפגשו צדק ושלום נשקו) auf Grund der obigen Ausführungen erklärt werden, etwa mit *sind gleichgeordnet, stehen in einer Reihe*. Hier hat das Verb eine intransitive Bedeutung, wie ערך z.B. in Ps. lxxxix 7 (כי מי בשחק יערך ליהוה) *Denn wer . . . kann sich mit Gott in eine Reihe stellen?*, weshalb die bei KÖHLER angegebene Korrektur נשקו unnötig ist.

Eine ähnliche intransitive Bedeutung hat das Verb auch in Gen. xli 40: ועל-פיך ישק כל-עמי, wo die Wörterbücher die aus dem Zusammenhang sich ergebende Bedeutung (*mein ganzes Volk soll sich deinen Anordnungen fügen*) nicht recht mit den sonstigen Anwendungen der Wurzel I נשק in Verbindung zu bringen wissen. Nach den Angaben der Bibellexikographie ist entweder der Text verderbt (Korrek-

¹ In einem neuerlich veröffentlichten Text (CH. VIROLLEAUD, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit* II, Paris 1957, Text 123, Z. 3) kommt das schon oben erwähnte ugarit. *nšq* nochmals und zwar in einem deutlicheren Zusammenhang vor. Es bezeichnet dort eine bestimmte Waffenart oder den Teil einer Waffe (s. S. E. LOEWENSTAMM, *Tarbiz* 28, 1958, S. 245 f.), wonach man tatsächlich eine Beziehung zu hebr. נשק annehmen kann. Diese Tatsache würde jedoch die hier vorgeschlagene Etymologie höchstens in Bezug auf das Substantiv נשק *Waffen, Rüstzeug* in Frage stellen; dies aber auch nur dann, wenn נשק wie im Ugaritischen eine bestimmte Waffe bezeichnen sollte und entgegen der üblichen Auffassung kein Kollektivbegriff ist. In diesem Falle wäre das Wort wohl von den anderen, oben erwähnten Ableitungen der Wurzel zu trennen und auf eine gesonderte Etymologie zurückzuführen. Im Arabischen ist eine dem Ugaritischen entsprechende Wurzel nicht erhalten.

turvorschlag יקשיב (KÖHLER)), oder aber die Präposition על steht direkt mit dem Verb in Verbindung, sodass der sonst öfter vorkommende Ausdruck על פי gemäß, nach Anweisung von hier nicht vorliegen soll (s. besonders GES.-B.).

Die Schwierigkeiten werden durch den neu gefundenen Gesichtspunkt behoben. Wenn gewisse Anwendungen von ערך verglichen werden, wie z.B. 2 Sam. x 9: ויערך לקראת ארם und er stellte sich in Schlachtordnung gegen die Aramäer, kann על פי נשק sich ausrichten nach bedeuten. Die betreffende Bibelstelle wäre dann mit einer deutschen Metapher einfach folgendermassen wiederzugeben: Und mein ganzes Volk soll sich nach deinen Anweisungen richten.

Für משיקות in Ez. iii 13 hat schon DRIVER (*Biblica* XXXV 147) eine Erklärung vorgeschlagen (*keeping in line each (in relation) to the other*), die sich auf die hier verglichene arab. Wurzel stützt.

In diesem Zusammenhang sei noch auf Jes. xxxiii 4 (ואסף שללכם) hingewiesen, wo משק nach der Wurzel שך mit das Umherlaufen (GES.-B.), Ansturm (KÖHLER) oder running, rushing (B.-D.-B.) erklärt wird. Diese Erklärung, die auf alte Tradition zurückzugehen scheint, birgt zwei Schwierigkeiten in sich. שך ist danach Prädikat zu החסיל, doch würde man in dem betreffenden Zusammenhang nicht ein Partizip sondern eine Imperfektform erwarten. Ferner ist משק mit verdoppeltem ש, wenn von שך abgeleitet, eine ganz ungewöhnliche Substantivform (vgl. GESENIUS, *Grammatik*, § 85h). Ohne Schwierigkeit ist משק von נשק abzuleiten und hat dann dieselbe Bedeutung wie das schon oben erwähnte מערכה. Der Sinn der Stelle wäre dann: ...wie ein Heer von Heuschrecken, das darüber herfällt.

Ob die obige Etymologie auch auf נשק im Sinne von küssen anwendbar ist, lässt sich nicht übersehen und ist wohl auf sprachlicher Grundlage allein nicht zu entscheiden. Das arab. قَبَّل küssen, das als Parallele herangezogen werden könnte, ist in seiner semantischen Entwicklung ebenfalls unklar. Eine Entscheidung wird sich vielleicht durch genaue Untersuchungen im Syrischen und Akkadischen erreichen lassen, wo die entsprechenden Verben ebenso wie im Hebräischen in der Bedeutung küssen vorkommen.

21) Das Substantiv ספר ist, wie die Wörterbücher angeben, aus dem *akk. šipru* = Sendung, Brief, Schriftstück (*šapâru* = schicken) entlehnt. Danach wird das Verb ספר, zumindest in gewissen Anwendungen, von der Bibellexikographie als denominativ angesehen. Den gleichen

akkad. Ursprung hat offensichtlich das arab. ^{سفر} *Buch*¹⁾. Andere Ableitungen derselben Wurzel, wie z.B. ^{سفر} *auf die Reise schicken*, ^{سفیر} *Abgesandter*, ^{سافر} *reisen*, die eine semantische Beziehung zu akkad. *šapâru* haben, lassen sich dagegen nicht als Entlehnungen erweisen, obwohl sie nicht ohne weiteres mit den sonstigen Anwendungen (*glänzen, scheinen, aufdecken*) in Verbindung gebracht werden können.

Die im Akkadischen und Arabischen vorliegenden Bedeutungen lassen sich nun zur Erklärung von ספרים in 2 Reg. xx 12 = Jes. xxxix 1 verwenden: בעת ההיא שלח בראדך בלאדן בן-בלאדן מלך-בבל ספרים ומנחה אל-חזקיהו וישמע²⁾ עליהם חזקיהו ויראם את-כל-בית נכתה את-הכסף ואת-הזהב. Es muss sich also um Menschen handeln, denen der König seine Schätze zeigte, und diese Tatsache ist bereits durch den Korrekturvorschlag סריסים statt ספרים (s. GES.-B.) hervorgehoben worden. Eine Textänderung ist jedoch nicht notwendig, da nach den obigen Ausführungen ספרים *Abgesandte* bedeuten kann. Eine solche Erklärung wird umso einleuchtender als ויספרם in Esra i 8 (ויוציאם כורש מלך פרס ויספרם לשבצר הנשיא ליהודה) höchstwahrscheinlich die Bedeutung *schicken* hat, genau wie das erwähnte akkad. Verb, was allerdings in den Bibelwörterbüchern nicht verzeichnet wird. Im Arabischen ist besonders ^{سفر} *Reisender, Reisegesellschaft* zu vergleichen, das dem hebr. ספרים morphologisch am besten entspricht.

מספר steht in Jud. vii 15 (ויהי כשמע גדעון את-מספר החלום) im Sinne von *Erzählung*. Eine ähnliche Bedeutung hat das Wort wohl auch in Esth. ix 11 (ביום ההוא בא מספר ההרוגים בשושן הבירה לפני המלך), wo die Bibelwörterbücher es in der üblichen Anwendung von *Anzahl* aufzufassen scheinen. Nach der gewöhnlichen Bedeutung des Wortes besagt der Vers: *An jenem Tage kam die Anzahl der Erschlagenen ... vor den König*, was offensichtlich keinen guten Sinn ergibt. Zur Erklärung dieser Stelle ist die in Jud. vii 15 vorliegende Bedeutung mit dem arab. ^{قصة} *Qissa*, zu vergleichen und nach einer speciellen Anwendung dieses Wortes zu modifizieren. ^{قصة} bedeutet eigentlich *Erzäh-*

¹⁾ Vielleicht über das Aramäische entlehnt; vgl. FRAENKEL, *Aram. Fremdwörter*, S. 247.

²⁾ An der Jesaja-Stelle: וישמח.

lung, wird aber häufig im Sinne von *Angelegenheit* gebraucht. מספר ההרוגים heisst dann *die Angelegenheit der Erschlagenen*, d.h. *die Tatsache dass Leute erschlagen wurden*. Im arab. Stil ist eine solche Redewendung ganz geläufig.

22) Die beiden Wurzeln עטף und עלף kommen bekanntlich in parallelen Anwendungen vor. Während jedoch die Bedeutungen der letzteren Wurzel von der Bibellexikographie in einem einzigen Artikel behandelt werden, ist עטף bei GES.-B. und KÖHLER in zwei, und bei B.-D.-B. in drei homonyme Wurzeln aufgeteilt ¹⁾.

Zu עלף wird das arab. غلف *verhüllen, bedecken* gestellt, doch ist bei GES.-B. daneben noch لغب *schlaff, matt sein* (nach BARTH) angeführt ²⁾, das zur Erhellung der im Hebräischen vorkommenden Bedeutung *ohnmächtig werden* dienen soll. Es ist jedoch nicht notwendig, verschiedene Etymologien für die Bedeutungen *bedecken* und *ohnmächtig werden* anzunehmen, da beide auch im arab. غشى vereint sind (im letzteren Sinne passiv غُشِيَ; schon bei GES.-B. s.v. II עטף vermerkt). Aus diesem Grunde ist die einheitliche Behandlung der Wurzel, wie sie in den Wörterbüchern vorgenommen wird, gerechtfertigt.

Mit der Aufteilung der Wurzel עטף geht die Anführung verschiedener arab. Entsprechungen Hand in Hand. Zur Bedeutung *abbiegen, zur Seite biegen* wird arab. عطف *biegen, neigen, falten* verglichen, während عطب *zugrunde gehen* ³⁾ (wieder nach BARTH) als arab. Entsprechung zu den Anwendungen im Sinne von *verschwächen, ohnmächtig werden* gestellt wird. GES.-B. und KÖHLER, die die Bedeutungen *abbiegen* und *bedecken* unter derselben Wurzel anführen, vergleichen dazu noch عطف *Mantel, Hülle* (so מעטפות in Jes. iii 22).

Die obigen Ausführungen deuten darauf hin, dass auch bei עטף die beiden Bedeutungen *bedecken* und *verschwächen, ohnmächtig w.* als semantische Einheit angesehen werden müssen. Eine solche Erscheinung steht nicht vereinzelt da. Neben dem schon erwähnten غشى kann noch auf folgende Bedeutungszusammenhänge hinge-

¹⁾ Zur ersten Wurzel wird hier die Bedeutung *zur Seite biegen* gestellt, die bei עלף nicht vorkommt.

²⁾ Nach diesen arab. Entsprechungen ist die Wurzel bei BEN JEHUDA 4530 zweigeteilt.

³⁾ So richtig von B.-D.-B. erklärt (*perish*; daneben noch eine andere Bedeutung: *flag*). In einer besonderen Anwendung in Bezug auf Reit- und Lasttiere heisst das Verb *zusammenbrechen*, worauf wohl die Übersetzungen bei GES.-B. (*hinschmachten*) und KÖHLER (*schwach w.*) zurückzuführen sind.

wiesen werden: *כִּפֵּן* *einhüllen, umbüllen* — *כָּפַן* Hunger; *طَوَى* *zusammenfalten* — *طَوِيَ* *hungrig sein, Hunger leiden*¹⁾). Diese semantischen Beziehungen können als Parallelen besonders zu dem Ausdruck *הַעֲטוּפִים בָּרַעַב* (Thr. ii 19) verglichen werden, der wohl ein Bindeglied in der Entwicklung zu *verschmachten* usw. darstellt.

Es ist also nicht anzunehmen, dass *عَطِبَ* und *لَغِبَ* mit den betreffenden hebr. Wurzeln in Verbindung stehen.

23) Entgegen den Angaben der Bibelwörterbücher ist das arab. *سعى* aus phonetischen Gründen nicht mit *עשה* zu vergleichen sondern gehört zu *שעה* (s. VT VIII (1958), S. 210f.). Deshalb muss für die erstere hebr. Wurzel eine andere Etymologie gesucht werden. Man kann *غشى* (√ *غشو*) dazu stellen, das eigentlich *bedecken* bedeutet, öfters aber auch im Sinne von *kommen zu* (mit direktem Objekt) gebraucht wird. Ein semantischer Übergang zur Hauptbedeutung der hebr. Wurzel wird durch *أقَى* *kommen* vermittelt, welches — ebenfalls mit einem direkten Objekt verbunden — auch *vollbringen, ausführen, begeben* bedeutet. Im Hebräischen selbst sehen wir eine semantische Entwicklung von *kommen* zu *machen, vollbringen* bei der Wurzel *בוא*, was allerdings bisher noch nicht beachtet wurde. In Prov. x 16 (*פַּעֲלַת צָדִיק לַחַיִּים תְּבוּאָה רָשָׁע לַחַטָּאת*) muss *תְּבוּאָה רָשָׁע* nach der Parallele im ersten Halbvers *die Tat eines Bösewichts* bedeuten, wonach *תְּבוּאָה* hier mit *מעשה* gleichzusetzen ist. Denselben Sinn hat *תְּבוּאָה* wohl auch in Dt. xvi 15: *כִּי יִבְרַכְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל תְּבוּאָתְךָ וּבְכָל מַעֲשֶׂה יָדֶיךָ*. Umgekehrt hat *מעשה* die sonst übliche Bedeutung von *תְּבוּאָה* in Ex. xxiii 16: *וְחָג הַקִּצִּיר בְּכוּרֵי מַעֲשֵׂיךָ אֲשֶׁר תֹּרַע בְּשָׂדֶה וְחָג הָאֶסֶף בְּצֹאת הַשָּׂנָה בְּאֶסְפְּךָ אֶת מַעֲשֵׂיךָ מִן הַשָּׂדֶה*.

Ein direkter Zusammenhang zwischen *עשה* und *غشى* zeigt sich vielleicht in Prov. vi 32: *נֹאֵף אִשָּׁה חֲסֵר-לֵב מִשְׁחִית נַפְשׁוֹ הוּא יַעֲשֶׂנָּה* wo das Suffix des letzteren Verbs auch als Neutrum keine rechte Beziehung hat, wenn die gewöhnliche Bedeutung *machen* angesetzt wird. Nun heisst aber das arab. *غشى* auch *einer Frau bewohnen*, genau wie in entsprechender semantischer Entwicklung das hebr. *בוא*²⁾, und dieser Sinn kann wohl auf die erwähnte Bibelstelle Anwendung finden.

Ob dieselbe Form in Mal. ii 12 ebenso aufzufassen ist, kann nicht

¹⁾ Vgl. GES.-B., s.v. *כִּפֵּן*.

²⁾ Vgl. besonders Prov. vi 29: *הִבָּא אֶל-אִשָּׁת רֵעִהּ*.

mit Sicherheit entschieden werden, da die Stelle schwierig ist und besonders der zweite Halbvers bei der betreffenden Erklärung immer noch keinen rechten Sinn ergibt.

Eine Schwierigkeit, die sich der hier vorgeschlagenen Etymologie von עשה entgegenstellen könnte, ist das Vorhandensein der Verben *h'sy* = *machen* und *'sy* = *erwerben* (so auch hebr. עשה) im Südarabischen. Die Annahme eines Zusammenhangs mit der hebr. Wurzel stösst jedoch auf einen Widerspruch zu den Lautgesetzen. Aus diesem Grunde und wegen der Unwahrscheinlichkeit des Bedeutungswandels hat BROCKELMANN auch die von verschiedenen Seiten befürwortete Zusammenstellung mit nordarab. عسى abgelehnt¹⁾. Ferner ist es ja nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die südarab. Verben eine ganz andere etymologische Grundlage haben, was allerdings wegen der Natur und des geringen Umfangs des überlieferten Sprachmaterials schwer festzustellen ist.

24) פתאום (פתאום), das an einigen Stellen neben פתע vorkommt, wird auch in den Wörterbüchern mit diesem Wort in Verbindung gebracht und als blosse Aussprachevariante angesehen. Eine eigene Etymologie wird demnach nicht angegeben. Die gewöhnliche Bedeutung *plötzlich* passt jedoch nicht zu Prov. vii 22 (הולך אחריה פתאום כשור אל-טבח יבא), weshalb verschiedene Textkorrekturen vorgeschlagen wurden (s. besonders GES.-B.). Den Sinn des Wortes an dieser Stelle trifft am besten die von OORT stammende Erklärung *einfältiglich*, die jedoch von der Wurzel פתה ausgeht (s. GES.-B.).

Die beiden verschiedenen Anwendungen von פתאום, wovon die letztere bei פתע nicht vorkommt, lassen eine unterschiedliche Etymologie vermuten, die eine Brücke zwischen den beiden Bedeutungen herstellt. Die entsprechende arab. Wurzel فآ hat sich, soweit die Sprachüberlieferung reicht, nur kümmerlich entwickelt oder erhalten. Sie wird hauptsächlich – und zwar mit einer Negation ما فآ — im Sinne von *nicht aufhören* (etw. zu tun) gebraucht, doch haben die Wörterbücher daneben فآ عن vergessen nach dem Sprachgebrauch der alten Beduinen (s.z.B. *Tāğ al-'Arūs* I 95₂₅). Von der letzteren Anwendung aus könnte man auf eine Bedeutungsverwandtschaft mit غفل schliessen, das genaue Parallelen zum hebr. פתאום aufweist. غفل und أغفل heißen *vernachlässigen, nicht achten auf*, während غفلة und غفلة على *plötzlich, unversehens* bedeuten. Ferner liegt in der Wurzel der Sinn der Sorglosigkeit und des Unbekümmert-

¹⁾ Vergl. *Grundriss* II, S. 514.

seins, der die Bedeutung von פתאם in Prov. vii 22 am besten wiedergibt.

Die obigen Vergleiche sind dazu angetan, das Problem von einem neuen Gesichtspunkt zu beleuchten. Um die angedeutete Etymologie sicherzustellen ist es allerdings noch notwendig, die vermutliche Bedeutungsverwandtschaft zwischen فتأ und غفل, die gerade durch das Hebräische eine Stütze erfahren kann, mit passenden arab. Textzeugen zu belegen.

25) Zu צלם in Ps. xxxix 7 (אך-בצלם יתהלך-איש) geben die Bibelwörterbücher ganz unzulängliche Erklärungen (GES.-B.: *wesenloses Bild*; B.-D.-B.: *a (mere) semblance man walks about*; KÖHLER: *vergänglichliches Bild*). Ein viel besserer Sinn ergibt sich, wenn das betreffende Wort entsprechend dem arab. ظلمة, ظلام als *Finsterniss* gedeutet wird. Eine solche Erklärung findet sich schon bei BEN JEHUDA 5500, doch wird dort keine etymologische Begründung angegeben. Inhaltlich vergleiche man z.B. Eccl. ii 14: והכסיל בחשך הולך.

Manche Bibelwörterbücher stellen die erwähnte arab. Wurzel zu einer zweiten hebr. Wurzel צלם, von der sie z.B. צלמות ableiten.

26) Da die gewöhnliche Bedeutung *Schritte* zu במצעדיו in Dan. xi 43 nicht passt, wird der Ausdruck an dieser Stelle, wohl auf Grund von ברגליו (Jud. iv 10; s. GES.-B.), als *in seinem Gefolge* gedeutet. Abgesehen davon, dass die beiden verglichenen Ausdrücke nicht ganz analog sind, erscheint die übliche Erklärung auch inhaltlich nur als eine mit lexikologischen Mitteln gefundene Notlösung. An der betreffenden Stelle werden die Eroberungen des Königs des Nordens erwähnt, und die Aufzählung schliesst mit: ולבים וכשים במצעדיו. Danach ist anzunehmen, dass eine Unterjochung dieser Völkerschaften gemeint ist, was nach der gewöhnlichen Auffassung von במצעדיו nur indirekt angedeutet wird, und dadurch leidet die Wucht der Erzählung. Ein besserer Sinn würde sich ergeben, wenn במצעדיו etwa *in seiner Gewalt* bedeutete. Eine derartige Erklärung liesse sich auf die Tatsache stützen, dass andere Ableitungen derselben Wurzel, nämlich אצעדה und צעדה *Armbefang* mit dem arab. عضد (Ober)arm zusammenhängen (s. VT VIII, 1958, 198) und in dieser arab. Wurzel auch die Bedeutung *Kraft, Stärke* liegt. Allerdings ist im Arabischen keine Anwendung bekannt, die dem hebr. Ausdruck in dem vermuteten spezifischen Sinn genau entspricht. Vielleicht lässt sich jedoch eine entsprechende Bedeutung gerade von dem Substantiv عضد ableiten, wobei an bildliche Redensarten wie *in seiner Hand*

haben zu denken ist und in morphologischer Hinsicht die Formen מְרַגְלֵתִי und מְרַאשׁוֹתֵי zu vergleichen sind.

27) Den Ausdruck כִּי־תִקְרַעִי בְּפֹךְ עֵינֶיךָ (Jer. iv 30: קרע עינים בפוך) erklären die Wörterbücher mit *die Augen mit Stibium zerreißen, durch Hineinstreichen der Schminke* (GES.-B.), *sich die Augen aufreißen mit* (KÖHLER), *make wide, large, eyes, with* (ב) *stibium* (B.-D.-B.). Hier wird die gewöhnliche Bedeutung von קרע angesetzt, die offensichtlich zu dieser Stelle nicht passt¹⁾. Zur Erklärung muss die Parallelstelle 2 Reg. ix 30 herangezogen werden: ותשם בפוך עיניה, deren etwas merkwürdige Ausdrucksweise²⁾ wahrscheinlich auch im Jeremiavers vorliegt, sodass hier die Präposition ב nicht instrumentale sondern lokale Bedeutung hat. Einen Anhaltspunkt für diese Annahme bietet das arab. كرع³⁾, das z.B. folgendermassen gebraucht wird: كرع في الإناء *aus einem Gefäss schlürfen*, كرع في الماء *Wasser (mit dem Munde) schlürfen*. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich hier aber um einen elliptischen Ausdruck, bei dem Kopf oder Mund als Objekt von كرع zu ergänzen ist, während die Bedeutung *schlürfen* sich erst sekundär herangebildet hat. Eine solche Auffassung drückt sich auch in einer Alternativerklärung der arab. Lexikographen aus (Tāǧ al-‘Arūs V 492₃₀): وقيل هو ان يصبو رأسه في الماء وان لم يشرب *Nach einer anderen Meinung bedeutet der Ausdruck „den Kopf ins Wasser richten, auch wenn man nicht trinkt“*. Ferner erwähnen die Wörterbücher die Redewendung كرع الرجل بطيب, den sie mit *sich parfümieren* erklären. Hier haben wir eine nähere Parallele zu dem hebr. Ausdruck, die ferner beweist, dass كرع ursprünglich nicht *schlürfen* bedeutet. Der eigentliche Sinn des arab. Verbs in den betreffenden Anwendungen ist jedoch schwer festzustellen, sodass von hier aus die spezielle Bedeutung des hebr. קרע nicht näher zu präzisieren ist. Klar scheint jedoch, dass dieses mit שים irgendwie sinnverwandt sein muss.*

28) Zur Wurzel רהב stellen die Wörterbücher neben anderen semitischen Entsprechungen das arab. رهب, das sie mit *fürchten, unruhig sein* (GES.-B.), *unruhvoll sein* (KÖHLER), *be alarmed, frightened* (B.-D.-B.) erklären. Von diesen Bedeutungen ist *fürchten* die richtige, während die anderen Variationen als semantischer Brückenbau

¹⁾ Vgl. die Kritik von B. JACOB, ZAW 22, 103, Anm. 1, der in קרע an dieser Stelle eine Bedeutung *fleckig, streifig färben* vermutet. In den von ihm beigebrachten Belegen aus anderen sem. Sprachen liegt jedoch hauptsächlich nur der Sinn *fleckig, streifig*, während *färben* aus diesen Bedeutungen abstrahiert ist.

²⁾ Vgl. dazu im Deutschen *sich in Staat werfen*.

³⁾ Zur Phonetik s. VT VIII (1958), 200.

angesehen werden müssen. In Anlehnung an das Arabische erklären die Bibelwörterbücher das *Hif'il* in Cant. vi 5 (הסבי עיניך מנגדי שהם) (הרהיבני) mit *unruhig machen, verwirren, erschrecken*. Die weiteren Anwendungen der hebr. Wurzel, die z.T. exegetische Schwierigkeiten bieten, werden jedoch anders und sehr verschiedenartig erklärt.

Eine gewisse semantische Ordnung lässt sich bei רהב durch Vergleich mit dem arab. روع herstellen. Dieses hat eine merkwürdige Doppelbedeutung, nämlich einerseits *erschrecken, überraschen* und andererseits *Gefallen oder Bewunderung erregen, erfreuen* (vgl. VT VIII (1958), S. 203). Eine ähnliche Bewandnis muss es auch mit dem hebr. רהב haben. Die erstere Bedeutung, die durch das arab. رهب gestützt ist, kann an der erwähnten Bibelstelle vorliegen, doch besteht auch die Möglichkeit, שהם הרהיבני als *die mich entzückten (und dadurch erregten)* zu verstehen¹⁾. Tatsächlich hat das Verb eine solche Bedeutung an einer bei BEN JEHUDA 6461 angeführten Stelle aus dem *Sēfer ha-Jāšār*: זה העבד אשר לך בביתך הרהיבנו ולא יכולנו להסיר עפעפינו ממנו מיופיו מרהיב עין im Sinne von *entzückend* gebraucht.

Das Substantiv רהב, das nur in Ps. xc 10 vorkommt (ימי-שנותינו) (בהם שבעים שנה ואם בגבורת שמונים שנה ורהבם עמל ואן) wird von den Wörterbüchern als *Stolz, das worauf jem. stolz ist* erklärt (GES.-B., B.-D.-B.)²⁾. Danach besagt der Bibelvers, dass der Mensch auf die Mühe und Beschwerde, die er während seines langen Lebens auf sich nehmen musste, stolz ist und dies ihm zur Genugtuung wird³⁾. Eine solche Auslegung widerspricht jedoch dem Inhalt des Psalms, der das Menschenleben von einem tief pessimistischen Standpunkt aus beurteilt.

Zu einer ansprechenderen Erklärung gelangen wir durch Heranziehung des arab. روعة, das u.a. *Reiz, Schönheit, Pracht* bedeutet. Danach liegt in dem biblischen Ausdruck eine bittere Ironie: *und ihre ganze Pracht sind Mühe und Beschwerde*.

Vom erwähnten Substantiv רהב leiten die Wörterbücher die Bedeutung von תרהבני in Ps. cxxxviii 3 ab (ביום קראתי ותעני תרהבני) und erklären es im Sinne von *mit Stolz erfüllen*⁴⁾. Da nun

¹⁾ Eine ähnliche Doppelbedeutung hat אים; vgl. die Erklärung von אימה in Cant. vi 4, 10 bei BEN JEHUDA 6461, Anm. 2.

²⁾ Bei KÖHLER *Drängen*, was auf eine andere, vermeintliche Anwendung der Wurzel zurückgeht, auf die obige Stelle aber gar nicht passt.

³⁾ Bei BEN JEHUDA 6463 wird das betreffende Wort unter Abweisung aller bisher vorgeschlagenen Erklärungen als unsicher bezeichnet.

⁴⁾ KÖHLER dagegen schlägt die Korrektur תרבה vor.

רהב gar nicht die Bedeutung *Stolz* hat, muss ein anderer Zugang zur Erklärung des Verbs gesucht werden. Nach dem arab. روع kann es etwa *erfreuen* bedeuten: *An dem Tage, da ich Dich rufe, erhörst Du mich, Du erfreust mich, (und dann) ¹⁾ ist in meiner Seele Kraft.*

An der schwierigen Stelle Prov. vi 3 (**עשה זאת אפוא בני והנצל כי**), für die verschiedene Korrekturen vorgeschlagen wurden ²⁾, ist für **רהב** etwa die dem arab. رهب eigene Bedeutung *fürchten* anzusetzen. Die übliche Erklärung der Stelle — *geh, wirf dich nieder und dringe in deinen Genossen* — ist dem Zusammenhang nach völlig unbefriedigend. Mit **רעך** am Ende des Verses ist nach der gewöhnlichen Auffassung wohl der Gläubiger gemeint, der durch Flehen milde gestimmt werden soll, womit die Episode eigentlich ihren Abschluss finden müsste. Im folgenden wird jedoch dem Bürgen noch der Rat erteilt, sich keine Ruhe zu gönnen, bis er sich, wahrscheinlich durch Flucht (*. . . הנצל כצבי מיד* Vers 5), gerettet hat ³⁾. Die gleiche Unstimmigkeit ergibt sich, falls **רעך** sich auf den Schuldner beziehen sollte.

רעך kann jedoch eine ganz andere Bedeutung haben, nämlich *deine Furcht, dein Schrecken* ⁴⁾, und so ein inneres Objekt zu **רהב** darstellen ⁵⁾. Mit einer solchen Erklärung wird nicht nur ein Übergang zu dem folgenden Vers hergestellt (**אל-תתן שנה לעיניך ותנומה לעפעפיך**) sondern auch die nach der üblichen Auffassung störende Duplizität **רעך** **רהב** in Vers 3 beseitigt und als interessantes Wortspiel erwiesen. Was **התרפס** bedeuten soll, ist allerdings noch nicht eindeutig ersichtlich. Nach anderen Anwendungen der Wurzel (*das Wasser trüben*; auch **רפש**) kann es vielleicht *sei betrübt* bedeuten. Es läge dann hier ein übertragener Sinn vor, wie er sich ähnlich an der Wurzel **עכר** herangebildet hat (**עכר** = *das Wasser trüben*).

Nach diesen Erörterungen hat die Stelle folgenden Sinn: ... *wenn*

¹⁾ Vgl. BEN JEHUDA 6462, Anm. 1.

²⁾ Siehe die Wörterbücher und TORCZYNER, *Mišlê Še'ōmō*, Tel Aviv 1947, S. 54.

³⁾ Auf Grund dieser Tatsache schlägt Prof. TUR-SINAI (TORCZYNER, a.a.O.) folgende Emendation vor: **לְכָה תְּפָרַס וְרָהַב**. **תְּפָרַס** soll für **פָּתַרַס** = *Oberägypten* stehen und **רהב** dementsprechend der emblematische Name Ägyptens sein. **רעך** am Ende des Verses wird als Bruchstück eines weiteren Ausdrucks betrachtet. Abgesehen von den verschiedenen notwendigen Textverbesserungen hat diese Erklärung noch den Nachteil, dass sie dann die in Vers 4 f. enthaltenen Anforderungen eigentlich überflüssig macht.

⁴⁾ Siehe VT VIII (1958), S. 203 f. Eine solche Bedeutung hat wohl auch das erste Verb in Jes. viii 9: **רָעוּ עַמִּים וְחָתוּ**.

⁵⁾ Zur Syntax vgl. z.B. 2 Reg. xiii 14: **וְאֵלִישָׁע חָלָה אֶת חֲלֹיו אֲשֶׁר יָמוּת בּוֹ**.

du nun in die Gewalt deines Genossen gekommen bist, geh¹⁾, sei betrübt und fürchte dich. Gönne deinen Augen keinen Schlaf... (bis du dich durch Flucht gerettet hast).

Schwierig bleibt noch Jes. iii 5: ואיש ברעהו ירהבו הנער בוקן והנקלה בנכבד. Vielleicht heisst hier das betreffende Verb *terrorisieren*, *bedrohen*.

29) In Esra x 44 כל-אלה נשאי נשים נכריות ויש מהם נשים ושימו בנים wird wegen der ungewöhnlichen Anwendung des Wortes von der Forschung als korrumpierte Lesart verdächtigt (GES.-B. 784, 2. Spalte, Nr. 6; B.-D.-B. 964, 2. Spalte, Mitte; von KÖHLER 921 lediglich mit Fragezeichen versehen) und der Vers nach Gutdünken korrigiert. Dem Sinne nach und in Übereinstimmung mit verschiedenen Bibelübersetzungen wird jedoch das Verb bei GES.-B. mit *Kinder zeugen* erklärt. Eine lexikologisch begründete Interpretation findet sich nirgends.

Der Unsicherheit kann durch eine arab. Parallele abgeholfen werden. وضع, das sonst mit שים gleichbedeutend ist, wird nämlich auch im Sinne von *gebären* gebraucht, wie z.B. in Koran xlvii 15: حملته أمه كرها ووضعته كرها Seine Mutter trug ihn mit Unwillen und gebar ihn mit Unwillen. Demnach wäre der Sinn der Bibelstelle: ... und es gab unter ihnen Frauen, die Söhne geboren hatten. Diese Auffassung wird z.B. auch von der englischen *Revised Version* vertreten.

Zur Inkongruenz des grammatischen Geschlechts vgl. GES., *Gramm.*, §§ 135 o, 145 p.

30) Zur Wurzel שמח vergleichen die Bibelwörterbücher das arab. شخ hoch, stolz sein, das nicht nur eine gute Etymologie für die Hauptbedeutung *s. freuen* abgibt²⁾, sondern auch — was von den Bibellexikographen bisher übersehen wurde — zur Erklärung einiger anderer Anwendungen der hebr. Wurzel dienen kann.

Wir erinnern zunächst an Prov. xiii 9: אור-צדיקים ישמה ונר רשעים ידעך. Da ישמה hier nicht die gewöhnliche Bedeutung *s. freuen* haben kann, suchten verschiedene Forscher die Stelle zu korrigieren (s. GES.-B., KÖHLER; bei B.-D.-B. wird eine figurative Bedeutung angenommen, die nicht ganz klar und einleuchtend ist). Unter Heranziehung der arab. Wurzel kommen wir jedoch zu einer ansprechenden Erklärung der überlieferten Lesart, etwa: *Das Licht der Gerechten leuchtet hoch auf*³⁾. Damit ist zugleich ein passender Gegensatz zu

¹⁾ Vgl. Jud. xi 6: לכה והייתה לנו לקצין; 1 Reg. xx 22: ... ויאמר לו לך התחזק

²⁾ Vgl. auch oben, Nr. 2.

³⁾ So schon TORCZYNER, *Mis'le Š'elōmō*, Tel Aviv 1947, S. 34 f., wo noch andere

ידעך im zweiten Halbvers hergestellt. Ferner wird diese Auffassung dadurch bestätigt, dass כבה *verlöschen* (gleichbedeutend mit דעך!) auch in etymologischer Hinsicht einen ziemlich genauen Gegensatz zu der betreffenden Bedeutung von שמה darzustellen scheint (s. oben, Nr. 15).

Weiterhin ist zu erwähnen, dass das Pi'el in Verbindung mit לב nach der arabischen Etymologie als *das Herz erheben* verstanden werden kann¹⁾ (z.B. Ps. xix 9, civ 15). Ebenso²⁾ bedeutet wohl das Pi'el in Thr. ii 17³⁾ וישמה עליך איב *über jem. erheben* (zu vergleichen sind entsprechende Anwendungen verschiedener Ableitungen der Wurzeln רום und גדל). Die Bedeutung *erheben* lässt sich auch in Ps. lxxxix 43 erkennen: הרימות ימין צריו השמחת כל אויביו (zu beachten ist die Parallele zu הרימות).

Eine übertragene Bedeutung des arab. شخ, nämlich *sich hochmütig verhalten*, kann zur Erklärung von Ps. xxxv 19 herangezogen werden: אל-ישמח-לי איבי שקר שנאי חנם יקרצו-עין (vgl. auch Vers 24). Demnach hat hier ישמח-לי eine ähnliche Bedeutung wie das im zweiten Halbvers stehende יקרצו-עין. Dieselbe Erklärung kann auch auf Ps. xxxviii 17 zutreffen: כי-אמרתו פן-ישמח-לי במוט רגלי עלי הגדילי. Auch hier kann das zu ישמח in Parallele stehende הגדילי eine solche Annahme bestärken.

Die Bibelwörterbücher, die bei der Interpretation aller erwähnten Stellen von der Hauptbedeutung *s. freuen* ausgehen, geben entweder nicht ganz passende Erklärungen oder verlegen sich auf Bedeutungsmodifikationen, die sich zwar in der Übersetzung ganz gut ausnehmen, aber zum Teil dem Charakter der hebr. Sprache nicht gerecht werden.

31) In Ps. cxxxviii 5 וישירו בדרכי יהוה כי גדול כבוד יהוה scheint das erste Wort nicht die sonstige Bedeutung *singen* zu haben, obgleich es auch von den alten Bibelübersetzungen so verstanden wurde. Ungewöhnlich ist der Gebrauch der folgenden Präposition ב, die sonst nie weder nach diesem Verb noch nach dem synonymen זמר die Verbindung mit dem Gegenstand des Gesangs herstellt. Statt dessen wird der einfache Akkusativ gebraucht. Sonderbar klingt auch der

Anwendungen der hebr. Wurzel auf Grund derselben Etymologie erklärt werden; vgl. die folgende Anmerkung.

¹⁾ TORCZYNER, *a.a.O.*, erwähnt die Redewendung mit dem Hinweis, dass sie eine sexuelle Bedeutung hat.

²⁾ Die folgenden Bibelstellen sind bei TORCZYNER, *a.a.O.*, nicht behandelt.

³⁾ Vgl. auch Ps. xxx 2.

Ausdruck *von den Wegen Gottes singen* (siehe GES.-B.), da in dem Textzusammenhang von den Königen der Erde die Rede ist (Vers 4). Dass gerade diese sich in Gesang ergehen sollen ist merkwürdig. Die Schwierigkeit der Stelle ist bereits durch den Korrekturvorschlag וְשִׁיחוּ (siehe B.-D.-B.) hervorgehoben worden.

Die Bibel spricht häufig vom *Wandeln in den Wegen Gottes* (הלך בדרך יהוה), und ein solcher Sinn ergibt sich auch für die obige Stelle auf Grund des arab. يسير, سار *gehen, laufen, reisen*¹⁾. Nachdem Vers 4 betont, dass die Könige der Erde Gott loben werden, besagt Vers 5, dass sie in seinen Wegen wandeln werden. Damit wird Gott eine grössere Ehre zuteil (vgl. den Schluss des Verses) als durch das Besingen seiner Wege.

Diese Erklärung hat ferner den Vorteil, dass sie den Sinn der beiden Verse in die rechte Beziehung setzt. Nach der üblichen Auffassung besagen beide ungefähr das gleiche, doch erwartet man, dass nach dem Lob Gottes eine Tat erwähnt wird, die in einem noch höheren Grad die Verehrung Gottes ausdrückt. Die fortschreitende Handlung, wird durch die obige Erklärung, die auch eher auf die Könige der Erde zutreffen kann, deutlich hervorgehoben.

Ob auch die sonstigen Anwendungen der hebr. Wurzel mit der Bedeutung des arab. سار in Verbindung stehen lässt sich vorläufig nicht übersehen. Auf jeden Fall ist das Substantiv شُور²⁾, das manche Bibelwörterbücher vergleichen³⁾, sowohl aus phonetischen⁴⁾ wie auch semantischen⁵⁾ Gründen⁶⁾ nicht als passende Entsprechung anzusehen.

32) In 2 Sam. xi 16 (וַיְהִי בִשְׁמֹר יוֹאֵב אֶל־הָעִיר) erklären die Wörterbücher den Infinitiv nach der gewöhnlichen Bedeutung der Wurzel mit *bewachen . . im kriegerischen Sinn* (GES.-B.), *keep guard . . in hostile sense* (B.-D.-B.) oder *wartend beobachten* (KÖHLER). Diese sonder-

¹⁾ Im nachbibl. Hebräisch kommt שִׁירָה *Karawane* vor, das mit dieser arab. Wurzel zusammenhängt; vgl. FRAENKEL, *Aram. Fremdw.*, S. 180. Die arab. Wurzel wird in den Wörterbüchern zu manchen biblischen Anwendungen von שׁוּר verglichen.

²⁾ Es bedeutet *Poesie, Gedicht*, nicht *Lied*; im letzteren Sinne wird z.B. أغنية gebraucht.

³⁾ GES.-B.; KÖHLER, *Suppl.*, S. 189.

⁴⁾ Vgl. jetzt noch ugar. šr.

⁵⁾ Das Verb شَعَرَ bedeutet hauptsächlich *fühlen, empfinden, wissen*; im Sinne von *dichten* ist es zweifelsohne denominativ.

⁶⁾ Zur Bedeutungsentwicklung vgl. GOLDZIEHER, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie* I, S. 17.

baren Erklärungen, die nur die Schwierigkeit der Stelle unterstreichen, sind nicht nur an und für sich anfechtbar sondern werden auch durch den Textzusammenhang als falsch erwiesen. In der Erzählung handelt es sich offenbar um einen Angriff, und in Vers 20 heisst es ausdrücklich: **מדוע נגשתם אל-העיר להלחם**, während vorher mit keinem Wort erwähnt wird, dass Joab sich der feindlichen Stadt genähert hätte, wofern dies nicht gerade in Vers 16 ausgedrückt sein sollte. Das ist tatsächlich der Fall.

Im Arabischen gibt es bekanntlich eine ganze Reihe von Verben, die von Zeitbegriffen abgeleitet sind und ursprünglich den Zeitpunkt irgendeiner Handlung oder eines Zustandes bezeichnen, dann aber auch häufig zusätzliche und z.T. ganz selbständige Bedeutungen angenommen haben. Im Hebräischen haben wir vielleicht einen entsprechenden Fall bei **בקר** in Ps. xxvii 4: **לחיות בנעם-יהוה ולבקר בהיכלו** (nach WELLHAUSEN; s. GES.-B.). Die in Frage kommenden arab. Verben bedeuten öfters *sich zur betreffenden Zeit an einen Ort (oder zu jem.) begeben*, wobei sie sich manchmal mit der Präposition **إلى** verbinden (vgl. **נשכימה לכרמים** Cant. vii 13), z.B. **عشا إلى** *am Abend (عشيّة) an einen Ort (oder zu jem.) kommen* ¹⁾. Danach kann **שמור** an der erwähnten Stelle mit **אשמורה** *Nachtwache* in Verbindung gebracht und der Vers etwa folgendermassen erklärt werden: *Als Joab während der (1., 2., 3.?) Nachtwache auf die Stadt zu ging . . .* Kriegerische Überfälle wurden häufig bei Nacht ausgeführt; vgl. z.B. Jud. vii 19.

Noch einleuchtender wird die obige Erklärung, wenn die arab. Entsprechung der hebr. Wurzel verglichen wird. Schon die Bibelwörterbücher erwähnen u.a. **سمر** im Sinne von *wachen (= wach sein)*. Im arab. Sprachgebrauch sind **سمر** *nächtliche oder abendliche Unterhaltung* und andere Ableitungen in entsprechenden Bedeutungen sehr häufig ²⁾. Die eigentliche Bedeutung der Wurzel liegt wohl aber z.B. im Adjektiv **أَسْمَرٌ** *dunkel vor* ³⁾, sodass *wachen, s. bei Nacht unterhalten* auf eine Grundbedeutung *bei Dunkelheit etwas tun* zurückzuführen wären. Tatsächlich wird das Substantiv **سمر** von den arab. Lexikographen auch als *Dunkelheit, Nacht* oder *gewisser Teil der Nacht* erklärt ⁴⁾ und das Verb **سمر** z.B. in den Bedeutungen *bei Nacht weiden*

¹⁾ Ein Beleg z.B. bei RECKENDORF, *Arabische Syntax*, S. 20.

²⁾ Von hier aus versuchen die arab. Lexikographen irrtümlich andere Anwendungen semantisch abzuleiten.

³⁾ In dieser Bedeutung wird die Wurzel bei B.-D.-B. zu II **سَمَر** angeführt.

⁴⁾ In diesem Zusammenhang ist es interessant, dass das biblische **נֶשֶׁף** *Dunkelheit* im modernen Hebräisch im Sinne von *festliche Abendveranstaltung* gebraucht wird.

(Kamele), bei Nacht trinken (Wein) angeführt (s. z.B. *Tağ al-‘Arūs* III, 277 f.). Die letzteren Anwendungen sind geeignet, die obige Erklärung der Bibelstelle prinzipiell zu bestätigen und sie sogar von dem Substantiv *שמורה* abzulösen. In dem betreffenden *אל* *בשמור* kann sich einfach die Grundbedeutung *bei Dunkelheit gehen zu* erhalten haben.

Die Bibellexikographie bevorzugt nach BARTH das arab. *ثَمَل* als Entsprechung für die Hauptbedeutungen der hebr. Wurzel, während *سمر* nur nebenbei oder in Verbindung mit gewissen Anwendungen erwähnt wird. BARTH¹⁾ schliesst aus dem syr. *ܫܡܪܐ = שמורות* *Wimpern*, dass dem hebr. *שמר* eine arab. Wurzel mit *ث* entsprechen muss, und kommt so auf *ثَمَل* *schützen*, *ثَمَال* *Schützer, Hort*, wobei er jedoch nur für das Substantiv Belegstellen anführt, während *schützen* als Grundbedeutung der Wurzel erschlossen zu sein scheint. Nach den Erklärungen der arab. Wörterbücher bedeutet nämlich das Verb *ثَمَل* *beistehen*²⁾, und in diesem Sinne wird es auch von B.-D.-B. übersetzt: *support, aid, protect*³⁾. Natürlich kann *ثَمَال* ebensogut mit *Beistand* erklärt werden. Es scheint demnach, dass die von BARTH befürwortete Zusammenstellung in semantischer Hinsicht nicht ganz einwandfrei ist.

Aus diesem Grunde und in Übereinstimmung mit der neugefundenen Erklärung der hier behandelten Bibelstelle wird man wohl am besten das arab. *سمر* auch zu den Hauptbedeutungen der hebr. Wurzel — *hüten, bewachen, schützen* — stellen⁴⁾. Die Begriffe *wach sein* und *bewachen* finden ja auch in europäischen Sprachen einen gemeinsamen sprachlichen Ausdruck, und ferner noch im arab. *سهر* *nachts wachen*, das mit der Präposition *على* (vgl. *שמר על*) auch *wachen über* bedeutet. Eventuell ist auch *שמרים* *Hefe, Wein* mit *سمر* in der Grundbedeutung *dunkel* zusammenzustellen, wie schon bei B.-D.-B. angedeutet. Dazu ist noch hervorzuheben, dass im Arabischen die Dualform *الأسمران* (eig. *die beiden Dunklen*) im Sinne von *Brot und Wein* gebraucht wird.

33) In Prov. xxiv 21: *ירא-את-יהוה בני ומלך עם-שונים אל-תתערב*

¹⁾ S. besonders *Nominalbildung*, S. 175, Anm. 4.

²⁾ *Tāğ al-‘Arūs* VII, S. 247³⁴: *ثَمَلَهُمْ . . . إِذَا قَامَ بِأَمْرِهِمْ*.

³⁾ GES.-B. wie BARTH: *schützen*. KÖHLER's Erklärung *zurückbehalten* ist mir vollkommen unverständlich.

⁴⁾ So auch, wie ich nachträglich feststelle, Prof. TUR-SINAI in seinem hebr. Hiobkommentar zu Vers viii 6 als Parallele zu *כִּי-עָתָה יַעֲזֹר עָלַיךְ* dann *wird er dich beschützen*.

wird שונים als zweifelhafte Lesart angesehen. Neben Erklärungen wie *Andersgesinnte* (GES.-B. 851), *those who change* (B.-D.-B. 1040₁)¹⁾ führen die Wörterbücher auch Korrekturvorschläge an (שניהם, שנאים; s. GES.-B. und KÖHLER), die aber keineswegs einen besseren Sinn ergeben. In allen Fällen fehlt ein rechter Übergang zum folgenden Vers (כי־פתאם יקום אדם ופיד שניהם מי יודע), der sich nur auf die שונים beziehen kann, indem er begründet, warum man sich mit ihnen nicht einlassen soll. Nach keiner der Bedeutungen, die dem Wort durch die verschiedenen Erklärungen und Korrekturvorschläge beigemessen werden, ist einzusehen, warum man sich mit den betreffenden Leuten nur deshalb nicht abgeben soll, weil ihr Untergang plötzlich eintreten kann. Ferner ist hervorzuheben, dass שניהם (Vers 22) in der gewöhnlichen Bedeutung *sie beide*²⁾ keine Beziehung zu dem vorangehenden Vers hat. Es auf Gott und den König zu beziehen ist inhaltlich unmöglich, und eine Verbindung mit dem Plural שונים kommt aus sprachlichen und logischen Gründen nicht in Betracht.

Die beiden betreffenden Wörter müssen also eine ganz andere Bedeutung haben als gewöhnlich angenommen wird. Eine annehmbare Erklärung ergibt sich aus einem Vergleich mit dem arab. سَنَى hoch, erhaben, سناء hoher Rang. Danach kann שונים im Rang Hochgestellte³⁾ bedeuten und Vers 21 folgendermassen übersetzt werden: *Fürchte, mein Sohn, Gott und den König, mit Leuten von hohem Rang lass dich nicht ein*. Ähnlich der im zweiten Halbvers ausgedrückten Warnung heisst es in Ps. cxlvi 3: אל־תבטחו בנדיבים בבן־אדם שאין לו תשועה. In den Wechselfällen des Lebens können solche Leute ihre Stellung sehr bald verlieren, wie Vers 22 betont: *Denn plötzlich kommt ihr Untergang . . .*⁴⁾. Die Bibelstelle warnt also davor, sich mit hochgestellten Menschen einzulassen, auf ihren Rang zu bauen und auf ihren

¹⁾ BEN JEHUDA 6977: Bösewicht, Frevler.

²⁾ Bei BEN JEHUDA (4904, Anm.) die mit Fragezeichen versehene Korrektur שונים, die auch von anderen befürwortet wird.

³⁾ So schon, wie ich nachträglich sehe, D. W. THOMAS in ZAW 52, 1934, S. 236, wo auch das entsprechende Verb in Esth. ii 9 im Sinne von *he exalted her* erklärt wird, was mir jedoch zweifelhaft erscheint. Ferner zieht der Verfasser eine inhaltliche und eine sprachliche Parallele aus der nachbiblischen Litteratur heran, auf deren Wiedergabe ich hier verzichte. Die weiteren Probleme der beiden obigen Bibelverse werden jedoch von D. W. THOMAS nicht berührt. Für שניהם in Vers 22 schlägt auch er die Korrektur שונים vor.

⁴⁾ Vgl. Ps. lxxxii 7: וכאחד השרים תפלו; Ps. cvii 40: שפך בוז על־נדיבים; Ps. cvii 40: ראיתי עבדים על־סוסים ושרים הלכים כעבדים; Eccl. x 7: ויתעם בתהו לא־דרך על־הארץ.

Schutz zu vertrauen, denn auch die hohe soziale Stellung bietet keine Sicherheit. Im Gegensatz dazu wird am Anfang von Vers 21 betont, dass der Mensch Gott fürchten und *implicite* auf ihn vertrauen soll ¹⁾. Derselbe Gedanke wird z.B. in Ps. cxviii 9 ausgedrückt: טוב לחסות ביהוה מבטח בנדיבים ²⁾.

Die Schwierigkeit, die שניהם in Vers 22 darstellt, ist zu beheben, wenn das Wort nach der oben erwähnten arab. Entsprechung mit *ibr hoher Rang* ³⁾ erklärt wird: *Denn plötzlich kommt ihr Verderben, und wer kennt den Untergang ihres hohen Ranges?* (d.h. *wer weiss, wie schnell sie ihren Rang verlieren*).

Mit dieser Erklärung ist zwar eine Verbindung zwischen שונים und שניהם hergestellt, doch bleibt noch eine Unebenheit des Ausdrucks bestehen. Nachdem schon am Anfang von Vers 22 vom Verderben der Hochgestellten die Rede ist, klingt es sonderbar, dass erst hinterher der Verlust ihrer Stellung erwähnt wird. Die Schwierigkeit liegt in פיד, das sonst in der Bibel ein Synonym von איד ist, hier aber wohl nach dem arab. فائدة (فيداء) als *Nutzen* zu deuten ist: ... *und wer kennt den Nutzen ihres hohen Ranges?* Diese rhetorische Frage bedeutet nichts anderes als dass ihr hoher Rang keinen bleibenden Wert hat, weder für den Würdenträger selbst noch für dessen Schützling. Die beiden Vershälften drücken also einen einzigen Gedanken aus: Eben weil die Leute von Rang ihre Stellung plötzlich einbüßen können, ist deren Wert recht zweifelhaft.

Dass am Anfang von Vers 21 der König neben Gott erwähnt wird, wirkt ebenfalls störend, da Gottesfurcht (= Gottvertrauen) an dieser Stelle gerade in einen Gegensatz zum Vertrauen auf Menschen gestellt wird. Aus diesem Grunde ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass מלך hier gar nicht *König* bedeutet sondern etwa ein Imperativ (מלך) ist, der zu ירא in Parallele steht. Auf diese Weise bekommt auch der Satzrhythmus eine bessere Gestalt. Der Sinn wäre dann allerdings nicht von den üblichen Bedeutungen des Verbs מלך sondern vom arab. ملك *besitzen, erwerben* ⁴⁾ abzuleiten: *Fürchte Gott, mein Sohn, und erwerbe Besitz* (= *wenn du Gott fürchtest, wirst du Besitz*

¹⁾ Die beiden Begriffe sind auch im sprachlichen Ausdruck vereint. Mi. vii 17 אל יהוה אלהינו יפחדו kann man mit *auf Gott werden sie vertrauen, bei Gott werden sie Zuflucht suchen* wiedergeben; vgl. oben, Nr. 11.

²⁾ Vgl. noch den oben, Nr. 11, behandelten Vers: חרדת אדם יתן מוקש ובוטח ביהוה ישגב.

³⁾ Die Vokalisierung müsste dann etwa zu שניהם geändert werden, wie פריהם in Am. ix 14.

⁴⁾ Vgl. oben, Nr. 17.

erwerben)... Auch das materielle Wohlergehen des Menschen ist durch Gottesfurcht bedingt¹⁾; sie ist ein besserer Weg, zu Wohlstand zu gelangen, als sich Leuten von hohem Rang anzubiedern.

34) Das Substantiv שרירות (שררות) wird gewöhnlich nach dem aram. שרר als *Festigkeit, Härte* erklärt, und danach die Verbindung שרירות לב, in der das Wort immer vorkommt, als *Verhärtung, Verstocktheit des Herzens*. Eine solche Bedeutung stimmt jedoch mit den Anwendungen des Ausdrucks nicht ganz überein. Besonders ist hervorzuheben, dass an drei Stellen שרירות לב neben oder in Parallele zu מועצות und מחשבות steht: ואלסלחוו בשרירות לבם ילכו (Jer. vii 24), וילכו במעצות בשררות לבם הרע (Ps. lxxxix 13), כִּי־אַחֲרֵי מַחֲשׁוֹתַיִנוּ נִלְךְ וְאִישׁ שְׁרִירוֹת לִבּוֹ־הִרְעָ נַעֲשֶׂה (Jer. xviii 12). Der Anfang der letzteren Stelle wiederum hat eine genaue Parallele z.B. in Jer. ix 13: וִילְכוּ אַחֲרֵי שְׁרִירוֹת לִבָּם; vgl. auch Jer. iii 17, xvi 12. Demgemäss wird wohl שרירות לב etwas ähnliches wie מועצות und מחשבות bedeuten müssen. Eine solche Auffassung findet sich tatsächlich im Targum Onkelos, der das betreffende Wort mit הרהורי übersetzt.

Im Arabischen ist die Wurzel سرر zu vergleichen, und zwar in der Bedeutung, die sich z.B. in dem Substantiv سر Geheimmis darstellt. Dieses Wort wird auch im Sinne von Herz gebraucht, und die beiden angeführten Bedeutungen schreiben die arab. Wörterbücher auch der weniger gebräuchlichen Form سريرة zu, die dem hebr. Wort morphologisch besser entspricht. Der Plural سرائر kommt z.B. im Koran (Sura lxxxvi 9) vor und wird dort von der traditionellen Exegese mit *verborgene Gedanken und Taten*²⁾ erklärt. Diese Bedeutung steht im Einklang mit anderen Anwendungen der arab. Wurzel, durch die öfters ein Verborgensein ausgedrückt wird.

Einleuchtend ist die Parallele zum hebr. שרירות לב, das etymologisch nunmehr mit תעלמות לב (Ps. xlii 22) ziemlich gleichbedeutend ist und in freier Wiedergabe etwa mit *Einflüsterungen des Herzens* zu übersetzen ist.

Auf Grund der hebr. und arab. Parallelen wäre noch zu erwägen, ob שרירות nicht eigentlich als Plural gelesen werden sollte.

35) Das substantivierte Partizip שורר (gewöhnlich mit *Feind* erklärt), wovon nur der Plural mit Suffix vorkommt (שררי, שוררי Ps. v 9, xxvii 11, liv 7, lvi 3, lix 11), wird in den Wörterbüchern in

¹⁾ Vgl. Ps. cxii 1-3: הִקְוֶעֶשׂר בְּבֵיתוֹ... אֲשֶׁר־אִישׁ יִרָא אֶת־יְהוָה... Hi. i 9-10: הַחֲנֹם יִרָא אוֹיֵב אֱלֹהִים... מַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו בְּרַכְתָּ וּמִקְנֵהוּ פֶּרֶץ בְּאֶרֶץ.

²⁾ z.B. BAIDĀWĪ, ed. FLEISCHER, II 397: ما طاب من الضمائر وما خفى من الاعمال.

einem besonderen Artikel angeführt und weder mit einer bekannten Wurzel in Verbindung gebracht noch etymologisch irgendwie erklärt. Daneben kommt in derselben Bedeutung שׁוּרִי vor (Ps. xcii 12), das bei GES.-B. mit שׁוּר *blicken, schauen*¹⁾ in Verbindung gebracht aber vermutungsweise als Textfehler für שׁוּרִי (so auch B.-D.-B. und KÖHLER) hingestellt wird.

Etymologisch sind die beiden Wörter also vollkommen unklar. Zur Erklärung kann das arab. ثَوَّرَ (ثَوْرٌ) herangezogen werden, das mit der Präposition على *s. gegen jmd. empören, wider jmd. aufstehen* bedeutet. Eine sinngemässe Entsprechung zu diesem Verb haben wir in dem hebr. קוּם mit der Präposition על, und dieses gerade kann die obige Gegenüberstellung bestätigen, da dessen Partizip auch ohne Präposition und mit Suffix in der erwähnten spezifischen Bedeutung vorkommt: וּבִרְבַּ גֵּאוֹנָךְ תִּהְיֶה קִמְּךָ (Ps. xviii 40), (Ex. xv 7), מִחֵץ מִתְנִים קִמּוֹ (Dt. xxxiii 11); vgl. ferner Ps. lix 2: הִצִּילִנִי מֵאֵיכָבִי אֱלֹהִי מִמִּתְקוֹמִי תִשְׁבְּנִי. Daneben kommt auch das Partizip mit Präposition vor, u.a. gerade in dem einzigen Vers, in dem שׁוּרִי steht (Ps. xcii 12): וּתְבַטְט עֵינִי בְּשׁוּרֵי בַקִּמִּים עַל־מְרַעִים תִּשְׁמַעֲנָה אוֹנִי.

קָמַ ו שׁוּרִי, שׁוּרִי sind also vollkommen gleichbedeutend.

36) Wenn in Gen. xlvii 18 אִם־תָּם הַכֶּסֶף וּמִקְנֵה הַבְּהֵמָה אֶל־אֲדָנִי das Verb תָּם in der gewöhnlichen Bedeutung *ein Ende nehmen, aufhören* (so z.B. GES.-B.) verstanden wird, steht der Ausdruck אֶל אֲדָנִי vollkommen beziehungslos da. Es existiert keine andere Möglichkeit als die Präposition אל mit dem Verb zu verbinden, wodurch dessen Bedeutung modifiziert wird. Zur Erklärung ist das arab. انتهى heranzuziehen, das mit תָּם gleichbedeutend ist, in Verbindung mit der Präposition إلى aber den Sinn *gelangen zu* annimmt. Die Bibelstelle besagt dann; *Denn wenn das Geld und das Vieh (vollkommen) in die Hand meines Herrn gelangt sind . . .*

Auf dieselbe Weise ist wohl כָּלָה mit der Präposition אל oder על in 1 Sam. xxv 17 (כִּי־כָלָתָה הָרֵעָה אֶל־אֲדֹנָיו וְעַל־כָּל־בֵּיתוֹ) und Esth. vii 7 (כִּי רָאָה כִּי־כָלָתָה אֵלָיו הָרֵעָה מֵאֵת הַמֶּלֶךְ) zu verstehen. Die Wörterbücher erklären diesen Ausdruck mit *feststehen, unvermeidlich sein*, was zwar in den Textzusammenhang passt, die eigentliche semantische Beziehung aber nicht richtig wiedergibt. Nach den obigen Feststellungen bedeutet כָּלָתָה אֵלָיו הָרֵעָה genau genommen *das Unheil hat ihn erreicht*. Zu vergleichen ist z.B. נָגַע עַל in Jud. xx 34, 41: וְהֵם לֹא יָדְעוּ: כִּי־נִגְעָה עֲלֵיהֶם הָרֵעָה; כִּי רָאָה כִּי־נִגְעָה עָלָיו הָרֵעָה.

¹⁾ Von hier aus erklärt sich wohl die bei B.-D.-B. für שׁוּרִי angegebene Bedeutung (*insidious*) *watcher*.

I. *Verzeichnis der arab. Wurzeln*

(Die Ziffern beziehen sich auf die nummerierten Abschnitte)

أقى 23	سنى 33	فرع 11
اهل 1	سير 31	فيد 33
ثور 35	شرر 4 Anm.	قصص 21
جرأ 4	شعر 31	قعد 13
جرى 4	شمخ 15, 30	كبا 15
جلل 2	ضعف 6	كرع 27
جنب 3	طوى 22	كفن 22
جول 2	ظلم 25	لغب 22
جيش 5	عسى 23	ملك 17, 33
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حقر 10	عضد 26	نسق 20
حقوق 9	عطب 22	نصب 19
حكى 8	عطف 22	نظم 20 Anm.
خبا 15 Anm.	عقر 14	نفف 18
رجع 14	عكر 28	نهي 36
رهب 28	عود 14	نوف 18
روع 28	غرو 4	هوى 4 Anm.
سرر 34	غشو 22, 23	وضع 29
سعى 23	غفل 24	يمن 12
سفر 21	غلف 22	
سمر 32	فتأ 24	

II. *Verzeichnis der angeführten Bibelstellen*

<i>Gen.</i>		<i>Ex.</i>		<i>Lev.</i>	
xxxi 20, 26, 27	3	ix 3	4	xiv 12, 24	18
xxxi 42, 53	11	ix 15	4 Anm.	xxii 15	18
xl 6	6	xv 7	35		
xl 15	3	xx 25	18	<i>Num.</i>	
xli 19	6	xxi 19	13	v 25	18
xli 40	20	xxiii 16	23	viii 11, 13, 15,	
xli 44	18	xxix 24	18	21	18
xlii 28	11	xxix 27	18	xviii 19, 24	18
xlvi 18	36	xxxv 22, 24	18	xxi 18	9
xlvi 10	9	xxxviii 24, 29	18		
		xl 23	20		

<i>Dt.</i>		<i>Jes.</i>		<i>Ps.</i>	
xvi 15	23	viii 9	28 Anm.	xxxv 19, 24	30
xxiii 26	18	x 15	18	xxxviii 17	30
xxvii 5	18	xi 15	18 Anm.	xxxix 6	19
xxviii 48	4	xiii 2	18	xxxix 7	25
xxxii 9	9	xix 16	4. 18 Anm.	xxxix 11	4
xxxiii 11	35	xxxiii 4	20	xliv 22	34
		xxxix 1	21	li 12	7
<i>Jos.</i>		li 4	14	liv 7	35
viii 31	18			lvi 3	35
xxiv 23	3	<i>Jer.</i>		lix 2, 11	35
		iii 17	34	lx 9	9
<i>Jud.</i>		iv 30	27	lxvi 7	2 Anm.
iv 7	5	vii 24	34	lxviii 10	18
iv 10	26	ix 13	34	lxxviii 9	20
vi 5	1	xvi 12	34	lxxxi 13	34
vii 15	21	xviii 12	34	lxxxii 7	33 Anm.
vii 19	32	xxxvi 16	11	lxxxv 11	20
xi 6	28 Anm.	xlvi 3	20	lxxxix 7	20
xiv 19	20			lxxxix 17	2
xvii 10	20	<i>Ez.</i>		lxxxix 43	30
xx 34, 41	36	iii 13	20	xc 10	28
1 <i>Sam.</i>		xlvi 4	16	xcii 12	35
ii 5, 7 f.	14			civ 15	30
xxv 17	36	<i>Hos.</i>		cvii 40	33 Anm.
		iii 5	11	cviii 9	9
2 <i>Sam.</i>		xi 11	14	cxii 1-3	33 Anm.
vi 3	14			cxiii 9	14
x 9	20	<i>Am.</i>		cxviii 8-9	11
xi 16, 20	32	ix 14	33 Anm.	cxviii 9	33
xiii 4	6			cxxxviii 3	28
xv 6	3	<i>Mi.</i>		cxxxviii 4, 5	31
xix 4, 15	3	vii 17	11	cxl 8	20
xix 33	14			cxl 9	2
1 <i>Reg.</i>		<i>Sach.</i>		cxliv 8, 11	12
xi 2, 9	3	ii 13	18	cxlvi 3	33
xi 26 f.	18	ii 16	9		
xx 22	28 Anm.	viii 17	12	<i>Prov.</i>	
xxii 27	16	x 6	14	iii 7	10
				vi 3-5	28
2 <i>Reg.</i>		<i>Mal.</i>		vi 14, 19	4
v 11	18	ii 12	23	vi 29	23 Anm.
ix 30	27			vi 32	23
xiii 14	28 Anm.	<i>Ps.</i>		vii 7	16
xiv 10	4	v 9	35	vii 17	18
xv 37	4	xviii 40	35	vii 22	24
xx 12	21	xix 9	30	x 16	23
		xxvii 4	32	xiii 9	30
<i>Jes.</i>		xxvii 11	35	xv 18	4
iii 5	28	xxx 2	30 Anm.	xvi 28	4
iii 22	22			xvii 20	4 Anm.
				xx 3	13
				xxiv 21, 22	33

<i>Prov.</i>		<i>Eccl.</i>		<i>Neb.</i>	
xvii 19	16	ii 14	25	v 6, 7	17
xviii 11	10	viii 1	16		
xviii 25	4	ix 18	20	1 <i>Chr.</i>	
xix 22	4	x 7	33 Anm.	xii 2, 8	20
ix 25	11, 33				
<i>Hi.</i>		<i>Esth.</i>		<i>2 Chr.</i>	
9-10	33 Anm.	ii 9	33 Anm.	xvii 17	20
iii 6	32 Anm.	vii 7	36	xxv 19	4
κ 32	2	ix 11	21	xxx 24	18
x 24	20			xxxv 7-9	18
xxi 21	18	<i>Dan.</i>			
xxix 21	20	i 10	6	<i>Sir.</i>	
		xi 10	4	xii 18	18 Anm.
<i>Tant.</i>		xi 11	5	xxxiii 3	18 Anm.
i 4, 5, 10	28	xi 43	26	xlili 17	18
ii 13	32			xlvi 2	18
				xlvi 4	18 Anm.
<i>Chr.</i>		<i>Esra</i>			
i 17	30	i 8	21		
i 19	22	x 44	29		

II. Ausserhalb der alphabetischen Reihenfolge erwähnte hebr. Wurzeln

אים	28 Anm.	פחד	11
בוא	23	פיד	33
בקר	32	צעף	6
גדל	30	קוה	8
דלל	6	קום	35
חלק	9	רגע	14
חרד	11	רום	2, 18, 30
יחל	8	רוע	28
יקש	8	רפס, רפס	28
כלה	36	שים	27
כפן	22	שמח	2, 15
מלך	33	שבת	13
נגע	36	שוב	14
נטה	3	שלה	4
עוז	9	שיר	35
עכר	28	שכם	32
עקר	14	שקק	20
ערך	20		

LES CHARIOTS D'AMINADAB (Cant. vi 12): ISRAËL, PEUPLE THÉOPHORE

PAR

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D'après A. ROBERT ¹⁾, le verset qui achève le sixième chapitre du *Cantique des Cantiques* en parlant des chariots d'Aminadab est le plus difficile de tout le livre. Personne n'y contredira. Selon D. BUZY, ce passage est à peu près désespérant pour le texte et pour le sens; le nom d'Aminadab, „sonore, talismanique, presque inouï, ne détone pas dans cette orchestration de noms exotiques, pourvoyeurs de poésie pure” ²⁾. R. GORDIS ³⁾ juge le verset complètement incompréhensible dans sa teneur actuelle. E. EHRLICH ⁴⁾ le déclare corrompu sans espoir. La *Bible du Centenaire* ⁵⁾ se contente de points de suspension... Qui est le mystérieux Ammi-nadib dont semble parler le texte hébreu reçu, et de quels chariots s'agit-il? Serait-ce le bien-aimé, héros du *Cantique*, ou le jeune homme pour qui il fut composé, ou encore un célèbre conducteur de chars ⁶⁾, ou même le diable en personne? Cette dernière interprétation est devenue classique chez les auteurs mystiques ⁷⁾.

¹⁾ *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, 2^e éd., 1953, p. 52.

²⁾ *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, 1946, p. 346.

³⁾ *The Song of Songs*, 1954, p. 92. De même H. RINGGREN, *Das Hobe Lied*, 1958, p. 30. Citons aussi la traduction désespérée de P. VULLIAUD (*Le Cantique des Cantiques* d'après la traduction juive, 1925, p. 12): „Mon coeur m'a donné la rapidité des chars de mon noble peuple”.

⁴⁾ *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel*, VII, 1914, p. 15. De même T. J. MEEK, dans *The Interpreter's Bible*, V, 1956, p. 134.

⁵⁾ T. III, 1947, p. 283. C'est un passage “inintelligible”.

⁶⁾ Cf. *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, I, 1895, art. *Aminadab*, col. 483.

⁷⁾ C'est l'opinion de Théodoret de Cyr (début du V^e siècle). Dans son commentaire sur le *Cantique*, il cite *in loc.* les traductions d'Aquila, de Symmaque, de la Quinta; il suit celle de Symmaque (cf. ci-après) et paraphrase: l'âme fidèle est troublée par l'attaque de ceux qui obéissent au diable et deviennent comme ses chars qu'il gouverne; ils sont les chars du prince de ce monde (*P.G.*, LXXXI, col. 181-182). Pour les écrivains mystiques, le char représente la tentation qui emporte l'âme vers le plaisir défendu. Dans la *Nuit obscure* (II, xxiii), S. Jean de la Croix paraphrase ainsi la Vulgate: „Mon âme me trouble à cause des quadriges, c'est-à-dire des chariots et des fracas d'Aminadab, qui est le diable” (cf. P. LUCIEN-MARIE de S. Joseph, *Les Oeuvres Spirituelles du B^e Père Jean de la Croix*, 1949, p.

Déjà les anciens traducteurs se montraient perplexes. La version des LXX comprend ainsi: „Mon âme ne savait pas; elle a fait de moi les chars d'Aminadab". C'est là une traduction très littérale de l'hébreu, à l'exception du verbe initial „je ne savais pas" (selon l'hébreu), et de la transcription du dernier mot, dans l'hébreu *'ammî-nadîb*. La leçon du grec, Aminadab, se retrouve dans la vieille latine, la Vulgate, l'arabe, etc.; elle peut être rapprochée de la leçon *'ammî-nadab*, présentée par vingt mss. hébreux (un *yod* est omis). Notons dès maintenant que dans les récits de la translation de l'arche sous David (1 Sam. vii 1; 2 Sam. vi 3 s.; 1 Chron. xiii 7), le nom hébreu *Abinadab* est transcrit *Aminadab* dans la LXX; ce qui est aussi le cas, chaque fois que l'on a *Abinadab* dans l'hébreu ¹).

D'autres traductions interprètent *'ammî-nadîb* selon son sens obvie; il s'agirait des chariots ou des chars de „mon peuple généreux" ou de „mon peuple prince". Ainsi l'entendent quelques-uns ²). C'était déjà l'interprétation d'Aquila (λαοῦ ἐκουσιαζομένου), de Symmaque et de la Quinta (λαοῦ ἡγουμένου), de la Peschitta („peuple préparé"). Pour certains exégètes, „prince" serait en apposition avec la personne qui parle ³). D'autres, comme Symmaque (ἡπορησέ με ἀπὸ ἀρμάτων. . .) et

634). Il écrit encore dans le *Cantique Spirituel* (str. xl, v. 3; *ibid.*, p. 915): „Le diable ennemi de l'âme Épouse — appelé Aminadab dans l'Écriture Sainte — qui la combattait toujours par son innombrable appareil de tentations et d'embûches, afin qu'elle n'entrât pas en cette forteresse et en cette citadelle de recueillement intérieur dans l'union de l'Ami".

¹) Excepté dans 3 Reg. iv 11, où le cod. Alex. lit Abinadab (cf. Num. x 14, où le cod. Ambros. lit aussi ce nom, au lieu de l'hébreu Amminadab).

²) *Bible du Rabinat* (t. II, 1931, p. 441): „Le désir de mon âme m'avait poussée au beau milieu des chars de mon peuple généreux". — A. CHOURAQUI (*Le Cantique des Cantiques*, 1953, p. 97): „Mon âme m'avait placé aux chars de mon peuple prince". — L. SEGOND (*La Sainte Bible*, 1942, p. 555): „Mon désir m'a rendue semblable aux chars de mon noble peuple", ou bien „m'a poussée parmi les chars des nobles de mon peuple". ROSENMÜLLER (*Scholia in Cant.*, t. IX, vol. 2, 1830, p. 397) remarque que si le mot *nadîb* était un adjectif, non un attribut en phrase nominale, il faudrait un article. Rappelons que les mots *'am* „peuple" et *nadîb* „prince, noble" sont souvent rapprochés (cf. Jud. v. 9; Num. xxi 18; Ps. xlvii 10, cxiii 8; 1 Chron. xxix 9 etc; 2 Chron. xxxv 8; mais Ps. cx 3 est incertain). Le nom Ammi-nadbi fut porté par un roi d'Ammon. Le nom d'Aminadab est bien attesté (Ex. vi 23; Num. i 7, ii 3, vii 12, 17, x 14; Ruth iv 19 s.; 1 Chron. ii 10, vi 7); il est porté en particulier par un lévite, d'après 1 Chron. xv 10 s., lors du transfert de l'arche à Jérusalem. On connaît aussi plusieurs Abinadab: fils de Jessé (1 Sam. xvi 8, xvii 13; 1 Chron. ii 13), fils de Saül (1 Sam. xxxi 2; 1 Chron. viii 33, ix 39; x 2), enfin celui qui reçut l'arche chez lui à Qiriat-Yéarim (1 Sam. vii 1, 2 Sam. vi 3 s.; 1 Chron. xiii 7); le nom d'Abinadab est transcrit Aminadab dans la LXX. Citons pour mémoire 1 Reg. iv 11. Sur ces noms, cf. M. NOTH, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, 1928, n° 19 et 1079.

³) Ainsi *Bible de Crampon* (révisée par J. BONSIRVEN, 1951, p. 758); „Mon

S. Jérôme dans la Vulgate (*Nescivi: anima mea conturbavit me propter quadrigas Aminadab*) ¹⁾, ne dérivent pas le second verbe de *śim* „placer, mettre”, mais de *šmm* „être dévasté, désolé, bouleversé” ²⁾, ce qui suggère pour les chars d'Aminadab une interprétation péjorative, comme celle de Théodoret de Cyr mentionnée plus haut et proposée par quantité d'auteurs spirituels: il s'agirait des tentations diaboliques.

Les exégètes modernes attribuent ce verset difficile tantôt au bien-aimé, tantôt à la bien-aimée. E. RENAN (1860) pensait que l'épouse raconte ici comment elle s'est laissée enlever et traduit ainsi: „Imprudente! Voilà que mon caprice m'a jetée parmi les chars d'une suite de princes”. Il est suivi par ceux qui voient ici un épisode important pour le déroulement de l'action dramatique. Pour J. GUITTON, ce passage serait même la clé pour comprendre la suite: la jeune femme, irritée contre ses frères, se mêle par entraînement irréfléchi à une suite royale jusqu'au palais où le roi la distinguera ³⁾. Si certains adoptent cette hypothèse, d'autres comme K. BUDDE (1923) mettent notre verset sur les lèvres de l'époux; celui-ci transporterait lui-même sa bien-aimée. ROSENMÜLLER paraphrasait: „L'époux ignore comment il est devenu un si ardent coursier” ⁴⁾. Et D. BUZY traduit: „Soudain, mon amour a fait de moi le char d'Aminadab” ⁵⁾. Pour A. ROBERT, l'époux est Yahvé qui, cédant comme inconsciemment à une impulsion spontanée, se met à la tête

amour m'a fait monter sur les chars de mon peuple, en chef”. De même, A. ROBERT (*Bible de Jérusalem*): „Je ne sais pas . . ., mais l'amour m'a jeté sur les chars de mon peuple, en prince!”

¹⁾ Cf. *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam Vulgatam versionem*, xi, *Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum*, 1957, p. 192.

²⁾ C'est aussi l'opinion de G. GIETMAN, dans *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae, Commentarius in Eccl. et Cant.*, 1860, pp. 519-522.

³⁾ G. POUGET et J. GUITTON traduisent: „Je ne sais . . ., mais mon désir m'a fait monter sur le char du prince de mon peuple” (*Le Cantique des Cantiques*, 1934, p. 170). En achevant ces mots, la jeune femme esquisse les premiers pas de la „danse du sabre”. La Sulamite . . . était dans le jardin; les gardes du Roi passent sur leur char. Ils voient cette paysanne belle et un peu naïve; ils lui font signe de monter; elle monte, et les gardes, sûrs de plaire au souverain, l'amènent au harem de Salomon. La jeune femme s'est laissée surprendre; elle n'en reste pas moins ferme de courage et fidèle de coeur (à son époux, le berger). — Interprétation analogue chez A. BUTTE, *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, 1947, pp. 39, 48; l'abbé GESLIN, *L'Amour selon la nature et dans le monde de la grâce*, 1938, p. 22; A. BEA, *Canticum Canticorum*, 1953, p. 53 (l'épouse explique comment elle est arrivée au milieu des choeurs).

⁴⁾ ROSENMÜLLER, *Scholia in Cant.*, t. IX, vol. 2, 1830, p. 397.

⁵⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 346.

de son peuple ¹⁾. De même, J. FISCHER voit là une parole du fiancé ²⁾.

Jugeant le texte irrémédiablement corrompu, plusieurs critiques ont proposé diverses corrections, mais sans grande conviction. K. GALLING, après GRÄTZ, aboutit à la traduction: „Tu m'as rendu timide, fille de mon peuple” ³⁾. P. JOÜON conjecture: „Soudain, mon désir a fait de moi un char pour la fille du noble peuple” ⁴⁾. R. GORDIS, après TUR-SINAI, arrive au résultat suivant: „Je ne me connais pas moi-même (si grande est ma joie); là, tu me donneras ta myrrhe, ô fille d'un noble parent” ⁵⁾. Après A. MILLER ⁶⁾, A. BEA ⁷⁾ lit *'ammê(y)* „parent”, lecture adoptée aussi par V. HAMP ⁸⁾. Celui-ci propose de traduire: „Je ne me connaissais plus moi-même; elle m'a mis sur le somptueux véhicule du cortège princier”. Il rapproche l'expression „fille de prince, dans vii 2, et surtout la description du cortège de noces avec l'époux dans iii 6 s.; en ce dernier passage, on a aussi une interrogation suivie d'une réponse. L'époux aperçoit l'épouse dans le cortège royal de noces; elle fait sur lui une vive impression; attiré par ses charmes, il se dirige vers elle et elle le fait monter à ses côtés. On obtiendrait ainsi un sens cohérent sans altération du texte hébreu et sans conjecture; tout serait dit par l'époux.

En réalité, V. HAMP corrige le texte reçu en lisant *'ammê(y)*; il supplée en outre la préposition *'al*, au moins sous-entendue, avant le substantif „chariots” dont il considère le pluriel comme un pluriel de majesté. N'est-ce point solliciter le texte, surtout pour la construction du verbe *šim* suivi ici, comme souvent ailleurs ⁹⁾, du double accusatif? Littéralement, ne faut-il pas traduire: „(il) ou (elle) a fait de moi les chariots...”? Au début du verset, V. HAMP, comme BUDDE, HALLER, FISCHER, SCHMÖKEL, etc., ne suit pas la ponctuation massorétique et fait de *nafši* „mon âme” le complément du verbe

¹⁾ Dans son introduction au Cantique, p. 18, A. ROBERT verrait au v. 12 une allusion à la mission de Néhémie.

²⁾ *Das Hohelied*, 1950, *in loc.*

³⁾ *Die fünf Megillot*, 1940, pp. 40-41. Cf. aussi V. ZAPLETAL, *Das Hohelied*, 1907, p. 128.

⁴⁾ *Le Cantiques des Cantiques*, 1909, pp. 272-273. Il rapproche, et à bon droit (cf. ci-après) vii 2 où l'épouse est appelée par l'époux „fille de prince”.

⁵⁾ *The Song of Songs*, 1954, p. 92. Cf. RB., 1955, p. 284.

⁶⁾ *Das Hohelied*, 1927, *in loc.*

⁷⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁸⁾ *Bibl. Zeits.*, I, 1957, pp. 207-208. G. RICCIOTTI présente une autre conjecture dans *Il Cantico dei Cantici*, 1928, p. 257.

⁹⁾ Ainsi dans Gen. xxviii 22; Jos. viii 28; 1 Reg. v 23; Is. I 2; Ps. xxxix 9. Mentionnons spécialement Is. lxii 7 (morceau au thème très proche de celui du Cantique): „Dieu érige Jérusalem en gloire sur la terre”.

„je ne connaissais pas”. Ce qui donne un distique très normal de 3+3 accents (Job ix 21 présente la même construction). D’autres préfèrent couper comme la Massore et traduisent au début „à mon insu, soudain, à l’improviste” d’après Job ix 5; Ps. xxxv 8. Le mot *nafšî*, entendu au sens de „mon désir, mon coeur” (cf. i 7, iii 1-4) est alors sujet de *šâmatnî* „m’a mis” ou „a fait de moi”. On traduit alors: „Je ne connaissais pas mon amour; il a fait de moi les chariots d’Ammi-nadib”. La grammaire est satisfaite; car *šîm* peut se construire avec un double accusatif. Mais que signifie cette phrase? Pourquoi le pluriel „les chariots”? Qui est Ammi-nadib? Comment relier ce verset au contexte immédiat? Quelle interprétation lui donner pour l’intégrer au reste du Cantique? Autant de questions laissées jusqu’ici sans réponse, même par les partisans de l’exégèse allégorique. Il nous faut donc revenir encore une fois au texte.

Remarquons d’abord que le v. 12 doit être mis, comme le v. 11, sur les lèvres de la bien-aimée. C’était déjà l’opinion du traducteur alexandrin qui ajoute à la fin du v. 11 la fin de vii 13: „Alors, je te ferai don de mes amours”. De plus, au v. 10, l’époux qui parle depuis le v. 4 fait demander par les femmes du harem royal quelle est celle qui apparaît, si belle, si impressionnante. On s’attend à une réponse et par conséquent à un changement d’interlocuteur. En outre, le choeur interpelle aussitôt la bien-aimée dans vii 1, ce qui est naturel si elle vient de parler. De toute manière, c’est le même personnage qui prononce les v. 11 et 12, car ils débute l’un comme l’autre par des parfaits à la première personne: „Je suis descendu... je n’ai pas connu”.

Au surplus, si le v. 12 parle de chariots et d’un personnage dont le nom offre quelque ressemblance avec celui d’Abinadab (la LXX lit dans les deux cas Aminadab), il est indiqué d’en rapprocher les récits des livres de Samuel qui parlent d’Abinadab et aussi de chariots. Nous apprenons par 1 Sam. vi que l’arche de Yahvé des armées fut transportée sur un chariot neuf depuis le territoire des Philistins jusqu’à Beth Shémesh; là, les fils de Jéchonias qui ne s’étaient pas réjouis de son arrivée virent soixante-dix des leurs frappés par Yahvé. Ensuite, l’arche monta à Qiriath-Yéarim, sur la hauteur, dans la maison d’Abinadab où elle demeura de longues années. Alors le prophète Samuel parla ainsi à Israël: „Si c’est de tout votre coeur que vous revenez à Yahvé, écarter les dieux étrangers du milieu de vous, et les Astartés; fixez votre coeur en Yahvé, ne servez que lui; alors il vous délivrera de la main des Philistins”. Puis est contée la

bataille décisive où les Philistins, pris de panique, car Yahvé tonne à grands fracas, sont battus à plate couture. Après avoir dressé la pierre d'Eben-haezer, Samuel déclare: „C'est jusqu'ici que Yahvé nous a sauvés”. Alors les Philistins ne revinrent plus en Israël, et il y eut paix entre Israël et les Amorites.

Dans le second récit de la translation de l'arche (2 Sam. vi), qui fait suite à 1 Sam. vii (il serait peut-être d'une autre main), David fait charger l'arche de Dieu sur un chariot neuf qui l'emporte depuis la maison d'Abinadab jusqu'au mont Sion. David et toute la maison d'Israël dansaient devant Yahvé de toutes leurs forces. Comme l'arche menaçait de verser, Uzza la retint; alors la colère de Dieu s'enflamma contre lui, et Dieu le frappa sur place, et il mourut là, à côté de l'arche de Dieu. David dansait et tournoyait jusqu'à la cité de Sion d'où Mikal l'aperçut en regardant par la fenêtre.

L'épisode de la translation de l'arche d'alliance à Sion depuis le pays philistin est resté l'un des plus célèbres de toute l'histoire sainte. Il inaugure en effet pour Israël une ère nouvelle où Sion occupe désormais la place centrale en tant que ville sainte et résidence de Yahvé. Alors se resserrent les liens entre Yahvé et son peuple, tandis que le roi de Sion reçoit les promesses messianiques. Le Chroniste insiste beaucoup sur ces événements (1 Chron. xiii, xv-xvi) où David joue un rôle de premier plan. L'auteur du Ps. cxxxii reprend lui aussi, sous une forme quelque peu midrashique¹), ces événements décisifs; Sion devient alors le siège et le lieu de repos de Yahvé, après que les cris de liesse du peuple ont accompagné la translation de l'arche „de la force de Dieu” (v. 8), dont la seule présence terrasse les Philistins.

Dans 1 Sam. vii 3, Samuel exhorte donc tout Israël à „revenir” à Yahvé de tout son coeur. Ce retour est double dans la pensée des prophètes: retour matériel à Sion des exilés et des dispersés, conversion du coeur ou retour spirituel vers Yahvé. Et ce second retour conditionne le premier. Dans le même sens, Jérémie s'écrie par deux fois: „Reviens, reviens” (xxxii 21), à l'adresse de la vierge Israël (cf. déjà 17-18). Dans Cant. vii 1, le quadruple appel „reviens”, lancé par la Shulammitte, peut être un écho renforcé de ces textes et viser les quatre points cardinaux d'où reviendront les exilés (cf. Is. xliii 5-6; Gen. xxviii 14; Ps. cvii 3). Le retour de l'arche à Sion depuis le pays philistin préfigurerait alors le grand retour d'Israël aux temps eschatologi-

¹) Cf. R. BLOCH, *Suppl. au Dict. de la Bible*, VI, art. *Midrash*, col. 1274. Le récit historique, réutilisé, prend alors un sens nouveau eschatologique.

ques ¹⁾. Allons encore plus loin dans ce parallélisme entre le Cantique et les récits de la translation de l'arche. Sion devient alors le „marchepied” de Yahvé; en vertu de l'amour qui l'unit à lui, Sion a accepté de porter le Temple où est présent son Époux divin. Et dès le départ du pays philistin, type de tous les pays païens, Sion porte son Dieu sous le symbole des deux chariots neufs dont parlent les livres de Samuel. Dans cette perspective, il est permis d'appeler Sion le peuple „théophore”, et cela dès le moment où Yahvé des armées se dirige vers Sion. Ce qualificatif reste valable malgré la disparition de l'arche en 586; jusqu'à l'avènement de l'Époux messianique, du nouveau fils de David, la Terre Sainte „épousée de Yahvé” (Is. lxii 4-5), porte son Dieu et demeure le peuple „théophore”.

La suite de cette étude montrera comme il est facile de rendre compte du texte du Cantique, une fois reconnu que le poète a tiré parti du symbole si suggestif des chariots d'Aminadab. Un tel symbolisme n'a rien d'inouï. Ézéchiël, le maître de la symbolique et de l'allégorie bibliques, a longuement décrit le chariot porteur de la Gloire de Yahvé. On peut aussi rappeler la façon dont le terme analogue de „char” fut appliqué à Élie et à Élisée (2 Reg. ii 12, xiii 14). Il est vrai qu'il ne s'agit pas dans Cant. vi 12 de chars de guerre (comme dans i 9), mais de simples chariots de transport ²⁾. Ceux-ci n'en

¹⁾ A. ROBERT a bien dégagé le sens de cet appel répété. On ne saurait séparer les deux aspects, restauration et conversion, ou n'en retenir qu'un seul (cf. A. LEFÈVRE, *Recherches de Sciences Religieuses*, XLII, 1954, p. 133), et il est bon d'insister sur l'importance de Jer. xxxi comme source du Cantique. On peut citer aussi le double appel, lancé par Dieu à la maison d'Israël, dans Ez. xxxiii 11: „Revenez, revenez.” Une addition postexilique à un oracle de Jérémie (iii 6-13) exprime bien cet espoir; malgré la disparition de l'arche, précise le texte, Jérusalem demeure le trône de Yahvé, et là se rassembleront les deux maisons de Juda et d'Israël: „Revenez, fils infidèles (c'est un écho de Jer. xxxi 21-22) . . . ! Quand vous aurez multiplié et fructifié dans le pays, . . . on ne dira plus: „Où est l'arche d'alliance de Yahvé?”, on n'y pensera plus, on ne s'en souviendra plus, on ne la regrettera plus, on n'en construira plus d'autre (cf. cependant 2 Mac. ii 5 ss.). A cette époque, on appellera Jérusalem le trône de Yahvé; là, au nom de Yahvé se rassembleront toutes les nations . . . En ces jours, la Maison de Juda marchera d'accord avec la maison d'Israël; ensemble elles viendront du pays du Nord sur la terre que j'ai donnée en héritage à vos pères (cf. Zach. ii 10, vi 8)”. — Nous retrouvons ici les thèmes du Cantique, exprimés en clair.

²⁾ Le P. A. TAOUSSI (*Le Cantique des Cantiques de Salomon*, Abbeville, 1919 p. 65) était sur la bonne voie quand il paraphrasait: „Le désir de mon âme me fait considérer comme étant le char royal sur lequel siège mon divin époux”. Mais il ne s'agit pas ici de char (*rekeb*) royal. 1 Sam. vi 7 et 2 Sam. vi 3 ne parlent que de chariots, en précisant toutefois qu'ils sont „neufs”; ce qui veut dire qu'ils sont strictement réservés au seul usage de Yahvé des armées. En pressant l'allégorie, on serait tenté d'évoquer ici l'Israël nouveau de la nouvelle alliance.

demeurent pas moins redoutables, car ils portent le Dieu des armées. Aussi provoquent-ils la mort de soixante-dix hommes et ensuite la mort d'Uzza. Nous comprenons ainsi comment le poète joint à l'évocation de la beauté de l'épouse celle de sa puissance, terrible comme des bataillons (vi 10)¹⁾, car sur elle repose le Tout-Puissant. Cette force qui lui vient de cette présence divine est encore suggérée dans Cant. iv 4, où le cou de l'épouse est comparé à la tour de David; celle-ci est construite de rangées de pierre²⁾ dont les bossages ressemblent aux boucliers bombés des hommes de guerre ou aux petits disques et pièces de monnaie enfilés au collier des jeunes mariées.

Quant à l'éclatante beauté de l'épouse, elle se trouve préfigurée par la splendeur des règnes de David et de Salomon. Cette interprétation allégorisante est amplement justifiée si l'on se réfère au Chroniste; celui-ci entend décrire le royaume eschatologique en racontant l'histoire, idéalisée, du royaume et de la communauté davidiques. La parfaite beauté de la fille Sion, aux temps eschatolo-

Dans une lettre de Mari (G. DOSSIN, *Correspondance de Šamši-Addu, Archives royales de Mari*, I, 1950, n° 50, ligne 14), le roi demande que les chars et les accessoires de la caisse (du char) soient remis à neuf pour la grande fête de l'*akitu* (jour de l'an), où l'on promenait en procession les statues des dieux. Deux documents parlent de la fête du chariot de Nergal que l'on transportait lui aussi (cf. J. BORTÉRO, *Textes économiques et administratifs, Archives royales de Mari*, VII, 1957, p. 198).

¹⁾ Cette traduction semble la plus probable. On a pensé à des aurores boréales ou à des comètes (cf. S. T. BYINGTON, *JBL*, XXXIV, 1920, p. 82). De fait, Mr. l'abbé MILIK me signale que dans une partie d'*Hénoch* araméen, découverte à Qumran (4 Q), *dglyn* désigne les constellations et s'applique donc, comme *sābā*², aux rangées des astres. On sait que les parties astronomiques d'*Hénoch* pourraient remonter au III^e siècle, ce qui nous rapproche du temps de composition du Cantique (époque des Chroniques). On a voulu corriger *nidgālôt* en *nirgālôt*; il s'agirait du dieu chthonien Nergal. Mais le verbe *dgl* est déjà attesté dans v 10 („mon bien-aimé se distingue entre dix-mille”). ii 4 parle de la „bannière” de l'amour, son signe distinctif. Au début des Nombres, *degel* désigne les étendards des tribus et par extension les troupes rassemblées autour d'eux. Ce dernier sens est attesté quinze fois dans la *Règle de la Guerre* à Qumran, comme déjà à Éléphantine (unité à laquelle appartient un soldat); selon la *Règle*, ix 4, le mot désigne un effectif de 4.000 hommes (cf. J. CARMIGNAC, *La Règle de la Guerre*, 1958, p. 20).

²⁾ *talpiôt* dérive de *lfb* „ranger”, verbe araméen. Il ne s'agit pas de rangées de boucliers ronds suspendus aux murs de la tour; on a là une image évoquant l'aspect de la maçonnerie de la tour. B. S. J. ISSERLIN (*Palest. Explor. Quart.*, jan.-juin 1958, pp. 59-60 et planche vi) rapproche le collier multiple de la statue d'Arso à Chypre, qui daterait du VI^e siècle. La „tour” en question ne peut être identifiée avec l'actuelle tour de David, située sur l'emplacement de l'ancienne tour de l'angle ou des fours, et devenue sous Hérode la tour Hippicus. Notons que v 7 parle de „remparts”, et vii 5, de tour d'ivoire. Comme l'écrit A. ROBERT (*op. cit.*, p. 18), ces mentions de murs et de tours se comprennent mieux après la restauration de Jérusalem par Néhémie (cf. aussi Ps. xlviii 13-14). Mentionnons aussi les «canaux» de iv 13 (cf. Is. viii 6; Neh. iii 15).

giques, est souvent célébrée à partir de l'exil (cf. Lam. ii 15; Ps. xlviii 3, 1 2). Citons par exemple la description de l'avenir glorieux de Sion tel que l'entrevoit un scribe écrivant après la restauration de Jérusalem par Néhémie: „Tes yeux *contempleront* un roi dans sa beauté... *contemple* Sion, la cité de nos fêtes, tes yeux verront Jérusalem comme une résidence sûre (les murs viennent d'être rebâtis!)... C'est là que Yahvé est magnifique pour nous" ¹). Les psalmistes célèbrent à l'envi la Sion restaurée, toute belle et invincible (Ps. xlv, xlviii, lxxxi). Ainsi, dans Cant. vi 10, tout le monde s'extasie devant la beauté de la Shulammite, qui ressemble au soleil et à la lune (cf. Gen. xxxvii 9; Apoc. xii 1); on la *contemple* (même verbe que dans Is. xxxiii), dansant joyeusement et si belle ²). Déjà Jer. xxxi 4 (chapitre déjà cité) annonce que la vierge Israël paraîtra ornée de ses tambourins et sortira en dansant joyeusement (cf. v. 13), comme pour accueillir à nouveau l'arche. L'auteur du Cantique se souvient, lui aussi, de la danse du peuple accompagnant la translation de l'arche à Sion et l'évoque dans vii 1: „Que *contemplez*-vous dans la Shulam-mite, comme la danse de Mahanaïm?"

Que signifient ces derniers mots? Beaucoup de critiques ne voient ici qu'une allusion à la danse du sabre, pratiquée en Syrie, au Hauran, par la nouvelle épouse le soir de ses noces. Mais ceci n'explique pas la mention du duel *Mahanaïm*, c'est-à-dire „les deux camps". Avec A. ROBERT, il est raisonnable de penser que le poète se réfère ici à l'histoire de Jacob (Gen. xxxii). Au lieu où il rencontre les anges de Dieu, Jacob donne le nom de Mahanaïm; plus loin, nous le voyons diviser ses gens en „deux camps" (v. 8); ensuite a lieu le combat mystérieux après lequel Jacob est appelé Israël. Un tel récit pouvait facilement être interprété par les scribes comme une annonce anticipée de la division du peuple d'Israël en deux fractions. Séparé en deux par le schisme, le peuple élu retrouvera son unité aux jours messianiques, quand seront „revenus" à Sion les dispersés des deux royaumes de Juda et de Samarie. Nous retrouvons ici Jer. xxxi qui parle plusieurs fois d'Ephraïm (vv. 6, 9, 18, 20) et annonce que Yahvé redeviendra le Dieu de *tous* les clans d'Israël (v. 1). C'est là d'ailleurs un *Leitmotiv* continuel dans les écrits postexiliques; ainsi dans le Ps. lxxx dont le refrain reprend Jer. xxxi 18. Il est possible que la

¹ Is. xxxiii 17, 20, 21. La péricope offre des contacts très étroits avec les Ps. xlv et xlviii, sans parler du Ps. xlv (le v. 3 parle de la „beauté" du roi, comme Is. xxxiii 17). Tous ces textes se placent au mieux après la restauration de Néhémie.

² Cf. vi 4, 10, vii 2, 7. Déjà i 5, 8, 15, ii 10, 13, iv 1, vi, 1.

double mention de Tirsa et de Jérusalem dans Cant. vi 4, évoque elle aussi la division du peuple élu en deux fractions (cf. Zach. ix 10). Réalisée sous les règnes de David et de Salomon, l'unité du peuple est annoncée comme l'un des bienfaits majeurs qu'apportera l'avènement du Roi-Messie. Au surplus, on peut se demander si la mention dans les livres de Samuel des deux chariots neufs auxquels fait allusion le verset qui nous occupe, ne se réfère pas de façon voilée, pour l'auteur du Cantique, à l'Israël coupé en deux tronçons, mais qui retrouvera son unité en montant à Sion près de son Dieu.

L'intention allégorisante du poète se manifeste clairement dans le choix qu'il fait des deux noms, *Shulammite* et *Aminadib*. Le premier nom, en effet, est calqué sur celui que porta la belle Abishag, originaire de Shunem¹); cette jeune fille renommée pour sa beauté passa des mains de David à celles de Salomon; elle forme entre eux comme une sorte de trait d'union. Dans le Cantique, la *shunammite* devient la *shulammite*²), c'est-à-dire celle qui a la paix, *shalôm*; elle porte ainsi le nom de Salomon, le bien-aimé de Yahvé (cf. 2 Sam. xii 25) et aussi son bien-aimé. Elle n'est autre que la vierge Israël rassemblée des quatre coins du monde, rétablie dans son unité et sa beauté premières, convertie à Yahvé. C'est la „terre épousée” de Yahvé. Tout le monde la contemple, dansant joyeusement en „deux camps” à Jérusalem, la ville de „paix” (cf. Ps. lxxvi 3, cxxii 6) où règnera le nouveau Salomon, le roi „pacifique” (cf. Ps. lxxii 3; Zach. ix 10). Rappelons-nous 1 Sam. vii 13-14, cité plus haut, où il est dit qu'il y eut „paix” en Israël après la grande victoire sur les Philistins, une fois l'arche transférée dans la maison d'Abinadab. A la fin des temps, le nouveau Salomon s'unira à Israël, la shulammite, comme l'homme, *'ish* s'unit à la *'ishshâ*³). Le parallélisme des noms ne peut être plus expressif; le thème rejoint exactement Jer. xxxi 22 (chapitre déjà cité): „La Femme recherche son Mari”. Israël finira par trouver celui qu'elle cherche et attend anxieusement (cf. Zach. ix 9); elle prendra alors le nom même de son Époux⁴).

Dans une telle perspective, Cant. vi 11 s'explique sans difficulté.

¹) Cf. 1 Reg. i 3-4, 13; ii 17, 21; 2 Reg. iv 12, 25, 36.

²) Une seule lettre est changée; l'article demeure. On peut comparer le couple Israël-Ieshurun (cf. RB, 1958, p. 189), et rapprocher le nom Shelomit (cf. M. NOTH, *Die israelitischen Personennamen* . . ., 1928, p. 165).

³) Gen. ii 23 (cf. A. FEUILLET, *Le Cantique* . . ., pp. 103, 143). Le poète reprend un peu plus loin, dans vii 11, Gen. iii 16.

⁴) Déjà le second Isaïe avait annoncé ce changement de nom (Is. xlv 5). Repris après l'exil par Is. lxii 2, le thème reparaitra dans Apoc. xiii 16.

„Au jardin des noyers je suis descendu pour voir les jeunes pousses de la vallée, pour voir si la vigne bourgeonne, si les grenadiers fleurissent”. Comme dans ii 1 s., le poète dépeint sous les symboles du printemps l’aurore tant désirée des temps messianiques qui rendront à Israël avec la beauté et l’unité, la puissance et la paix. Les mêmes images sont encore utilisées dans vii 13: après la nuit, le matin apportera la fin des épreuves; l’épouse et l’époux verront „si la vigne bourgeonne, si les pampres fleurissent, si les grenadiers sont en fleurs”. Alors sera consommée la nouvelle et définitive alliance (Jer. xxxi 31 s.), l’alliance de paix (Jer. xxix 11; Is. liv 10; Ez. xxxiv 25), entre Yahvé et son peuple.

L’intention allégorisante du poète se révèle aussi dans la légère retouche qu’il fait subir au nom d’Abinadab, devenu Amminadib. Comme pour le changement de *shunammite* en *shulammite*, il s’agit simplement d’un changement de lettres. Dans les deux cas, on aboutit à un nom nouveau, inédit et très significatif: „la pacifiée”, „mon peuple est noble ou généreux”¹⁾. Précisément, deux versets plus loin, le poète fait débiter l’éloge de l’épouse par une phrase où l’époux l’appelle „fille de noble”. Il est clair que le rapprochement est intentionnel. Pour un scribe familier avec le livre d’Ézéchiel et ses allégories nuptiales, l’allusion est limpide. Le prophète de Tel Aviv fait dire à Yahvé, parlant à son épouse: „Toi, tu devins de plus en plus belle, et tu parvins à la royauté. Tu fus renommée parmi les nations pour ta beauté, car elle était parfaite”²⁾. Les premiers interprètes du Cantique ne s’y sont pas trompés; ce n’est pas sans raison que le traducteur alexandrin a identifié le nom d’Amminadib et celui d’Abinadab. Mais que signifient cette noblesse, cette générosité d’Israël?

¹⁾ Voir plus haut les diverses interprétations proposées pour ce nom. La signification des noms propres a une importance primordiale dans la mentalité biblique et suscite maint commentaire. Le nom est un substitut de la personnalité; il en exprime le caractère et la destinée. Rappelons la curieuse liste de noms de chantres dans 1 Chron. xxv 4; elle équivaut à une prière.

²⁾ Cf. Ez. xvi 13; Ps. l 3. Noter que jamais, Israël, en tant qu’épouse de Yahvé ou plus précisément de son lieutenant, le Roi-Messie, n’est appelée „reine”. Les distances sont ainsi maintenues entre l’homme et le monde divin. Ps. xlv 10 parle de *šegal* et de „fille de roi” (vv. 10, 14). Le mot *šegal* apparaît seulement dans des passages tardifs: Neh. ii 6; Dan. v 2 s., 23; des inscriptions palmyréniennes (cf. A. CAQUOT, *Semitica*, IV, 1951-52, pp. 55-58). Rien n’oblige à restituer ce mot dans Jud. v 30, à la place de *šalal*; ce dernier mot semble avoir été répété trois fois indûment dans le verset. Comme *šegal* désigne dans Neh. ii 6 et Dan. v une princesse étrangère, il pourrait aussi évoquer dans Ps. xlv 10 l’origine païenne d’Israël (Ez. xvi 3; Jos. xxiv 2).

Il faut ici faire appel au contexte historique et religieux du Cantique. Les témoignages sont nombreux, après l'exil, des infidélités et des apostasies dans les rangs des Juifs regroupés dans la province de Judée ¹⁾. Le petit cercle des prêtres, des lévites et des scribes doit lutter sans cesse pour défendre la pureté de la foi et soutenir les courages vacillants. Païens et samaritains humilient et tourmentent de toutes manières la petite communauté serrée autour du second Temple, si modestement rebâti et privé de la présence de l'arche. „L'âme juive au temps des Perses” (TOUZARD) a connu bien des tiédeurs, bien des laideurs. Elle a souvent mis en veilleuse son attente messianique, sa foi dans les promesses, sa fidélité aux ordres divins. Elle n'est pas encore pleinement „éveillée”, pleinement consciente de sa mission universelle vis-à-vis du monde païen et surtout des exigences de l'alliance avec Yahvé. L'un des *Leitmotive* du Cantique est précisément ce „sommeil” qui précède le grand réveil eschatologique, l'aurore des temps messianiques ²⁾. C'est sans doute le même comportement qui se trouve évoqué dans vi 12, quand l'épouse déclare: „Je ne connaissais pas mon amour, mon désir”. Elle veut dire qu'elle n'a pas encore pleine conscience de son inclination vers son Bien-aimé, quand bien même elle cherche déjà à discerner les signes avant-coureurs du printemps, l'approche des temps messianiques ³⁾. Mais cet amour, si inconscient soit-il, a fait d'Israël, en vertu de l'alliance et de la présence divine en Sion, le peuple „théophore”, un peuple noble aux origines royales, „royaume de prêtres, nation consacrée” (Ex. xix 6), appelé à bénéficier d'une alliance éternelle avec son Dieu.

¹⁾ La fin du livre d'Isaïe (environs de 500), Malachie (vers 450), Néhémie et Esdras, de nombreux psaumes composent un tableau très sombre de la situation religieuse en Juda durant l'époque perse.

²⁾ ii 7, iii 2, v 2, vii 10, viii 4. On serait tenté d'en rapprocher Jér. xxxi 26; mais le passage est difficile à interpréter; on y a vu une citation de chanson populaire ou une addition d'un lecteur désabusé, jugeant la perspective séduisante, mais irréalisable (cf. A. FEUILLET, *Le Cantique* . . ., p. 105). De toute manière, il y est question de sommeil et de réveil, et le chapitre xxxi offre des contacts importants avec le Cantique.

³⁾ Le même image du printemps se retrouve dans Is. lxi 11, dans un contexte analogue de noces eschatologiques. Is. lxii 2 parle même de nom nouveau „On t'appellera Ma plaisance, et ta terre Epousée, car tu plais à Yahvé, et ta terre aura un époux”. C'est là un texte capital pour l'interprétation du Cantique; la suite parle de la joie de Dieu à l'endroit de son épouse, des gardes sur les murs de Jérusalem, de l'érection de Jérusalem en Gloire au milieu de la terre. L'auteur du Cantique a repris ces thèmes; lui aussi donne un nom nouveau, shulammite, à la Terre sainte. Notons que Yahvé est bien appelé ici l'époux d'Israël.

Nous sommes ici en pleine ambiance deutéronomique, pénétrée de la prédication prophétique. Il faut aimer Dieu de tout son coeur, de toute son âme ¹⁾. Cet amour, Israël ne doit jamais l'oublier; il est gravé sur son coeur et comme scellé sur son bras ²⁾; s'il est encore loin d'être parfait et conscient, il doit s'épanouir lors de l'avènement de Roi-Messie, dans une union totale et définitive. Qu'il soit assoupi chez beaucoup n'y fait rien; Israël continue à être la „terre épousée” par Dieu, son séjour de prédilection, son piédestal, son trône, son chariot. . . Dès le début, le Cantique met bien en relief la loi de l'amour de Dieu: „Qu'on a raison de t'aimer” (i 7; cf. iii 1-4). Le thème central du Cantique n'est donc pas tant, comme on l'a dit, l'amour de Dieu pour Israël ³⁾ que l'amour d'Israël pour son Dieu.

Cet amour doit se manifester par un engagement volontaire. On sait combien le Chroniste insiste tout au long de son oeuvre sur le caractère spontané et généreux de cet engagement au service de Dieu. Il multiplie les expressions où rentre la racine *nadab* ⁴⁾, spécialement à l'*hitpaël* (dix fois!). 1 Chron. xxix peut servir de commentaire au nom nouveau Amminadib forgé par l'auteur du Cantique. Il y est dit que les chefs s'engagent, à la demande du roi David et à son exemple, à donner au service de Dieu de grands trésors (v. 5-6). Le Chroniste ajoute: „Le peuple se réjouit de ce qu'ils s'étaient engagés, car c'est d'un coeur sans partage (*shâlêm*) qu'ils s'étaient engagés envers Yahvé; le roi David lui-même en conçut une grande

¹⁾ Cette formule deutéronomique figure dans 1 Sam. vii 3: Samuel dit à Israël: „Revenez à Yahvé de tout votre coeur”. On sait que la composition définitive des livres de Samuel „date de l'époque où les livres historiques, de Josué aux Rois, reçurent leur forme dernière, influencée par les idées du Deutéronome, c'est-à-dire très peu avant l'Exil ou pendant celui-ci” (R. DE VAUX, *Les livres de Samuel*, p. 12). Le Cantique, comme la plupart des écrits postexiliques, y compris les Mémoires de Néhémie, est tout pénétré des thèmes deutéronomiques, comme l'a bien montré C. WIÉNER (*Recherches sur l'amour pour Dieu dans l'A.T.*, 1957, pp. 41, 54; cf. aussi A. FEUILLET, *Le Cantique* . . . , p. 85).

²⁾ Cf. Cant. viii 6 qui reprend Deut. vi 6, 8, xi 18; cf. Is. xlv 5.

³⁾ Cf. J.-P. AUDET, *RB*, 1955, p. 210: „A lire le Cantique comme une allégorie de l'amour de Yahvé pour son peuple, on a bien l'impression que c'est le thème apparent qui conduit tout” (cf. aussi pp. 208-209). Mais cet amour de Yahvé ne peut être en question; il est indestructible et éternel (cf. Jer. xxxi 3). Ce qui est en question, c'est l'amour d'Israël, encore en sommeil, pour son Dieu, et plus précisément pour son lieutenant, le Roi-Messie attendu. Comme l'écrit A. LEFÈVRE (*Recherches de Sciences Religieuses*, XLII, 1954, p. 133); „L'amour de l'épouse avec ses hésitations et ses reprises décrit les étapes de la conversion d'Israël, en attendant le salut final qui sera l'oeuvre de Yahvé”.

⁴⁾ 1 Chron. xxviii 21; 2 Chron. xvii 16, xxix 31, xxxi 14, xxxv 8, Esd. i 46, ii 68, iii 5, viii 28; Neh. xi 2.

joie" (v. 9). Dans sa bénédiction, David déclare: „Qui suis-je et qu'est-ce que *mon peuple* (*'ammî*) pour avoir les moyens suffisants pour nous *engager* (*hitnaddêb*) ainsi?" (v. 14). Et il poursuit: „C'est d'un coeur droit que j'ai *engagé* tout cela, et à cette heure, j'ai vu avec joie ton *peuple*, ici présent, *s'engager* avec toi. Yahvé, Dieu d'Abraham, d'Isaac et d'Israël nos pères, garde à jamais cela, formes-en les dispositions de coeur de ton *peuple*, et oriente vers toi leurs coeurs" (v. 17-18). Nous retrouvons ici, clairement exprimés, les thèmes fondamentaux du Cantique, et spécialement ceux qu'évoque le nom inédit d'Amminadib. Comme l'écrit H. CAZELLES¹⁾, la prière de David insiste sur l'engagement personnel et les dispositions personnelles nécessaires pour entrer dans l'alliance davidique. Ézéchiël (xviii) avait profondément marqué l'importance de ce caractère de la nouvelle alliance par rapport à celle de Moïse. Cette alliance parfaite requiert des dispositions parfaites (*shâlêm*), qui seront celles de la Shulammite envers le Dieu des pères.

C'est donc sans grande difficulté que l'interprétation allégorisante rend compte du passage au premier abord si énigmatique qui parle des chariots d'Amminadib, de la Shulammite et de sa danse de Mahanaïm. Dieu a choisi Israël comme unique „épouse"; reines et concubines — les nations païennes (cf. Ps. xlv 10, 15) — s'extasient devant la beauté de cette épouse et la complimentent en la voyant surgir²⁾ comme l'aurore, splendide comme le soleil et la lune, terrible comme une armée. Interpellée, Israël répond qu'en effet elle vient attendre les signes des temps messianiques; malgré son amour encore imparfait, mais sincère, c'est sur elle que Dieu repose, comme jadis l'arche sur les deux chariots. Elle a quitté la Philistie, à savoir le paganisme, et se dirige vers le mont Sion où elle trouvera la paix complète et l'intimité de son Époux, comme jadis la belle Shunam-

¹⁾ *Les livres des Chroniques*, 1954, p. 126.

²⁾ Littéralement „regardant, penchée d'en haut". La même forme verbale est appliquée à Mikal, apercevant David qui danse devant l'arche (2 Sam. vi 16; 1 Chron. xv 29); elle se dit aussi de montagnes (Num. xxi 20, xxiii 28). Peut-être avons-nous là une réminiscence chez l'auteur du Cantique. Notons aussi que la maison d'Abinadab où séjourna l'arche était située sur la „hauteur" (1 Sam. vii 1; 2 Sam. vi 3), et que l'arche fut emmenée par le chariot sur la hauteur de Sion; la présence divine fait de cette humble colline la montagne par excellence (cf. Ez. xl 2 s.; Ps. xlviii 3, lxxviii 17). On peut rapprocher du v. 10 le début d'Is. lx: „Debout! rayonne, car voici ta lumière, et sur toi se lève la gloire de Yahvé...; au-dessus de toi se lève Yahvé, et sa gloire apparaît au-dessus de toi; les nations marchent vers ta lumière, et les rois vers ta clarté naissante (c'est l'aurore du v. 10)". Au v. 20, Yahvé dit à Sion: „Ton soleil... ta lune..." C'est l'ambiance de Cant. vi.

mite après des rois David et Salomon, figures et ancêtres du Roi-Messie. Déjà son Époux la voit tressaillir de joie dans l'unité retrouvée des deux fractions du peuple, et danser comme lors du transfert de l'arche, au temps du royaume davidique unifié. Son éclatante beauté est alors manifeste à tous les regards. Dans cette perspective, la description géographique de l'épouse n'est plus déconcertante¹); elle précise bien au contraire ce qu'on pourra contempler dans la Shulammitte²). Ézéchiél (xx 6, 15; cf. Dan. xi 16, 41, 45) n'appelle-t-il pas la Terre sainte le „joyau” de tous les pays? Dans Mal. iii 12, il est dit qu'elle sera une terre de délices; Is. li 3 annonce que Dieu fera de Sion un paradis.

Ainsi donc, en retouchant légèrement les deux noms connus d'Abinadab et de Shunammite pour les appliquer en un sens nouveau à Israël, le poète nous révèle son dessein allégorisant et rend transparentes les allusions aux livres de Samuel et des Rois. C'est donc à tort qu'E. TOBAC ne voyait dans le Cantique aucun indice faisant penser que ces chants d'amour ont une autre portée que leur signification naturelle et immédiate³). Il n'y a pas lieu de supposer que l'allégorie est ici tacite⁴); bien au contraire, elle se présente avec un luxe de mots inédits et d'expressions suggestives renvoyant à des passages célèbres des livres historiques ou prophétiques (cf. Jer. xxxi; Ez. xvii; Is. lx, lxii). Nommé dès le titre du Cantique, Salomon est appelé le „roi” (i 4, 12, iii 7-11) et entouré de „reines” (vi 8; cf. 1 Reg. xi 3) dont l'une est par excellence „fille de prince”, la toute belle Shu(n,l)ammite. Le psautier nous fournit ici des parallèles, car le Ps. xlv⁵) semble développer le même thème, tandis que le Ps. lxxii évoque le règne messianique attendu comme une parfaite réédition du règne de Salomon; son titre „de Salomon, pas plus que celui du Cantique, ne garantit une lecture „sapientielle”⁶); tout au

¹) Cf. A. ROBERT, *Mélanges Podechard*, 1945, pp. 211-233. On peut discuter tel ou tel détail, se demander par exemple, avec A. LEFÈVRE, s'il s'agit du palais ou du temple de Salomon. Il faut surtout tenir grand compte de la fantaisie poétique et ne jamais forcer l'allégorie.

²) A. FEUILLET a bien montré la cohérence du contexte (*Le Cantique* ..., p. 111).

³) Opinion citée par J.-P. AUDET dans *RB*, 1955, p. 199.

⁴) *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁵) Cf. *RB*, 1956, p. 173. Ce psaume peut provenir des mêmes milieux littéraires que le Cantique, les cercles lévétiques de Jérusalem. Nous sommes dans l'ambiance de Zach. ix 9 (fin du IV^e siècle). On sait que les espoirs messianiques connurent un regain très vif après l'écroulement du colosse perse, lors des conquêtes d'Alexandre. Le Chroniste en témoigne.

⁶) Comme le propose J.-P. AUDET, *art. cit.*, p. 202 s.

contraire, il suggère une lecture „messianique”, appuyée d'ailleurs par les contacts nombreux — et sans autre exemple — avec la seconde partie de Zacharie qui date de la fin du IV^e siècle. Les scribes de cette époque usaient du langage figuré et des procédés symboliques du *maschal* pour évoquer de manière transparente l'âge d'or de la nation israélite, gage certain et préfiguration de l'ère messianique qui dépassera infiniment toutes les splendeurs passées. A la même époque, le Chroniste développera le rôle dévolu à Salomon, considéré par lui comme le type du Messie ¹⁾.

On a relevé depuis longtemps des attaches littéraires précises entre le Cantique et la première partie des Proverbes ²⁾. Ces deux écrits proviennent des mêmes milieux d'érudits et de croyants, prêtres, lévites, scribes, défenseurs officiels du yahvisme, éducateurs de la jeunesse, guides spirituels de la communauté. Faut-il en conclure que le Cantique, comme Prov. i-ix, traite seulement des relations nuptiales entre homme et femme et de l'institution sacrée du mariage? Il ne serait alors qu'un chant ou un recueil de chants, lié de quelque façon aux cérémonies des noces ³⁾. Les ressemblances ne doivent cependant pas faire négliger les différences, et elles sont notables. Signalons l'une des plus importantes. Prov. i-ix ne contient aucun nom géographique (sauf „Égypte”, vii 16, détail secondaire). Au contraire, l'abondance des noms géographiques et toponymiques est surprenante dans le Cantique. Citons: Jérusalem (i 5, ii 7, iii 5, v 8, vi 4); Sion (iii 11); la tour de David (iv 4); Tirsas (vi 4); En-gaddi (i 14); Saron (ii 1); le Carmel (vii 6); Heshbon et Bath-Rabbim (vii 5);

¹⁾ Cf. A. ROBERT, *Suppl. au Dict. de la Bible*, IV, col. 16-17; E. COTHENET, *ibid.*, VI, col. 302.

²⁾ Il s'agit de i-ix, recueil daté généralement de la première moitié du V^e siècle, ainsi que l'épilogue xxxi. Les contacts sont en effet nombreux et étroits entre ce recueil et le Cantique (cf. J.-P. AUDET, *art. cit.*, pp. 217-218; A.-M. DUBARLE, *RB*, 1954, p. 79). Citons: Cant. iv 3, cf. Prov. vi 9 et xxxi 28; Cant. v 12-15, cf. Prov. v 15-19; Cant. iv 11, cf. Prov. v 3; Cant. iv 14, cf. Prov. vii 17; Cant. vii 8 cf. Prov. v 19; Cant. viii 7, cf. Prov. vi 31. Pour J.-P. AUDET, le Cantique serait une source de Prov. i-ix. N'est-il pas plus naturel de supposer que le texte le plus clair et le plus développé est antérieur au texte allusif; d'ailleurs, pour la langue, Prov. rejoint Job, tandis que Cant. rejoint Qohéleth.

³⁾ C'est la thèse défendue par J.-P. AUDET. Il invoque Os. ii 17: „Là, elle répondra comme aux jours de sa jeunesse” (*art. cit.*, p. 212). Il s'agirait de chants nuptiaux alternés. Mais, au v. 16, Dieu annonce qu'il conduira Israël au désert et qu'il lui „parlera au coeur”. C'est à cette „parole” divine qu'Israël donnera une réponse, comme jadis lors de la conclusion de l'alliance sinaïtique. Il n'est pas question ici de chants nuptiaux. Quant à la mention par Jérémie de la voix du fiancé et de la voix de la fiancée, elle n'implique pas non plus des chants alternés pour la célébration des noces (*art. cit.*, p. 214).

Galaad (iv 1, vi 5); Cédar et Salmah (i 5); Damas (vii 5); Tarsis (v 14); Liban (iii 9, iv 11, v 15, vii 5), avec l'Amana, le Sanir et l'Hermon (iv 8). D'autres noms pourraient être seulement suggérés, comme par exemple le mont Moriah (iv 6), si l'on accepte l'explication de A. ROBERT. Dans l'hypothèse de la lecture „sapientielle”, ou de chants liés à la célébration des noces, on se demande ce que viennent faire tous ces noms de lieu, alors qu'ils sont tout-à-fait en situation (comme Mahanaïm) si le poète entend parler de la Terre sainte, épouse du Roi-Messie. A vrai dire, son oeuvre ne rentre dans aucune catégorie littéraire définie; il faut nous défier d'étiquettes trop commodes; notre logique occidentale et notre goût de la clarté ne s'accroissent guère de ces fantaisies, pourtant traditionnelles, si l'on songe au traitement subi par les noms propres et aux interprétations qui leur ont été données dans maint écrit biblique (le cas du livre de Judith serait ici à citer). Il faut aussi maintenir, et c'est le bénéfice appréciable d'études comme celles des Pères A.-M. DUBARLE et J.-P. AUDET, que le Cantique comporte dans sa teneur réaliste un enseignement psychologique et moral voulu par l'auteur inspiré et qui est parole de Dieu ¹⁾. Ce point de vue ne s'oppose pas à l'explication allégorisante et messianique, par référence aux écrits antérieurs (Pentateuque, livres historiques et prophétiques); une telle explication, attestée au moins depuis le premier siècle après J.C. ²⁾ a pu dépasser les limites permises; elle n'est pas aussi ahurissante

¹⁾ Cf. A. LEFÈVRE, *Recherches de Sciences Religieuses*, 1954, p. 133. H. H. ROWLEY (*The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays*, 1952, p. 234) pense aussi que dans le Cantique est affirmé le caractère essentiellement sacré de l'amour humain. A. GELIN (*L'âme d'Israël dans le Livre*, 1958, p. 26) rattache les poèmes du Cantique à la tradition sapientiale: „Ils chantent les amours humains, quel que soit le sens allégorique dont plus tard les rabbins les aient enrichis”. Mais on ne saurait opposer lecture sapientiale à lecture biblique allégorisante. Sagesse et lyrisme sont intimement liés chez les *moshelim*; les mêmes auteurs, prêtres et lévites de Jérusalem, composent proverbes, hymnes, allégories, discours parénétiques. Les Psaumes montrent comment tous ces genres littéraires, distingués par la critique moderne, se rejoignent pour exprimer dans le style et la mentalité de l'époque la doctrine yahviste traditionnelle. Il n'est pas étonnant que les additions au Cantique aient un caractère sapientiel près accusé; tout *maschal* n'appelle-t-il pas un commentaire?

²⁾ Le témoignage de rabbi Aqiba est célèbre. 4 Esdras v 24-26 appelle Israël „colombe, lys et jardin” (cf. L. GRY, *Les dires prophétiques d'Esdras*, I, 1938, pp. 65-67; A. FEUILLET, *Recherches de Sciences Religieuses*, 1958, p. 535). On rapproche aussi Apoc. iii 20 de Cant. v 2. Le targum et les écrits rabbiniques sont unanimes pour l'allégorie; l'ancienne version latine mentionne le Christ et l'Église au lieu de l'Époux et l'Épouse, rubriques des LXX (mss. A et S). Sur les interprétations du Cantique, voir l'excellent chapitre de H. H. ROWLEY dans *The Servant of the Lord*, 1952, pp. 189-234.

qu'on l'a prétendu ¹⁾, bien qu'elle se doive garder des excès qui la compromettent. Plusieurs exégètes parmi les plus récents interprètes du Cantique en soulignent l'intérêt.

Ainsi, H. RINGGREN ²⁾ rappelle en bonne place l'explication donnée par A. ROBERT et A. FEUILLET de la mention des „monts de *beter*” (ii 17), et renonce lui-même à toute autre explication, en marquant néanmoins qu'il s'agit là d'une conjecture. Le poète se référerait à un épisode capital dans la vie d'Abraham, d'aussi grande portée pour l'histoire d'Israël que la translation de l'arche à Sion. Dieu promet en effet à Abraham une descendance innombrable et lui réserve la Terre sainte dans ses limites les plus vastes. Ces promesses sont scellées par un vieux rite d'alliance ³⁾. Abraham partage (verbe *batar*) les victimes par le milieu; chaque moitié (*beter*, morceau coupé) est placée vis-à-vis de l'autre. Jer. xxxiv 18 s. mentionne aussi ce rite d'alliance; il est alors conclu dans le Temple. Le lieu n'est pas indiqué pour Abraham; mais l'auteur du Cantique pense sans doute à la colline du Temple, suggérée dans iv 6 par le rapprochement entre *mor* „myrrhe” et Moriah; ici, *beter* peut être rapproché de *berit* „alliance” (mêmes consonnes); la montagne de l'alliance ne serait autre que le mont Sion où Abraham alla sacrifier le fils de la promesse, où le Roi-Messie viendra prendre possession de son royaume et de son épouse, la Terre sainte.

En outre, l'alliance de Gen. xv est pour Abraham comme une ébauche de la grande alliance sinaïtique. Après le coucher du soleil, les ténèbres s'étendent, et Dieu, sous le symbole du feu, passe entre les animaux partagés pour sceller le pacte. Or, dans Cant. ii 17, c'est aussi avant que s'évanouissent les ténèbres que le bien-aimé est prié par la bien-aimée de venir et de ressembler à une gazelle, à un jeune

¹⁾ Le mot est de Dom CHARLIER (*Bible et Vie chrétienne*, XVI, 1956, p. 120). Non seulement l'explication allégorisante n'annihile pas les splendeurs du Cantique, mais elle est seule capable de les mettre en pleine valeur, selon la vraie perspective biblique et sans faire violence au texte.

²⁾ *Das Hobe Lied*, 1958, p. 14.

³⁾ L'expression *karat berit* „couper l'alliance” s'y réfère. Sur cette coutume, cf. J. HENNINGER, *Biblica*, XXXIV, 1953, pp. 344-353; H. W. WOLFF, *Vet. Test.*, VI, 1956, p. 316; L. A. SNIJDERS, *Oudtestam. Studiën*, XII, 1958, p. 272; O. KAISER, *ZAW*, LXX, 1958, p. 120. Un rite semblable est signalé dans les lettres de Mari. Le P. JAUSSEN observa une coutume analogue chez les Bédouins de Moab (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 1908, p. 362). Le targum évoque à cet endroit du Cantique le sacrifice d'Isaac sur le Moriah et ajoute qu'auparavant Abraham y avait offert ses offrandes et les avaient divisées à parts égales. C'est en effet au même lieu que se réfèrent Cant. ii 17 et iv 6, à savoir le mont Sion, la roche sacrée (2° Chron. iii 1; Gen. xxii 2).

faon, sur les monts de *beter*. L'allégorie est transparente. Lié par alliance au peuple élu et résidant en son sein, Dieu est prié de se comporter comme le „Dieu des armées”. En effet, les deux mots *šbi* „gazelle”, et *‘ofer ha’ayyalim* „jeune faon”, déjà mentionnés dans ii 9, reprennent ii 7, où *šba’ôt* „gazelles” et *‘ayyalôt* „biches” évoquent l’expression *Elobé šba’ôt* „Dieu des armées”. Ces rapprochements ne sont pas de simples jeux de mots; courants chez les Sémites, ils abondent dans la Bible, ainsi dans la Genèse, tant pour les noms de personne que pour les noms de lieux. Pour l’oriental, le *dabar* n’est pas un simple *flatus vocis*; c’est une réalité qui a sa consistance et son efficience propres. Récemment, R. GORDIS ¹⁾ s’est rallié à l’interprétation de A. ROBERT pour ce passage du Cantique. Il s’agit en effet de paronomases expressives où l’étymologie scientifique n’a rien à voir, mais qui intéressent au plus haut point les scribes, car elles sont mnémotechniques et appellent le commentaire doctrinal. Ce procédé, banal et traditionnel, est à la base du Cantique.

Les ennemis de l’interprétation allégorisante reconnaîtront sans peine qu’ils ne peuvent rendre compte de ii 17, pas plus que de vi 12. Ils verraient dans *beter* un nom de parfum inconnu, d’après la version syriaque qui semble penser au bétel ou malabathron. D’autres, après Théodotus, harmonisent le passage avec l’appendice, viii 14, et lisent *bešamim* „les baumiers”, ce qui escamote la difficulté. La LXX traduisait plus fidèlement „monts ravinés”. On pense aussi à Beitir, village au sud-ouest de Jérusalem. Mais ordinairement, on se contente de transcrire matériellement le mot *beter*, après Aquila et Symmaque (Βαιθηρ), ainsi que S. Jérôme (Bether). Cette pure transcription a l’avantage de laisser la place à l’interprétation ici proposée. Professionnel des Écritures, le scribe-poète allégorise sur le thème fondamental de l’alliance entre Yahvé et Israël. Comme il se reporte à l’histoire de Jacob (vii 2; cf. Gen. xxxii) ou de David (vi 12), il se reporte ici à celle d’Abraham (Gen. xv; cf. xxii). Tout le monde savait par coeur ces vieux récits. Déjà avant l’auteur du Cantique, Jérémie avait parlé du rite antique (xxxiv), comme il avait évoqué les épousailles d’Israël (xxxi). L’auteur du Cantique veut, lui aussi, réveiller l’amour de la Terre épousée pour le Dieu des armées, et son espoir ardent dans la venue du nouveau Salomon.

Il est donc inexact de dire que tout motif religieux est absent du Cantique. Est-il même sûr que le nom de Yahvé n’y figure point ²⁾?

¹⁾ Cf. *RB*, 1955, p. 284.

²⁾ Cf. *RB*, 1954, pp. 81, et 83, note 2; 1955, pp. 204 et 219; C. WIÉNER, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

Dans viii 6, conclusion du poème, le texte reçu porte „flamme de Yah”; des mss. hébreux séparent même les deux mots (la LXX lisait un autre texte); le parallélisme avec „des traits de feu” suggère de lire le pluriel „des flammes de Yahvé”; le rythme demande ici deux mots pour compléter le vers élégiaque de 3 + 2 accents. Il est vrai, Yahvé n'est nommé ici qu'en passant; on parle ailleurs de „feu de Dieu” (2 Reg. i 12; Job i 16), de „feu de Yahvé” (Num. xi 1; 1 Reg. xviii 38); il peut s'agir ici d'une expression proverbiale sans portée religieuse réelle, comme si on parlait de flamme très ardente. Mais enfin, il y a bien là une mention du nom ineffable.

D'autre part, ce n'est pas un sentiment de fausse pudeur qui recommande l'interprétation allégorisante du Cantique; comme on vient de le voir, ce sont les exigences même du texte, abstraction faite de ses ébauches plus ou moins lointaines ou de ses parallèles extra-bibliques ¹⁾. Les érudits continueront à chercher dans les littératures de l'antique Orient, surtout en Égypte, et même dans les littératures plus récentes, des parallèles plus ou moins fondés. Il serait facile à un sumérologue, à un assyriologue, à un égyptologue, etc. de multiplier les citations et les rapprochements ²⁾. Si original soit-il, le Cantique appartient par bien de ses côtés au répertoire éternel des chants d'amour. L'union du dieu et de la déesse, mimée par les rites naturistes de l'ancien Orient, peut être évoquée comme arrière-fond païen; elle était célébrée au printemps par les liturgies du

¹⁾ A. LEFÈVRE et C. WIENER inclinent nettement en ce sens; de même G. VERMÈS (*JTS*, IX, 1958, pp. 11-12); R. BLOCH déclare: „Nous sommes là, sans aucun doute, en face d'un pur midrash” (*Suppl. au Dict. de la Bible*, V, 1957, col. 1273). R. E. MURPHY (*Cath. Bibl. Quart.*, XVI, 1954, p. 10) y incline aussi, mais avec réserve. Pour A. BENTZEN (*Studia Orientalia J. Pedersen ... dicata*, 1953, pp. 41-47), l'allégorisation du Cantique daterait d'après l'exil en fonction d'Osée, d'Isaïe et d'Ézéchiel; avant l'exil, le Cantique n'aurait été qu'un chant profane. Mais le seul argument linguistique rend très improbable une rédaction ancienne; les mots nouveaux, dérivés du persan, voire même du grec, sont des emprunts au parler du temps; les aramaïsmes sont nombreux; l'emploi continuel du *sbe* rapproche la syntaxe du Cantique de celle de Qohéleth (III^e siècle). D'autre part, l'ambiance messianique est celle du second Zacharie, des Ps. xlv et lxxii, ainsi que des Chroniques. Tout converge vers une date voisine de la fin du IV^e siècle, autrement dit du temps du Chroniste.

²⁾ Cf. H. SCHMÖKEL, *ZAW*, N.F., XXIII, 1952, pp. 148-155; H. RINGGREN, *ibid.*, N.F., XXIV, 1953, p. 301. On a rapproché une description du dieu Tammuz, soleil levant s'élançant vers la déesse parèdre pour la hiérogamie du jour de l'an; le texte est publié par E. EBELING, *Tod und Leben*, 1931, p. 47. Citons aussi le „retour de Tammuz”, traduction de M. LAMBERT et R. TOURNAY, dans „Poésie et art sumériens”, *Cahiers d'Art*, XXIV, 1949, p. 45. Sur les interprétations du Cantique, voir aussi D. LOERCH, *Zeitsch. f. Theol. und Kirche*, LIV, 1957, pp. 257 ss., 277.

nouvel an. Plus directement, on peut faire appel aux cérémonies nuptiales en Israël et surtout à l'enseignement des scribes concernant le caractère sacré du mariage (cf. Prov. ii 17). L'essentiel n'est pas encore dit. Le Cantique, partie intégrante des Écritures, en transpose l'enseignement principal; c'est pour cette raison qu'il s'est toujours maintenu dans le canon où il n'aurait jamais été inséré sans ce caractère allégorisant ¹⁾. Son but est de préparer les cœurs à l'avènement du Roi-Messie, en secouant la torpeur et l'indifférence des Juifs. En vertu des alliances successives (Abraham, Moïse, David), Yahvé a choisi la Terre sainte pour y demeurer, s'y faire aimer et servir. Israël est ainsi devenu le peuple „théophore”; avant l'exil, prêtres et lévites pouvaient seul «porter» l'arche d'alliance (1 Chron. xv 2; cf. Num. i 48; Deut. x 8; xxxi 25; Jos. iii-iv); désormais, le peuple entier est comme sacralisé (Is. lxi 6; lxvi 21); à l'amour divin qui le sollicite, il doit répondre par un amour fidèle et total; c'est pour lui la condition de sa puissance, de sa beauté, de sa noblesse, de son bonheur; un jour viendra où les promesses s'accompliront lors de l'avènement du Roi-Messie, le fils de David, le nouveau Salomon. Alors se consommera l'union entre Dieu et son peuple. Loin d'en être affaibli, le réalisme du Cantique est comme porté à l'infini par cette interprétation toute „biblique”. Le réalisme inouï de l'incarnation, union des deux natures divine et humaine en la personne du Christ-Roi, dépassera tout ce que l'auteur du Cantique a pu suggérer ou pressentir. Nation „théophore”, la fille Sion, la vierge Israël deviendra, en la personne de la Vierge Marie, mère du Messie, la vierge „christophore”, l'arche de la nouvelle alliance, le temple du Dieu vivant.

¹⁾ Les premiers témoignages explicites de l'interprétation allégorique ne sont éloignés que de quatre siècles au plus du temps de composition, si l'on accepte la datation proposée (époque des Chroniques). Ces témoignages se donnent comme l'expression d'une tradition unanime, mise en cause seulement à la fin du premier siècle après J.C. Comme l'écrivit R. E. MURPHY (*Cath. Bibl. Quart.*, XVI, 1954, p. 10), c'est à ceux qui refusent l'interprétation traditionnelle de prouver son impossibilité. Relevons à ce propos la faiblesse de l'argument tiré de Cant. viii 2 (cf. *RB*, LXI, 1954, p. 85, note 2); le verbe discuté **lammedēni* n'est pas un parfait, mais un imparfait, comme les autres verbes de ce verset; il ne peut en aucun cas être traduit par un passé, *docuit me*, mais seulement par le même temps que celui des autres verbes; l'interprétation de A. FEUILLET (qui suit A. ROBERT) semble donc la meilleure, d'autant qu'elle peut s'éclairer par Ps. xlv 11 où le scribe invite l'épouse à écouter l'exhortation qui suit, sur le ton coutumier des maîtres de sagesse (cf. *RB*, 1955, p. 166); on peut aussi rapprocher Is. xxx 20 où il est dit que le Seigneur qui instruit le peuple de Sion ne se cachera plus aux temps messianiques, et que les yeux du peuple verront celui qui l'instruit. C'est donc un thème classique après l'exil.

Comme l'a montré R. LAURENTIN ¹⁾, à la suite de E. BURROWS ²⁾, S. Luc semble exploiter dans la scène de la Visitation la typologie de l'arche d'alliance et nous renvoyer au récit de la translation de l'arche sous David. Il ne doit pas être ici considéré comme un initiateur. L'adaptation midrashique d'un texte ancien à des circonstances nouvelles est déjà un procédé traditionnel au temps des Chroniques. Dans leur „relecture” des Écritures, les milieux lévétiques du Temple exploient les oeuvres de leurs devanciers, souvent par simple allusion (ils savaient la Bible par coeur!), en leur donnant volontiers une portée messianique et eschatologique. Ézéchiel, par sa symbolique allégorisante, et le second Isaïe, par sa typologie de l'Exode, leur avaient largement ouvert la voie. De cette relecture messianique, le Cantique nous fournit un exemple éclatant.

¹⁾ R. LAURENTIN, *Structure de Luc I-II*, 1957, pp. 79 ss., 118, 151.

²⁾ E. BURROWS, *The Gospel of the Infancy*, 1940, p. 47. On peut noter que dans 1 Cor. vii 20, la Vulgate lit: „Glorifiez et portez Dieu dans votre corps”; mais „et portez” est une addition.

SHORT NOTES

THE STEM *HTL* IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

According to the Massoretic punctuation the stem *htl* as a verb is but once encountered in the O.T., viz. 1 Kings xviii 27. It appears in the pi'el imperfect, 3rd masc. sing. The usual explanation for the presence of this stem in Hebrew is that it is a secondary developement of the hiph'il form from *tl* ¹⁾. It is further to be observed that a noun of the *qātul*-type is present in Job xvii 2 (*hātūlīm*) ²⁾. This also points to the presence of the stem *htl* in biblical Hebrew.

According to the Massoretic punctuation the hiph'il of the stem *tl* is present in 8 cases, viz. Gn. xxxi 7, Ex. viii 25, Judg. xvi 10, 13, 15, Jer. ix 4, Job xiii 9; the hoph'al once in Is. xlv 20. In studying these forms in their various manifestations, problems are created. Take for instance the hiph'il pf. 2nd. sing. masc. in Judg. xvi 10, 13, 15. The form is *hētaltā*. It is pointed as an hiph'il, but in form it cannot be an 'ayin-'ayin verb where the normal form must be *hātillôtā* like *hāsibbôtā*. In some of the grammars this case is cited as an exception together with the form *hē'ēzā* (Prov. vii 13) ³⁾. This is not a satisfactory explanation because *hē'ēzā* is not a real parallel to *hētaltā*. In the former case the doubling is missing, but in the latter also the separating vowel between the stem and the affirmative. This evidence alone may not be conclusive to place the Massoretic punctuation under suspicion, but also the hiph'il imperfect is quite irregular. The forms are *yēhātēllū* and *tēhātēllū*. This is referred to as the remains of an old form of the hiph'il with the uncontracted preformative ⁴⁾. But the exceptional forms both in perfect and imperfect create suspicion to their authenticity as hiph'il forms. OLSHAUSEN, ⁵⁾ STADE ⁶⁾, DRIVER-GRAY ⁷⁾, BEER ⁸⁾ and others pointed out that some of the

¹⁾ Cf. KÖHLER-BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon in veteris testamenti libros*, in loc.

²⁾ Cf. E. KÖNIG, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum A.T.*, in loc. where he gives the noun wrongfully as *hātullim*.

³⁾ Cf. GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH-COWLEY, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 67 dd. The correct form grammatically must be *hē'ēzā*.

⁴⁾ Cf. *op. cit.*, § 53 q.

⁵⁾ Cf. F. DELITZSCH, *Das Buch Job*, 165.

⁶⁾ Cf. DRIVER-GRAY, *Job*, (I.C.C.) 83.

⁷⁾ *Ibid.*

⁸⁾ G. BEER in *BH*⁴ at Job xiii 9.

forms pointed as hiph'als must be read as pi'el¹). In considering all the evidence one may ask the question if not all the forms are to be derived from *htl* and pointed as pi'el and pu'al. This will immediately solve the problems in connection with the hiph'il. The one case of the hoph'al in Is. xlv 20 (*būtal*) can easily be a pu'al, because the mater lectionis *ū* was sometimes used for the pu'al²).

It may still be valid that the stem *htl* was a secondary development of the stem *tll*. On the other hand it may have been developed out of the original bi-consonantal *tl* as an haph'al¹) and the form *tll* as reduplication³). In a case like this *htl* is not to be regarded as a secondary form of *tll*, but a parallel form.*

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POST-BIBLICAL חֲרִית IN PS. lxxxiv 11 ?

The consonantal text of this verse runs as follows:

כִּי טוֹב יוֹם בַּחֲצִירִיךָ מֵאֵלֶיךָ בַּחֲרִיתִי
הַסְתּוֹפֵךְ בְּבֵית אֱלֹהֵי מְדוּרָה בָּאֵהֳלֵי רָשָׁע

The ancient versions, the Massoretic punctuation and most modern translations take *בַּחֲרִיתִי* as a 1st pers. sing. perf. of the verb *בָּחַר*, *to choose, to prefer*, and connect it with the second part of the verse. So e.g. the RSV:

*For a day in thy courts is better
than a thousand elsewhere.*

*I would rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God
than dwell in the tents of wickedness.*

It is difficult to accept such a translation. „Elsewhere” can scarcely be justified and the second stich seems to be too long. A. R. JOHNSON is probably right when he says (*Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel*, Cardiff 1955, p. 96, n. 3) that „*בַּחֲרִיתִי* involves some such meaning as ‘in my own home’...”. Apparently he is not satisfied with the proposed emendations of the consonantal text (*BH*³: *בַּחוּץ*, *outside*, and -probabiler!- *בַּחֲדָרִי*, *in my room*), for he continues stating that

¹) GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH-COWLEY, *op. cit.*, § 52 q.

²) Cf. G. J. BOTTERWECK, *Der Triliterismus im Semitischen*, 53 note 3 for numerous parallels in Semitic.

³) *Op. cit.*, 45-47, 53 note 3.

* A different opinion on this root can be found in *JQR*, 36 (1946) p. 255-259. [Edit.]

„as yet . . . no completely convincing solution of the problem has been offered”.

The present note would propose to read here the noun חירות which became usual in the post-biblical Hebrew with the sense of *freedom, liberty*. During the Persian period, if not earlier, it may have denoted the status or social position of the חור, *free man, noble* and, with a local connotation, his *domain* or *estate* (cf. the local connotation of מלכות, גלות etc.). Nehemiah tells that the nobles (חורים) of Judah were in league with Tobiah against him (vi 17 ff). He had to remonstrate with them because they profaned the Sabbath by their selling the produces of their landed properties (xiii 15-18). Our psalmist, then, may have been a noble too, but a pious one. He preferred a day in the courts of his God to a thousand in his own estate (בְּחֶרֶתִּי), and a humble service in the Temple to the fashionable society of unholy landowners.

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L. GROLLENBERG

NOTAE ARAMAICAE

I

Quand le mot *bjt* dans les contracts en Araméen d'Empire se rapporte à des biens immeubles, il indique en général un terrain emmuré (un enclos), dans lequel se trouve outre une cour, une habitation pour la famille. JOÜON a déjà signalé, que nous avons affaire à une exception très intéressante dans le *bjt* de Cowl. 8 et 9. Le contexte nous montre, qu'au moment de l'établissement des deux contrats simultanés, il n'y avait pas encore d'habitation, mais qu'il fallait encore construire celle-ci. ¹⁾ Or, dans l'édition de M. KRAELING des papyrus d'Eléphantine, nous trouvons un cas pareil: le *bjt* d'Ananjah b. Azarjah, au moment, où il acquit ce bien (voir la

Nous avons abrégés les éditions des textes en Araméen d'Empire, dont nous nous sommes servi, comme suit: a) Cowl. = A. COWLEY, *Aramaic Documents of the fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1923; b) Kracl. = E. G. KRAELING, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, New Haven 1953; c) Driv. = G. R. DRIVER, *Aramaic Documents of the fifth Century B.C.*², Oxford 1957.

¹⁾ P. JOÜON, „Notes grammaticales, lexicographiques et philologiques sur les papyrus araméens d'Égypte”, *MUSJ* xviii pp. 3-89, pp. 32-36.

description dans Krael. 3.)¹⁾ M. KUTSCHER y a déjà attiré l'attention.²⁾

D'après M. KUTSCHER le mot *bjt* indiquerait dans les deux cas simplement un terrain non bâti; dans les deux cas nous aurions donc affaire à une situation identique.³⁾ Cependant cette explication n'est pas confirmée par les faits. Autour de la maison d'Ananjah se trouvaient des murs au moment de l'achat, dans lesquelles étaient percées des baies.⁴⁾ Celles-ci sont décrites comme les fenêtres de la maison.⁵⁾ Les murs sont donc distinctement compris dans la notion *bjt*. Le mot indique donc ici un terrain emmuré (un enclos).

Il nous faut nous demander maintenant, quel est le rapport de ce *bjt* de Krael. 3 à celui que nous trouvons dans Cowl. 8 et 9. Dans le temps JOÛON a décrit celui-ci comme un enclos.⁶⁾ Cela nous semble improbable. Il est vrai que dans ces deux contrats (Cowl. 8 et 9) on ne trouve pas une description aussi détaillée, que celle donnée dans Krael. 3, qui est due à des circonstances particulières, mais il y a une différence frappante. Dans Cowl. 8 et 9 on trouve la variation déjà souvent discutée entre *bjt* et *'rq* (terrain).⁷⁾ Dans Krael. 3, où il s'agit d'un enclos, cette variation manque totalement. On ne trouve ici que le mot *bjt*.⁸⁾ Quand on veut indiquer le terrain vague entre les murs, on parle de la cour (*trbš*), qui est *'r'* (terrain non bâti).⁹⁾ Ceci nous permet à croire, que le *bjt* de Cowl. 8 et 9 se distingue de celui de Krael. 3, à savoir par le fait que celui-là indique un terrain, qui n'était pas emmuré.

1) Voir la phrase *wtrbšb 'r'* (= et sa cour est du terrain vague), ll. 4s.; voir pour cette interprétation M. H. L. GINSBERG, „The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri”, *JAOs* lxxiv pp. 153-162, p. 157. Ces mots n'auraient pas de sens, si quel-que bâtiment se trouvait sur le terrain.

2) M. E. Y. KUTSCHER, „Aramaic Texts”, *JAOs* lxxiv pp. 233-248, pp. 234s.

3) Voir. id.

4) Voir Krael. 3^{1s}.

5) Cf. les mots *wkwjn bb* Krael. 3^s. Vu la situation les fenêtres ne peuvent se trouver que dans les murs extérieurs. Le suffixe de *bb* ne peut se rapporter dans le contexte donné, qu'à *bjt*. Les murs auraient exigés un suffixe de pluriel.

6) *A.c.*, p. 32 (voir aussi n. 2).

7) Voir JOÛON, *a.c.*, p. 33, KUTSCHER, *a.c.*, p. 235. On pourrait indiquer ce terrain de Cowl. 8 et 9 par *'rq* parce qu'il était non bâti et par *bjt* parce qu'il était destiné à être habité (voir JOÛON, *a.c.* p. 32). Les groupes typiques *bj* (ou *bjt??*) 1 *'rq* (Cowl. 8^s), *bjt' znk 'rq* (Cowl. 8^s), *'rq bj 1* (Cowl. 9^s) sont selon nous des séries appositionnelles. Il n'est pas nécessaire de suivre ici JOÛON (*a.c.*, p. 33) et de supposer un accusatif de spécification dans la deuxième partie de cette série. On se servait de ces descriptions explicites afin de ne pas laisser de doute quant au caractère du terrain nommé dans le contrat.

8) Voir Krael. 3⁴, 7, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 21, 23^a.

9) Voir Krael. 3^{1s} et n. 1.

Se basant sur les données de Cowl. 8 et 9, JOÜON a déjà démontré, qu'un terrain vague n'est indiqué par *bjt*, que quand on avait l'intention d'y construire une habitation. ¹⁾ Ceci est affirmé par le contrat Kracl. 3. D'après ce contrat Ananjah avait l'intention de construire une maison dans ce terrain, ²⁾ un projet qui semble avoir été réalisé d'après des contrats ultérieurs. ³⁾

II

Dans le contrat Kracl. 4 est décrit comment quelques années après avoir acheté un *bjt* à Eléphantine Ananjah b. Azarjah céda une partie de ce *bjt* à sa femme. Dans ce texte figure une tournure intéressante (ll. 5s.): *wb' mšht bjt' z'k z'j 'nh 'nnjh jbbt lkj tmt mn plg trj rbt' wtnb hwb mn 'ljh 'd thjh* . . ., rendue par M. KRAELING par: and these are the measurements of that house, which I, Ananiah, have given to thee, Tamut. From half the two compartments (?) ⁴⁾ and the chamber it is, from above to below . . . Cette traduction ne me semble pas d'être tout à fait satisfaisante. Le mot araméen *plg* désigne seulement *moitié* et non pas *milieu*, comme M. KRAELING l'entend. ⁵⁾ Cela rend l'interprétation proposée par lui moins probable.

Pour l'explication des phrases citées, l'interprétation du mot *mn*, qui se trouve devant *plg* est primordiale. La traduction *from* est devenu impossible vu le sens de *plg*. Nous croyons avoir trouvé la solution des difficultés en interprétant *mn* comme le *min* explicatif, qu'on trouve fréquemment en Arabe. ⁶⁾ On rencontre un cas de cet emploi de *mn* dans un autre texte araméen: l'épithaphe nabatéenne CIS ii 209^{1a}: *dnh kpr' dj 'bd hlpw lnpšb wlšjdw brb w' hwbj mb dj jtjld hlpw dnh mn dkrjn* (= Voici le tombeau que H. a fait construire pour lui-même, son fils Sh. et les frères de celui-ci, tant qu'en naîtront (d'enfants) de H.,

¹⁾ Voir p. 313, n. 7.

²⁾ Voir Kracl. 3^{22a}.

³⁾ D'après le contrat Kracl. 4, qui est daté trois ans après Kracl. 3, il se trouve sur le terrain un bâtiment neuf (l. 8).

⁴⁾ Voir pour le mot difficile *trj* entre autres M. GINSBERG, *a.c.*, p. 158 et M. KUTSCHER, *a.c.*, p. 235, qui déclinent à juste titre l'interprétation de M. KRAELING.

⁵⁾ Voir les endroits où *plg* figure dans les textes en Araméen d'Empire: Cowl. 12³, 9^{11,12}, 44^{6,8}, 71^{33??}, 74¹, 79³, 81⁸⁶, Kracl. 2^{6,7}, 4³, 6^{12,13}, 9^{4,6,7,8,14,15}. Voir pour les autres langues araméennes les dictionnaires.

⁶⁾ Pour une description de ce phénomène, voir W. WRIGHT, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*³, ii, Cambridge 1898, § 48g. JOÜON a signalé ce *mn* également en hébreu biblique (*Grammaire de l'Hébreu biblique*², Roma 1947, § 133e). Parmi les exemples cités, celui de Gen. vii 22 surtout est convaincant.

c.à.d. des (enfants) mâles. Nous proposons donc pour la traduction de Krael. 4^{5s.} (nous n'interrompons pas la phrase après *tmt*): Voici les limites de cette maison, ¹⁾ que j'ai donnée, moi Ananjah, à vous T. (à savoir la moitié de la grande *trj* et la chambre) étant ²⁾ donc du Nord au Sud. . .

III

Dans Krael. 11¹¹ nous trouvons un autre exemple de l'expression difficile *bj zj lbnn*. Il y a peu de temps celle-ci n'était connue que des endroits Cowl. 10⁹ et, dans un contexte fortement endommagé, Cowl. 3¹⁸. Dans Cowl. 10 et Krael. 11 il s'agit d'un prêt: quand les débiteurs manquent à payer la somme due, le créancier a le droit de prendre tant de leurs biens jusqu'à ce que la dette soit amortie. L'expression *bj zj lbnn* figure dans les deux cas dans les phrases qui décrivent ce droit. M. KRAELING l'a traduite par *the house belonging to the children*, l'endroit où le créancier pouvait prendre possession des biens cités plus haut. Le contexte de Krael. 11 permet d'expliquer l'expression ainsi. Il s'agit d'un cas, où le débiteur était déjà décédé et où ses enfants (c.à.d. ses héritiers) manquent à payer la dette. Mais elle est impossible dans Cowl. 10. Tout d'abord on trouve ici au lieu de la formule *tlqh lk mn bj zj lbnn 'bd w'mb . . .* (Krael. 11^{10s.}) la formule *lmlqh lk . . . bj zj lbnn ksp wdhb . . . 'bd w'mb . . .* (Cowl. 10^{9s.}). Entre les deux formules il y a une différence importante: *mn* manque dans la deuxième. Ensuite les lignes Cowl. 10^{8ss.} traitent le droit du créancier et de ses fils à se dédommager en prenant dans les possessions du débiteur de son vivant. Le droit de se dédommager au dépens des héritiers du débiteur n'est traité qu'aux lignes 14^{ss.}

Il nous semble, qu'il vaut mieux expliquer *bj zj lbnn* comme on le faisait généralement autrefois, comme *maison en briques*, donc comme une partie des possessions éventuelles du débiteur, parmi lesquelles le créancier pouvait choisir ³⁾. Le *mn* qui précède *bj zj lbnn* dans Krael. 11^{10s.} doit être entendu comme un *mn* partitif. Il ne se rapporte pas seulement à *bj zj lbnn*, mais à toute l'énumération des possessions éventuelles du débiteur. Le créancier peut prendre de cette liste ce qu'il veut.

¹⁾ Pour *bjt* indiquant la partie d'un *bjt*, cf. aussi Krael. 4⁸.

²⁾ Voir pour l'interprétation de *hmb* comme participe, JOÛON, *a.c.*, pp. 38-40.

³⁾ Voir entre autres C. G. WAGENAAR, *De Joodsche Kolonie van Jeb-Syene in de 5^e eeuw voor Christus*, Groningen/Den Haag 1928, p. 41 n. 3.

IV

Dans le texte Cowl. 25 l'énumération des maisons contigues au *bjt* décrit dans ce contrat est interrompue par une phrase qui mérite notre attention. Les voisins du côté haut et du côté bas (c.à.d. au nord et au sud) sont indiqués déjà, puis on trouve *btḥtjh wmn^cp^o knjn ptjḥn tmh* (ligne 6). COWLEY rend ce passage dans sa traduction comme suit: at the lower end and above there are open windows. A juste titre il a évité la traduction de *mn^cp^o* par *at the upper end* (c.à.d. au nord). Cela aurait été faux, car *mn^cp^o* ne s'emploie jamais dans ce sens plus spécialisé, quoique les contrats, que nous connaissons parlent très régulièrement du côté nord d'un certain terrain. ¹⁾ Cependant la traduction de COWLEY n'est pas satisfaisante: il n'est pas clair, ce qu'il faut entendre par des fenêtres „at the lower end and above”.

D'après la traduction de COWLEY le *w* qui figure dans cette tournure fait fonction de copulatif entre les deux mots *btḥtjh* et *mn^cp^o*. Il nous semble qu'il vaut mieux l'entendre comme une liaison entre *btḥtjh* et la phrase suivante, donc comme un *waw* d'apodose, *btḥtjh* se rapporte alors à l'adverbe *tmh* qui suit. Un tel emploi du *waw* d'apodose, qui est fréquent en hébreu, n'est pas du tout exclu dans notre texte. Le texte Driv. 12⁹ nous le montre clairement: *'nt wgrd^o ṣjlj 'bjd^o p^o 'jtt lk* (= quant à vous, les affaires de mon ménage ne vous regardent pas!). Ici le *casus pendens* *'nt*, qui se rapporte au suffixe dans *lk*, est lié par un *waw* d'apodose avec la principale. En nous basant sur ces données nous préférons traduire ce passage comme suit: du côté sud, là se trouvent en haut (sc. du mur) des fenêtres ouvertes. ²⁾

V

Une autre tournure intéressante se trouve dans Cowl. 27^{4s.}: *'jtt qst mn gwrn^o ṣj mlk^o ṣj bjb bjrt^o ndšw*, rendue par COWLEY par: there is a part of the king's stores which is in the fortress of Yeb (this) they wrecked. Cette traduction n'est pas tout à fait satisfaisante. JOÛON, qui considère cette phrase “singulièrement lâche” a proposé une autre traduction. Il s'est souvenu du groupe *'jtt ṣj* (c'est un fait que

¹⁾ Voir pour l'emploi de *mn^cp^o* Cowl. 3²⁰, 5^{10,13}, 25⁶, 48².

²⁾ Donc des baies qui donnent sur le terrain en dehors du *bjt*. On trouve un autre cas du *waw* d'apodose dans un autre dialecte de l'Araméen, dans le texte Sfire iii 10, édité par M. A. DUPONT-SOMMER dans le *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* xiii. M. J. A. FITZMYER propose à tort de supprimer ce *w* “as it does not fit the syntax” („The Aramaic Suzerainty Treaty from Sfire in the Museum of Beirut”, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* xx pp. 444-476, p. 459).

..., cf. Esr. v 17, Cowl. 20⁷) et il traduit sous réserve: il y a (ceci qu'ils ont démolé ...; après *'jtj* un *zj* aurait été supprimé ou serait du moins sousentendu.¹⁾

On trouve une construction pareille dans Cowl. 30^{9s}, que Joüon ne cite pas: *hw h tr'n zj 'bn ... ndšw* (= c'est un fait, qu'ils ont démolé les portes en pierre ...; on ne pourrait s'imaginer une autre traduction)²⁾. Il est d'ailleurs frappant, que dans la phrase subjective, qui régit *hw h*, un *zj* introductif manque.

Ce parallèle nous mène à deux conclusions. 1° La traduction proposée par Joüon pour Cowl. 27^{4s} est juste. 2° Nous basant sur les conclusions que nous ont tirées de Cowl. 30^{9s}, il est bien possible, que le pseudo-verbe *'jtj* aussi soit régi par une proposition subjective sans *zj* introductif. Cela implique que l'on ne peut pas appeler la construction de la phrase dans Cowl. 27^{4s} "singulièrement lâche". Dans ce genre d'Araméen l'emploi de *zj* était plutôt facultatif dans des cas pareils. Dans Cowl. 27^{4s} on n'a donc pas affaire à une expression moins heureuse.

VI

Il y a quelque temps M. J. A. FITZMYER a consacré une belle étude à l'emploi syntactique de *kl* et *kl'* en Araméen égyptien et biblique.³⁾ Nous espérons que ses recherches dans ce domaine, qui n'ont pas encore été publiées, paraîtront dans un prochain délai. Qu'il nous soit permis de faire une seule remarque sur le matériel déjà publié.

Parmi les constructions avec *kl* et *kl'* le groupe *kl' mlj'* (Cowl. 30²⁹) est inhabituel. Aussi M. FITZMYER pense à une „confusion” entre deux constructions courantes *kl mlj'* et *mlj' kl'*. Joüon, lui aussi, a écarté ce groupe comme suspect.⁴⁾ Malgré le fait, que ce groupe n'apparaît, qu'une fois dans le matériel connu, qui est d'ailleurs assez rare, cette explication ne nous satisfait pas tout à fait. Il nous semble que l'on peut expliquer ce groupe comme une construction autonome, ce qui est très possible du point de vue syntactique.

¹⁾ *A.c.*, p. 25.

²⁾ COWLEY, *o.c.*, p. 115 signale le parallèle cité, il est vrai, mais il s'en sert, à tort selon nous, pour juger la traduction de Cowl. 30^{9s} comme controversable. On ne saurait cependant trouver une autre explication dans laquelle *hw h* aurait tout son sens.

³⁾ M. FITZMYER, „The syntax of *kl*, *kl'* in the aramaic texts from Egypt and in Biblical Aramaic”, *Biblica* xxxviii pp. 170-184.

⁴⁾ M. FITZMYER, *a.c.*, p. 181; Joüon, *a.c.*, p. 50.

Une expression comme *toutes les paroles, toutes les choses* peut être rendue dans l'Araméen dont il est question ici, entre autre par *kl mlj'* et *mlj' kl'*. ¹⁾ Du point de vue syntactique on peut donc employer ici aussi bien un rapport génitif (avec *kl* comme *nomen regens*), qu'une série appositionnelle. C'est probablement le sens du mot *kl*, qui permet ici les deux constructions. Le fait, qu'une série appositionnelle est possible ici, explique selon nous également le groupe *kl' mlj'*. Ici on trouve aussi une série pareille, où *kl'* ne forme pas comme d'habitude la fin mais le début. Le fait que la succession d'une pareille série n'est pas régie par des règles fixes, peut être corroboré par plusieurs exemples trouvées dans des textes conformes. ²⁾

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THE STORY OF THE GOLDEN CALF REANALYSED

The story of the golden calf (Ex xxxii 1-xxxiv 9) is of the greatest historical significance for the maturing of the Yahwist religion, founded by Moses. It reports of a grave religious crisis, of a conflict between the leader and the people and the dissent of the prophetic and priestly leadership. Since the record is full of contradictions and divergences of style and outlook, the composite character of the story is more than probable. A critical analysis will indicate that the whole story was written by the five key contributors of our Pentateuchal stories. It contains conflicting viewpoints about the character of Yahweh, the status of Moses, and the prophetic and priestly attitudes. Historically it reflects the various antipagan drives which took place from the tenth to the eighth centuries fighting against the intrusion of Philistine, Phoenician and Assyrian paganism. The story is composed of a groundwork and four annotators. The groundwork stems from the Yahwist master narrator, the annotators are the Yahwist revisor, the northern prophetic Elohist, the southern priestly Elohist and the deuteronomist editors.

¹⁾ Voir pour des exemples la liste de matériel abondante de M. FITZMYER.

²⁾ Voir les exemples suivants: *'wrjh b'lkj* (Cowl. 87) à côté de *b'lj 'mj* (Krael. 27); *m(pth)jb 'ntth* (Cowl. 1518) à côté de *('n)ttj mptthj* (Cowl. 1527); *mbthjh brtj* (Cowl. 97) à côté de *brtk mptthj* (Cowl. 153); *mbthjh 'mn* (Cowl. 283) à côté de *'mb tmt* (Krael. 214); *jhwjśm' 'hik* (Krael. 75) à côté de *'hik jhwjśm'* (Krael. 74); *jdnjh wkwntb kbhj' zj bjh bjrt'* (Cowl. 301) à côté de *kbhj' zj jhw 'lh' min br jšbjh wrjh br . . .* (Cowl. 381); pour les rares cas qui connaissent une ordre déterminée, voir JOÜON, *a.c.*, p. 7.

The Yahwist master narrator contributes twenty verses: xxxii 1-4, 6b, 15aa, 19a, 20aba, 21-25, 30-33. xxxiii 18, 19. xxxiv 5b-7a, 8.

During the absence of Moses, the prophetic leader, the people ask Aaron, the priestly leader, to make visible gods. Aaron collects jewels and shapes an idol. The people enjoy themselves by eating, drinking and romping. Moses returns, sees the dances around the idol, destroys the idol and asks Aaron in a balanced language why he committed this great sin. Aaron blames the people as wicked and gives a factual report how it came to this idol. The next day Moses tells the people that they have committed a great sin. To make it good Moses will ask God for atonement. He offers himself as vicarious victim. God rejects this as unjust. Moses stunned asks God to show him his glory. God promises to make his goodness pass before him when he calls His name. Moses does so and Yahweh reveals His characteristic qualities: "Yahweh is a God merciful, helpful, patient, abounding in kindness and trustworthiness. He shows kindness to thousands, forgives wrongdoing, iniquity and sin." Moses hearing this bows down and thanks Yahweh for His goodness.

These twenty verses form the groundwork. They reveal an author whose God is benign, patient and forgiving. Neither He nor Moses lose their temper. The author evidently wrote the story to contrast the prophetic leadership of Moses to the priestly leadership of Aaron. Moses is represented as highly responsible and people-loving; Aaron as self-righteous and people-despising. Such a leadership is not able to prevent the people from falling back to idolatry and immorality. The author may be a prophet, but in any case he was no priest.

Before this text became sacred Torah it must have been revised by the priests. They added the following thirteen verses: xxxii 5, 6a, 15ab, b, 35. xxxiii 20-23. xxxiv 1-5a, 7b. Aaron is exculpated: He builds an altar to Yahweh and calls for a festival to Yahweh. The people offer sacrifices. Deity and Moses are represented as inordinately passionate. Yahweh sends a plague which may hit the innocent with the guilty ones, and Moses in his rage throws the holy tables into pieces. Yahweh is represented as a frightening deity, punishing the evildoer and visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children and the children's children to the third and fourth generation. Yahweh is inaccessible to the people. Even Moses can see God only when He shows His backside, but not His frontside.

The people was punished because it "*worshiped* the idol (read *waya'abdu* for miscopied *waya'asu*) that Aaron made". That means that

Aaron acted under pressure from the side of the people. Therefore we hear nothing about a punishment of Aaron.

The contrast of the two authors is undeniable: To the priestly revisor are Yahweh and Moses inordinately passionate and Aaron does his best in a bad situation, whereas in the groundwork Yahweh and Moses are patient, well-balanced, compassionate and forgiving and Aaron is represented as an unfit leader.

After the partition of Solomon's empire the revised groundwork came to the north and to the south. The northern prophetic Elohists (E) adds these verses: xxxii 16-18, 34a. xxxiii 5-11. As a northerner he reports that the Ephraimite leader Joshua escorts Moses. As in other passages of E he calls the mountain of legislation Horeb and not Sinai. He embellishes the miraculous character of the tables by adding that they were made and written by God. As punishment he reports that the people will no longer be allowed to wear jewels, because they helped to make idols. Yahweh will send an angel as their future guide. Moses is exalted above all prophets. He communicates with God personally. The people revere Moses by standing up when he speaks to God in his revelation tent. These features, the emphasis on reverence, the exaltation of Moses, the intervention of angels and the disapproval of jewelry are found in other passages which undoubtedly stem from the northern prophetic Elohists. Compare the stories: Gen. xx, xxii, xxxii, xxxv, Ex. xxiii, Nu xii, Jos. v.

The southern priestly Elohists contribute only four verses (xxxii 26-29). Since he wrote at the same time as the northern Elohists, he did not know his additions. He had only the revised groundwork before him. He was not contented with the mildness of the Yahwist narrator nor with the plague of the priestly revisor of this text; for a plague does not discriminate between the guilty and the innocent. As a legalist he adds the episode according to which Moses summons his tribe, the Levites, and tells them to kill all those who really worshipped the idol. Since they did their work impartially, they were blessed by Moses and consecrated to be the priestly tribe, just as the same author has God bless and hallow the sabbath day after creation. One of the characteristics of the southern Elohists is that he is highly interested in all exact data and figures. No wonder that he lists that it was 3000 men who were killed during this priestly action of punitive justice.

The rest—that is twenty one verses—may be attributed to the deuteronomic editors who wrote after the fall of Samaria under King Heze-

kiah. From Prov. xxv 1 we know that the "men around Hezekiah" edited biblical writings. The spiritual leaders of that period attributed the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel to its worship of Yahweh in the shape of young bulls or calves. That led to an iconoclastic movement in Judah. King Hezekiah himself destroyed the brass serpent of Moses because it became an idol in the belief of the people. The Hezekian editors of the Pentateuch added sermonic reflections about this catastrophe. In our story they substituted for the original term "idol" (*'elohē zāhab* xxxii 31) the term "calf" (*'egel*) with obvious reference to the Jeroboam cult. In xxxii 34 they also added that God will punish the people when the day of the punishment will come. That, of course, is a veiled prediction of the catastrophe of 722.

The Hezekian editors made three greater interpolations. The first interpolation (xxxii 7-14) follows the report of the making of the idol during Moses' absence. God tells Moses that the stiff-necked people has deviated from the proper worship of Yahweh and deserves extermination. Moses levels two objections against this harsh verdict: First, the Egyptians will say that Yahweh is powerless and destructive. Second, what will become of the divine promise to make Israel a people as numerous as the stars. God accepts Moses' objections.

The second interpolation follows the report of Moses' intercession for his people (xxxiii 1-4). God tells Moses that he shall bring the people to the promised land, not under God's personal guidance, but that of an angel. The people mourned and did not put on their jewelry.

The third interpolation (xxxiii 12-17) has Moses say that if he really found favor in God's sight, God would not withdraw His presence as guide of His people. God accepts Moses' argument as well. In xxxiv 9, the last sentence of the golden calf story, the Hezekian editors confirm again that the people are stiff-necked and it is only because Moses has found favor in the sight of God that He forgave the people.

The story of the golden calf was completed before the Priestly Code was incorporated into the Pentateuch. There is no annotation made by the Priestly Code. Only the word "testimony" (*'edut*) in tables of testimony (xxxii 15) may be added by the Priestly Code or by a copyist who used the term.

This analysis confirms the correctness of my views on the origin of the Pentateuch as I have expounded it in my *The Growth of the Pentateuch* (N. Y. Bookman's Associates). It denies that J E D P were originally independent sources compiled by various redactors.

Instead the Pentateuch started with a groundwork, written by a humane Yahwist master narrator. His work was revised by the priests of his time. After the partition it was annotated by the northern prophetic Elohists (Elisha?) in the northern kingdom and by the southern priestly Elohists (Jehoiada?) in Jerusalem. Both versions were combined and enlarged by the Hezekian editors, before the Priestly Code was incorporated.

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PSALM CXXX 5-6

It is well known that these two verses of the psalm *De profundis* have always caused difficulty for commentators. However, the MT is surely corrupted and, therefore, needs an emendation.

MT: 5 *qiwwîti YHWH qiwwetā nafši welidebārô bôhalti*
6 *nafši la' dōnāy miššomerim labbōqer šomerim labbōqer.*

Herein are given some of the recent solutions to this problem. H. SCHMIDT ¹⁾ translates: „5 Ich harre auf Jahwe! Meine Seele harrt! Auf sein Wort warte ich! 6 Meine Seele richtet sich auf den Herrn mehr als die Wächter auf den Morgen, mehr als die Wächter auf den Morgen!“. That is, he adheres very closely to the MT. A. WEISER ²⁾: „5 Ich hoffte auf den Herrn, es hoffte meine Seele auf sein Wort. 6 Meine Seele harrete des Herrn mehr als Wächter auf den Morgen“. In v. 5 he follows the Greek version; in v. 6 he omits the second *šomerim labbōqer*. E. J. KISSANE ³⁾: „In Yahweh my soul has hope, and for His word I wait; 6 My soul [waits] for the Lord more than watchmen for the morning; (watchmen for the morning)“. He practically follows the MT, but he anticipates the first *qiwwîti* to the v. 4 and puts within parenthesis the last member as a dittograph. The *Liber Psalmorum* ⁴⁾ (and cf. also A. VACCARI ⁵⁾) has: „5 Spero in Dominum, sperat anima mea in verbum eius; Exspectat ⁶⁾ 6 anima

¹⁾ *Die Psalmen*, Tübingen, 1934 (Handbuch zum AT 15).

²⁾ *Die Psalmen* II, Göttingen, 1950 (Das AT Deutsch 15).

³⁾ *The Book of Psalms* II, Westminster, Maryland, 1954.

⁴⁾ *Liber Psalmorum cum Canticis Breviarium Romani*, Romae e Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1945.

⁵⁾ *La Sacra Bibbia tradotta dai Testi Originali con note* IV, Firenze, 1949.

⁶⁾ In a footnote: “(1) l.c. G *bôhilā(b)*, quod trahe ad v. 6”.

mea Dominum, magis quam custodes auroram. Magis quam custodes ¹⁾ auroram, 7 expectet Israel Dominum”.

Our reconstruction is based on simple exigences of proportion, symmetry and Hebrew parallelism. We must start, I think, from the final member of v. 5, because it is clear and well conserved: *welidēbārô hōhaltî*, “and in His word I trust”. This has its exact and necessary correspondence in the initial *qinwîttî YHWH*, which we read on account of phraseology and parallelism *qinwîttî lēYahwe*, “I hope in Yahweh”. In this manner, verse and parallelism are right and complete, and the remaining *qinwētā nafšî* is to be taken away from v. 5. It seems providential, because we need just such an expression at the beginning of v. 6, where the actual *nafšî* testifies its original presence. Here, if united with the following *la’dōnāy*, which we read *lēYahwe* as in vv. 1 and 3, it gives us a good meaning and a good phonetic sound: “My soul hopes in Yahweh more than the watchmen in the morning”. And so, again, verse and parallelism are complete and perfect. The rest is nothing but doublets, transpositions, transcriptions: this text evidently has been altered.

Resuming, we omit as a dittograph the last member of v. 6 *šōmerîm labbōqer* ²⁾, and also *nafšî* at the beginning of this verse, in the place of which we insert *qinwētā nafšî* of v. 5. Then, we read *la’dōnāy* of v. 6 as *lēYahwe* and prefix a *lē* to the word *Yahwe* in v. 5.

As a consequence, we get the following text:

qinwîttî lēYahwe welidēbārô hōhaltî
qinwētā nafšî lēYahwe miššōmerîm labbōqer;

in English:

“I hope in Yahweh,
 in His word I trust;
 my soul hopes in Yahweh,
 more than the watchmen in the morning”.

It seems to be very good and simple. Moreover, by this solution we hope to obtain a very homogeneous structure in the whole psalm as well as a slight improvement in the style, that is to say, an increasing intensity of expression: “I hope in Yahweh . . .; my soul hopes in Yahweh . . .”.

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¹⁾ In a footnote: “(2) *l. miššōm’rîm*”, — which is connected with v. 7.

²⁾ As well as the two *’ādōnāy* of vv. 2 and 3 are dittographs, both after *YHWH*.

THE מוֹת OF GRANDEUR

It is well attested now that hidden traces of the mythological מוֹת = מוֹת, Mot, the god of death and Sheol mentioned in the Ugaritic texts, are to be found here and there in Scripture.

The late Prof. U. CASSUTO¹⁾ had pointed out that the hitherto obscure expressions such as מוֹת בַּחֲלוֹנֵינוּ ²⁾ = For Mot is come up through our windows; אֲשֶׁר הִרְחִיב כְּשֹׂאוֹ נַפְשׁוֹ וְהוּא כְּמוֹת וְלֹא יִשְׂבַּע ³⁾ = Who enlarges his desire (or self) as Sheol, and is like Mot which can not be satisfied; and the like, are referred to this god, Mot.

Prof. CASSUTO⁴⁾ explains the proper names עֲזֻמוֹת ⁵⁾ Azmaweth; חֲצַרְמוֹת ⁶⁾ Hasarmawet, as bearing the name of מוֹת, Mot, even as בֵּית אֵל = Beth El, בַּעַל פְּרָצִים = Baal Perasim etc. bear the names of אֵל El or בַּעַל Baal. (f. עֹז כְּמוֹת אֱהָבָה ⁷⁾) Strong as Mot is love, love is as strong as the god Mot.

We may also see references to Mot in passages like כִּרְתָּנוּ בְּרִית ⁸⁾ = We have cut a covenant with Mot, and with Sheol we made an agreement; וְכֹפֶר בְּרִיתְכֶם עִם מוֹת ⁹⁾ = and your covenant with Mot should be annulled.

From the parallelism of Sheol to Mot it may be assumed that Sheol is just a synonym of Mot. If this is correct, the god Mot—known also as Sheol—is mentioned and referred to in many other passages such as לָכֵן הִרְחִיבָה שְׂאוֹל נַפְשָׁהּ וּפָעָרָה פִּיהָ לְבִלִּי חֶק ¹⁰⁾ = Therefore has Sheol enlarged her desire (or self), and opened her mouth without measure, מִיַּד שְׂאוֹל אֶפְדֶּם מָמוֹת אֲנָאֵלִם ¹¹⁾ From the hand of Sheol would I ransom them, from Mot would I redeem them.

Sometimes, then, Sheol is referred to as a feminine entity (could she be Mot's spouse?). However it appears frequently as masculine: אֱהִי קִטְבֶּךָ שְׂאוֹל ¹²⁾ — Where is thy (m.) pestilence, O Sheol? נִגְדוּ שְׂאוֹל ¹³⁾ = Sheol is naked (m.) before him.

¹⁾ *The Goddess Anath*, Bialik Institute, Jerusalem, 1951, pp. 47-9.

²⁾ Jer ix 20.

³⁾ Hab. i 5.

⁴⁾ *The Goddess Anath*, p. 28.

⁵⁾ Neh. vii 28.

⁶⁾ Gen. x 26.

⁷⁾ Song viii 5.

⁸⁾ Is. xxviii 15.

⁹⁾ Is. xxviii 18.

¹⁰⁾ Is. v 14.

¹¹⁾ Hos. xiii 14.

¹²⁾ Hos. xiii 14.

¹³⁾ Job xxvi 6.

It seems, however, that in addition to all these examples and the like, we can see more traces of the god Mot, unobserved hitherto. In order to discover them we have to examine the following Biblical expressions first:

נשיא אלהים¹⁾ = a prince of God (or gods); פחד יהוה²⁾ = a dread of Yahwe; חרדת אלהים³⁾ = a terror of God; חסד יהוה⁴⁾ = the kindness of Yahwe; תרדמת יהוה⁵⁾ = a sleep of Yahwe; הררי אל⁶⁾ = mountains of God; ארוי אל⁷⁾ = cedars of God; אריאל⁸⁾ = the lion (= hero) of God.

Also כרמל, Carmel, is כרם + ל (from אל) (the Lamed of Grandeur), and probably ספל (ספל אדירים) is סף (סף רעל)⁹⁾ + ל.

In all these examples the divine name of course simply indicates the superlative or grandeur. Thus נשיא אלהים — a highly respected prince; פחד יהוה = a great fear; חרדת אלהים = a terrible terror; תרדמת אלהים = an exceedingly deep sleep; חסד יהוה: an extreme kindness; הררי אל = lofty mountains; very tall cedars; אריאל = a very great lion (hero), etc.¹⁰⁾.

By the same token we may take as expressions of grandeur and magnitude such idioms as:

מהומת מות¹¹⁾ = a confusion of מות; משברי מות¹²⁾ = waves of מות; מוקשי מות¹³⁾ = snares of מות; אימות מות¹⁴⁾ = terrors of מות;

On bases of the parallelism of Mot//Sheol we may add to these חבלי שאול¹⁵⁾ the bonds of Sheol.

The word מות (as well as its parallel, שאול) in these expressions refers to the god Mot and its only function in such idioms is to indicate grandeur or magnitude, just like אלהים, יהוה and אל in the previous examples. Accordingly we must understand similar expressions thus: מהומת מות = a very great confusion; משברי מות = violent waves; מוקשי מות = dangerous snares; חבלי מות / חבלי שאול = strong bonds.

Svi RIN

¹⁾ Gen. xxiii 6.

²⁾ 1 Sam. xi 7.

³⁾ 1 Sam. xiv 5.

⁴⁾ 1 Sam. xx 14.

⁵⁾ 1 Sam. xxvii 12.

⁶⁾ Ps. xxxvi 7.

⁷⁾ Ps. lxxx 11.

⁸⁾ Jud. v 25.

⁹⁾ Zec. xii 2.

¹⁰⁾ Cf. D. WINTON THOMAS, „A consideration of some unusual ways of expressing the superlative in Hebrew”, VT III (1953) pp. 209-224.

¹¹⁾ 1 Sam. v 11.

¹³⁾ 2 Sam. xxii 6.

¹⁵⁾ 2 Sam. xxii 6.

¹²⁾ 2 Sam. xxii 5.

¹⁴⁾ Ps. lv 5.

THE 'THIRTIETH' YEAR IN EZEKIEL I 1

The opening paragraph of the Book of Ezekiel reads thus:

'1 In the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month, as I was among the exiles by the river Chebar, the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God. 2 On the fifth day of the month (it was the fifth year of the exile of King Jehoiachin), 3 the word of the Lord came to Ezekiel the priest, the son of Buzi, in the land of the Chaldeans by the river Chebar; and the hand of the Lord was upon him there. 4 As I looked . . .' (R.S.V.)

It will be observed that this passage is composed of material which in effect constitutes two superscriptions to the book. It is not a question, however, of mere repetitious clauses, for each superscription differs both in the year mentioned and in the designation of the place of the prophet's call. The second superscription is, moreover, written in the third person and supplies additional biographical details regarding Ezekiel's rank and family. On the other hand the language relating to time and place in verse 1 agrees with that employed in corresponding specifications throughout the book and it therefore appears that the verse is an integral part of the work. It again connects syntactically with verse 4 which continues the narrative in the first person. Such considerations indicate that verses 2-3 are secondary, although they may incorporate material which originally pertained to a subsequent vision of the prophet.

The 'thirtieth' year of verse 1 still, however, presents a chronological difficulty. The dates attached to the oracles of Ezekiel appear to be reckoned from the year of the captivity (xxxiii 21), and the year mentioned in verse 1 might thus be expected to refer to the thirtieth year of exile. This would imply that the verse pertains to an incident late in the prophet's career and that accordingly it is misplaced in its present context. But it is doubtful if this is the case, as the topographical and other details of the verse are such as would be expected in connection with the prophet's call rather than elsewhere in the book.

In what sense, however, could the 'thirtieth' year refer to Ezekiel's call? Many attempts have been made to suggest an answer to this question, the most common perhaps being that it refers to the thirtieth year after Josiah's reformation in 621 B.C. As C. G. HOWIE reminds us 'The Targum, Jerome, HERRMANN, HÖLSCHER and Louis FINKELSTEIN are only a few of the scholars ancient and modern

to accept this interpretation' ¹⁾. This would place the prophet's call in 591; but as there is no known instance of such a reckoning, or indeed that the reformation of Josiah was ever thought of as an era, we have no strong grounds for acceptance of the view. Even earlier periods have been proposed as the *terminus a quo* for the figure. Thus J. SMITH calculated the 'thirtieth' year from the fall of Samaria in 721 ²⁾, while C. C. TORREY thought it was intended as a reference to the thirtieth year of the reign of Manasseh ³⁾. But as SMITH placed the activity of the prophet in the early seventh century and as TORREY regarded the book as a pseudigraph of the third century their proposals have little relevance for the historical Ezekiel ⁴⁾. The attempt has also been made to see in the 'thirtieth' year a reference to the age of the prophet himself. This interpretation is as old as Origen ⁵⁾, and Otto EISSFELDT and J. A. BEWER are amongst those who supported it in more recent years ⁶⁾. We have, however, no other instance of a precise reference to a prophet's age at the time of his call, and we may doubt if Ezekiel could be an exception. It has again been suggested by W. F. ALBRIGHT and others that the year in question is the thirtieth of Jehoiachin's captivity and that it is mentioned here by Ezekiel as the year in which he edited and published his oracles. ⁷⁾ But this raises the question as to whether the mere editing of former oracles should in itself be the occasion of a vision such as the prophet experienced in this context. These and many other suggestions have been made in the effort to explain the enigmatic 'thirtieth' year in Ezekiel i 1 ⁸⁾, but none is really free from difficulties. It is therefore not surprising that some scholars regard the problem of the 'thirtieth' year as inscrutable ⁹⁾, and wonder if indeed we can ever arrive at an acceptable solution ¹⁰⁾.

¹⁾ *The Date and Composition of Ezekiel*, 1950, p. 39.

²⁾ *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel: A New Interpretation*, 1931, pp. 90 ff.

³⁾ *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy*, 1930, pp. 63 f.

⁴⁾ For a criticism of TORREY's views see S. SPIEGEL, *H. T. R.* 24 (1931), pp. 244-321.

⁵⁾ See *Patrologia Graeca*, 1862, 13, cols. 672, 675.

⁶⁾ EISSFELDT, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1934, p. 412; BEWER, *A. J. S. L.* 50 (1933), pp. 96-101; so also K. BUDE, *J. B. L.* 50 (1931), pp. 20-41.

⁷⁾ ALBRIGHT, *J. B. L.* 51 (1932), pp. 96 f.; SPIEGEL, *loc. cit.*, pp. 285-289; C. G. HOWIE, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 91 ff.

⁸⁾ See the literature cited by BEWER, *loc. cit.*, pp. 96-98; HOWIE, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-41; Georg FOHRER, *Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezechiel*, 1952, pp. 110-116; H. H. ROWLEY, *B. J. R. L.* 36 (1953), pp. 177 ff.

⁹⁾ So e.g., W. A. IRWIN, *The Problem of Ezekiel*, 1943, p. 226.

¹⁰⁾ So H. H. ROWLEY remarked, 'I know of no wholly satisfactory solution', *loc. cit.*, p. 182.

Any fresh treatment of the question is perhaps best pursued on the assumption that whatever was the year mentioned in verse 1 it was based on the system of dating apparent throughout the rest of the book; that is to say, it was reckoned from the beginning of the exile or from the year of Jehoiachin's captivity ¹). As the date appears at the beginning of the book it is further reasonable to assume that it refers to the year of Ezekiel's call ²). This year in turn may be most profitably approached from a consideration of the circumstances of the exilic community. It is unlikely that Ezekiel entered on his ministry immediately after deportation, as Jeremiah would scarcely have written his letter to the exiles had a prophet of Yahweh already been amongst them. Jeremiah's letter is not dated but it is implied (Jer. xxix 2) that it was shortly after Jehoiachin and his fellow exiles 'had departed from Jerusalem', and it is therefore probable that J. P. HYATT is correct in stating that it 'was written within a few years of the Babylonian exile' ³). This letter indicates that, instigated by the false prophets, a revolutionary spirit prevailed amongst the exiles. For not only did these prophets propagate rumours that the exile would shortly be brought to an end, but they apparently encouraged resistance to the Babylonian government of the day. Their agitations finally proved so subversive of official authority that Nebuchadrezzar adopted the extreme measure of condemning two of them to death (Jer. xxix 22 f). It was doubtless in the knowledge of such developments that Jeremiah counselled the exiles to establish their homes in Babylon and to become worthy citizens of the land (xxix 5f.). This was, however, advice which under the circumstances could scarcely be acceptable, and it is recorded that a priest named Shemaiah bitterly resented the intimation regarding the indefinite duration of the exile (xxix 24 ff.).

The situation in Babylon at this time is fortunately now further illuminated by recently published records from the Babylonian Chronicle ⁴). This material informs us that in the tenth year of his reign (595/4) Nebuchadrezzar was confronted by a revolution in his army which was only suppressed by the execution of many of his troops and their leaders. A tablet pertaining to the same period further

¹) See here, ALBRIGHT, *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 5 (1942), p. 54.

²) It may be observed that IRWIN who is so sceptical of the other dates remarks here: 'Unquestionably, the incident under this date is Ezekiel's prophetic "call"' *op. cit.*, p. 268.

³) *Interpreter's Bible*, vol. 5, 1956, p. 1016.

⁴) *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings*, 1956, by D. J. WISEMAN, pp. 36 f.; 73.

records the confiscation of the property of a prominent landowner who had been put to death for violating his oath with the king and for subsequent insurrection¹). Such local revolts as these provided the false prophets with a basis for their rebellious attitude towards Babylon and for their optimistic declamations regarding the end of the exile. The consequence was that instead of adjusting themselves to their new situation the exiles were passing through a period of tense and futile expectancy. It is therefore probable that it was at this critical juncture of events that Ezekiel assumed his prophetic office. Jerusalem, as we now know from the Babylonian Chronicle, was captured on the second day of the month Adar, that is on the 16th of March 597²). As Adar (Feb./March) was the last month of the Judean and Babylonian year it was followed by Nisan (March/April), the first month of the New Year; and if we may accept the tradition in 2 Chronicles (xxxvi 10) that Jehoiachin was taken to Babylon 'in the Spring of the year' (R.S.V.), then the captivity began in the year 597/6. The year 595/4 in which the revolts against Nebuchadrezzar occurred was thus the same year as the third year of Jehoiachin's captivity. It is accordingly probable that this is the year which underlies **בְּשָׁלִשִּׁם שָׁנָה** in the present Massoretic text.

Volkmar HERNTRICH has of course already suggested that the 'third' year should be read in place of the 'thirtieth' in Ezekiel i 1³). He, however, regarded that particular year as the third year of Zedekiah, and, on the assumption that the first year of Zedekiah was reckoned from 596/5, claimed to reconcile the third year of that king with the fifth year of Jehoiachin which he calculated as 593/2⁴). Even on this reckoning the years do not quite coincide; but as Jerusalem fell in the middle of March 597 Zedekiah's accession must also have taken place in that same month. His regnal year would therefore begin on the following month which was that of the New Year 597/6⁵). Again in attempting to reconcile the two dates of Ezekiel i 1-3 HERNTRICH placed Ezekiel's call as late as 592.

¹) WISEMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

²) WISEMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 33, 73. See also his comments in *Documents From Old Testament Times* (ed. D. WINTON THOMAS), 1958, pp. 80 f.

³) *Ezechielprobleme*, 1932, p. 63.

⁴) *Ibid.*

⁵) See here D. N. FREEDMAN, *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 19 (1956), 3, p. 54. It is likely that regnal years were calculated in Judah at this period on the same basis as the Babylonian 'post-dating' system; that is, the period between the king's accession and the next New Year was called the 'accession year', while

HERNTRICH did not offer any reconstruction of the Hebrew letters which would constitute his 'im dritten Jahr'. He merely remarked, 'Graphisch liegt diese Konjectur sehr nahe' (*ibid.*). Some of his critics have pointed out that 'the third year' should strictly be בַּשָּׁנָה and not בְּשָׁלִישִׁי שָׁנָה as implied by HERNTRICH¹). But even though the present M. T. בְּשָׁלִישִׁים שָׁנָה would have to be emended to בַּשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁלִישִׁית such a change is scarcely more radical than some other readings proposed²). Emendation is indeed the last resource of an exegete and its justification alone lies in the offer of an acceptable reading. The text proposed here yields a date which harmonises with the chronology in the rest of the book and, moreover, connects the call of Ezekiel with a period which was so critical for the exilic community.

Bangor

C. F. WHITLEY

his first 'regnal year' only began with the New Year Festival. The 'ante-dating' system was that in which the accession year was itself reckoned as the first regnal year. See here, again, N. D. FREEDMAN, *loc. cit.*, p. 53 n. 13, and pp. 56-57. HERNTRICH has assumed with some scholars (cf. e. g., Jack FINEGAN, *J.B.L.*, pp. 62, 64 n. 5) that the regnal years were reckoned in Judah from Tishri to Tishri (Autumn to Autumn) rather than from Nisan to Nisan. This would not however affect the actual year of Jehoiachin's deportation.

¹) So e.g., BEWER, *loc. cit.*, p. 98; G. FOHRER, *op. cit.*, p. 116 n. 52.

²) In arguing that the 'thirtieth' year refers to Ezekiel's age BEWER declared that this is 'the most plausible explanation, irrespective of whether the M.T. is to be retained or emended' (*loc. cit.*, p. 98), and it will be noted that the emendations cited by him in support of his view involve no inconsiderable reconstruction. Similarly, the solution proposed by ALBRIGHT not only involves a re-arrangement of many of the clauses in verses 1-3 but also some emendation of the text itself, *J.B.L.* 51 (1932), p. 97.

A NOTE TO *V.T.*, IX, No. 2, p. 176 sq.

To prevent possible misunderstandings. I wish to add that I do *not* regard the verbal stem *l'hāreḥ* as denominative from any noun in the sense of Qal and Hif'il of this root; but hold that even the contrary relation of at least *baeraeḥ* to the verbal stem cannot be conclusively proved.

Tornio

A. MURTONEN

REVIEWS

X/ Johannes LINDBLOM: *A Study on the Immanuel Section in Isaiah. Isa. VII, I-IX, 6* (Scripta minora regiae societatis humaniorum litterarum Lundensis, 1957-1958, 4). Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 57 S.

Die Erforschung der Immanuel-Perikope geht unentwegt auf den bekannten Geleisen weiter, indem wohl alle der bisher schon erwogenen Lösungen nach wie vor ihre Vertreter finden. Eine Zusammenstellung der jüngsten Arbeiten findet sich bei Hans Walter WOLFF, *Immanuel* (Biblische Studien 23, 1959) S. 28 ff. WOLFF schlägt insofern einen neuen Weg ein, als er darauf verzichtet, die Frage nach der Person des Immanuel und seiner Mutter zu beantworten. Die Verkündigung des Jesaja von Mutter und Kind bleibe ein Geheimnis, „mindestens für die Hörer, wahrscheinlich auch für den Propheten selbst“ (S. 35).

Angesichts einer kaum weniger denn je gespaltenen Situation, kommt den Darlegungen eines Meisters der Prophetenforschung, wie LINDBLOM es ist, besondere Bedeutung zu. Er nimmt den Abschnitt Jes. vii 1-ix 6 als eine überlieferungsmässige Einheit mit Stücken, die sich zum grössten Teil auf den „Syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg“ bezögen. Vom Sammler des erwähnten Abschnittes sei auch der Zusammenhang von vii 2-25 geschaffen. LINDBLOM zerlegt ihn in drei Teile Vs. 2-9, 10-17 und 18-25, wobei das letztere Stück in vier gesonderte Einheiten gegliedert wird, nämlich Vs. 18-19, 20, 21-22, 23-25 (S. 45f.). Auch zwischen Vs. 2-9 und 10-17 wird ein starker Einschnitt postuliert (S. 15). Mit Vs. 10 beginne eine neue „Revelation“ in neuer Umgebung. Die Ortsangabe von Vs. 3 beziehe sich nur auf die erste Begegnung des Propheten mit dem König; die zweite (Vs. 10-17) habe sich dagegen im Königspalast zugetragen.

Am Text von Jes. vii 10-17 ändert der Verfasser gar nichts; er nimmt ihn in allen Teilen so, wie er sich bietet. Was den Inhalt anlangt, so betont er (S. 16 f.), in Vs. 10-17 gingen die Linien des vorangehenden Stückes weiter, was bedeutet, dass die anfängliche Rettungs- und Heilszusage sich uneingeschränkt fortsetzt. Das Immanuel-Zeichen sei darum ein bestätigendes und optimistisches. Im ganzen Abschnitt gibt es somit nur Heilszusage, auch in Vs. 17. Darin werde Vs. 16 unmittelbar weitergeführt und eine Glückszeit angekündigt, wie sie seit der Reichstrennung nicht mehr bestanden habe (S. 26 f.).

In Immanuel sieht der Verfasser einen „prophetischen Symbolnamen“, dessen Träger ein königlicher Prinz sei, Hiskia, der Sohn des Ahas. Die *‘almā* ist demgemäss die Königin. Im Zusammenhang mit diesem hebräischen Wort werden (S. 19 f.) auch die bekannten ugaritischen Parallelen berücksichtigt; doch betont LINDBLOM gegenüber HAMMERSHAIMB, dass weder der Ausdruck „die junge Frau“ noch der mit der Geburt des Immanuel verbundene Satz einen besonderen kultischen Klang habe, und in Vs. 15-17 werde einfach, ohne messianischen Nimbus, ein Bild der Ereig-

nisse entworfen, die mit der Geburt des königlichen Kindes sich ereignen werden. Jesaja sei hier von geläufigen Gedanken über den König und die Geburt eines Königskindes abhängig (S. 24).

Aus der gleichen Situation wie vii 2-17 leitet der Verfasser (S. 28 ff.) auch die Stücke viii 1-4, 9-10, 11-15, ix 1-6 und xvii 1-6 ab. Sie werden in diesem Sinne besprochen, doch können wir darauf nicht weiter eingehen. Uns genüge der Hinweis, dass ix 1-6 — vor allem wegen Vs. 5 — im Unterschied zu ALT (*Kl. Schr.* II, S. 206 ff.) nicht als Ankündigung einer Thronbesteigung verstanden wird, sondern als Jubel über die Geburt eines Davididen, und zwar eben desjenigen, den Jesaja (vii 14) Immanuel nennt (S. 33 ff.). Nun sind LINDBLOM die Probleme nicht verborgen, die sich ergeben, wenn Immanuel, nach dessen Zeit nach vii 18 ff. und viii 5-8 neue Gerichte kommen, mit dem Kind von ix 1-6 gleichgesetzt wird, zu dem nach Vs. 6 ein dauerndes Friedensreich gehört. LINDBLOM löst diese Schwierigkeit durch die Annahme, die mit Immanuel anhebende Glückszeit sei nur als eine Art Interregnum gedacht gewesen. Immanuel sei lediglich der Gründer einer weiteren Reihe idealer davidischer Herrscher, denen einst das zur Gerichtszeit im „Rest“ verborgene Friedensreich zufallen werde (S. 38 f., 49 f. und 56 f.).

Die Stellungnahme zu den vorstehenden Thesen ist für einen Rezensenten nicht leicht, der sich schon mehrfach selber zum Gegenstand geäußert (vgl. *ZAW* 68, 1956, S. 46 Anm. 1) und damit zu den verschiedenen Problemen Stellung bezogen hat. Für ihn besteht die Gefahr, zu wenig auf andere Meinungen zu hören oder zu rasch mit ihnen fertig zu werden. Trotzdem wage ich es, in eine kurze Auseinandersetzung mit LINDBLOM einzutreten.

Vorweg weiss ich mich dabei mit ihm einig in der trotz Ugarit nicht zu engen kultischen Auffassung von Jes. vii 14 und im Bestreben, die Immanuel-Perikope im Zusammenhang mit zeitlich nahestehenden Jesaja-Worten zu erklären. Die Rücksicht auf solche hindert LINDBLOM daran, Jes. vii 10-17 als Heilswort in absolutem Sinn zu verstehen; denn die hier angekündigte Glückszeit ist durch das unabwendbare und von Jesaja von Anfang an erwartete Nahen der Assyrier begrenzt. Entsprechend kann auch das Kind von ix 1-6 nicht Herrscher in vollem Sinn sein, sondern eben nur der Anfänger einer künftigen und glücklicheren Königsreihe. Damit wird aber LINDBLOM weder dem Text von Jes. vii gerecht noch dem von Jes. ix, indem er vom ersteren zuviel und vom letzteren zuwenig sagt. So verständlich es ist, dass er von seinen Voraussetzungen aus die Herrschaft des Immanuel als Interregnum bezeichnet, so wenig entspricht das doch dem Text. Denn dieser will in vii 10-17 durchaus keine reine Heilschilderung geben, vielmehr visiert er Rettung und Gericht zugleich. Rettung, weil — wie LINDBLOM mit Recht betont — die Zusage von vii 2-9 ergangen ist und in Kraft bleibt, Unheil insofern, als der König dieser Zusage misstraut und das angebotene Zeichen ablehnt. Trotz LINDBLOM muss im Blick auf den Zusammenhang und den Sprachgebrauch bei Jesaja (vgl. *VT* 4, 1954, S. 31 Anm. 2) *lākēn* in drohendem Sinn verstanden werden, und das Gleiche gilt für Vs. 17, wo die Überlieferung in mehreren Instanzen dafür spricht (vgl. *VT* 4 S. 32).

Die Auffassung als reines, die nahe Geburt des Königskindes anzeigendes Heilswort, zwingt LINDBLOM auch dazu (S. 17), das Wort 'ōt (Vs. 14) in dem abgeblassten Sinn von Wunder zu verstehen. Das ist jedoch in einem Zusammenhang unwahrscheinlich, bei dem es sich um das künftige Eintreten eines angesagten Ereignisses (Befreiung von Jerusalem) und um die Beglaubigung der Vorhersage durch ein näherliegendes Geschehen handelt. Hier ist doch ohne Zweifel die eigentliche Bedeutung des Wortes 'ōt am Platz, wie man sie aus Ri. vi und 1. Sam. x kennt; ganz abgesehen davon, dass im Hebräischen für den Begriff „Wunder“ die Wurzel *nīplā'*, *pālū'* etc. zur Verfügung steht.

Die Gleichsetzung des Immanuel mit Hiskia habe ich stets als besonders unwahrscheinlich angesehen. Daran muss ich auch jetzt festhalten. Neben anderen Gründen fallen die chronologischen Schwierigkeiten ins Gewicht, wie sie jüngst wieder von WOLFF, *Immanuel*, S. 29 dargelegt worden sind. Das sind Tatsachen, gegen welche die Bemerkungen von LINDBLOM S. 25 Anm. 3 nicht aufkommen.

Durch seine eindringende Arbeit tritt erneut ans Licht, wie schwierig es ist, Immanuel irgendwie — wenn auch nur indirekt — messianisch zu verstehen und ihn mit dem Kind von Jes. ix 1-6 gleichzusetzen. Angesichts dessen sehe ich keinen Grund, von der sog. „profanen“ Deutung (Immanuel ein Sohn des Jesaja) abzugehen, zumal diese von Edzard ROHLAND, *Die Bedeutung der Erwählungstraditionen Israels für die Eschatologie der alttestamentlichen Propheten* (Diss. theol., Heidelberg, 1956) S. 170 Anm. 2 und von N. K. GOTTWALD in *VT* 8, 1958, S. 36-47 bedeutsam aufgenommen wurde. Sie wäre natürlich erledigt, wenn 'almā, wie KOEHLER und LINDBLOM (S. 18) meinen, die junge Frau bis zur Geburt ihres ersten Kindes bezeichnete. Das ist jedoch eine blossе Vermutung, die sich aus den im Alten Testament vorliegenden Angaben nicht beweisen oder auch nur wahrscheinlich machen lässt.

Bern

Johann Jakob STAMM

Emil BALLA, *Die Botschaft der Propheten*. hrsg. von Georg FOHRER. J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen 1958. 484 S.

Ein unerwarteter Tod hat dem Schaffen des Verfassers ein Ende gesetzt, ehe er die letzte Hand an die Vollendung des Buches legen konnte, das nach den Worten des Herausgebers als „sein eigentliches Lebenswerk zu gelten hat“. Die Übertragung der wichtigsten Prophetenworte und -erzählungen von Mose bis Deuterojesaja und der verbindende Text, der ihrem zeitgeschichtlichen Verständnis dienen und die weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Botschaft der Propheten beleuchten soll, lagen dem Herausgeber abgeschlossen vor. Das letzte Kapitel über die Schriftpropheten der nachexilischen Zeit hat er aus hinterlassenen Manuskripten des Verfassers zusammengestellt, ohne ein eigenes Wort hinzufügen zu müssen. Der Plan des Verfassers, in einem Ergänzungsheft die wissenschaftliche Begründung seiner Übersetzung zu geben, blieb unvollendet, so dass die verschiedenen Textkorrekturen nicht weiter gekennzeichnet sind. Mag

dieser bedauerliche Umstand die kritische Beurteilung und Verwertung der Übertragungen erschweren, so hat doch dadurch die Lesbarkeit des Buches für nicht wissenschaftlich geschulte Kreise, denen es einen lebendigen Eindruck der Propheten vorab vermitteln soll, gewonnen.

Den Kern des Buches bildet die Übersetzung der Prophetenworte und -erzählungen; darauf beruht auch — mag man im einzelnen in der Abgrenzung und Beurteilung der Texte abweichender Meinung sein — ihr bleibender Wert. Man spürt es den Übertragungen ab, dass BALLA als Übersetzer in immer wiederholten gewissenhaften Bemühungen um den Wortlaut gerungen hat, der dem lebendigen Eindruck der Ursprache möglichst nahe kommt und doch so frei und meisterhaft die deutsche Sprachgestalt formt, dass seine Übersetzung vielfach dem Ideal, selbst schon einen wesentlichen Teil der Auslegung zu enthalten, sich nähert. So ist, um nur ein Beispiel zu nennen, die Derbheit der in Jes. xxviii 7 ff. zugrundeliegenden Szene in kaum überbietbarer Weise drastisch getroffen.

Die prophetischen Texte sind so ausgewählt und angeordnet, dass nicht nur das Bild der einzelnen Prophetengestalten plastisch heraustritt; verbindende Texte stellen sie in einen biographischen und geschichtlichen Rahmen, der dem Leser ermöglicht, den Eindruck zu ermessen, den die Worte der Propheten auf ihre Zeitgenossen ausgeübt haben und darüber hinaus auch die überzeitliche Bedeutung der Botschaft der Propheten zu erkennen. Auf diese Weise wird geradezu eine Geschichte des Prophetismus und zugleich die Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Volkes und seiner Religion in wesentlichen Grundzügen dargeboten. Es ist nicht zu verkennen, dass auch hierbei der Verfasser sich mit den Ergebnissen der Forschung ernsthaft auseinandergesetzt hat, wenn auch in der Darstellung diese Auseinandersetzung hinter seiner eigenen Auffassung zurücktritt. In seinem Bemühen, die Prophetenworte aus ihrer geschichtlichen Ursprungssituation heraus anschaulich und lebendig zu machen, sucht er immer wieder von der menschlich-psychologischen Seite her den Zugang zu ihnen zu öffnen; in dieser Hinsicht ist sein Buch verwandt mit Hans SCHMIDT's Kommentar zu den grossen Propheten und sagt zuweilen mehr, als den Texten selbst zu entnehmen ist. Auf der anderen Seite kommen die Verbindungslinien zwischen der prophetischen Verkündigung und der Tradition, die neuste Prophetenforschung herauszuarbeiten bestrebt ist, nicht hinreichend zur Geltung. Das zeigt sich besonders in der z.T. einseitigen Bewertung der einzelnen Propheten für den Fortgang der Geschichte der Religion, wenn z.B. durch Amos die „Epoche des ethischen Monotheismus“ eingeleitet sein, bei Hosea, „einem der grössten religiösen Genies“ der Gedanke der Liebe als etwas Neues erscheinen und Jesaja der erste gewesen sein soll, der „geahnt hat, dass Gott der Herr der Geschichte ist“. Auch die beherrschende Tendenz eines radikalen Gegensatzes zwischen Ethos und Kultus, die BALLA bis zu dem Ziel einer kultfreien Religion hin bei den Propheten verfolgt, entstammt wohl einer Theologie des ethischen Rationalismus, die durch die neuere Forschung entscheidende Korrekturen erfahren hat.

Ein posthumes Werk legt der Kritik Zurückhaltung auf, und dies um so mehr, als seinem Verfasser die letzte Vollendung seines Buches und die

nähere Begründung seiner Aussagen nicht mehr vergönnt gewesen war. Vielleicht wären in einem abgerundeten Werk Joel und Habakuk noch zu Worte gekommen und Prophetentexte wie Mi vi 1ff; Jes. ii 2-4; ix 1-6; xi 1-9; Mi v 1-3 stärker profiliert und nicht mehr unter die nachexilischen Schriftpropheten eingereiht worden. Dessen ungeachtet wird das Vermächtnis dieses Lebenswerkes bei denen lebendig bleiben, die sich von der Botschaft der Propheten ergreifen lassen, wie sie BALLA auf seine Weise dem heutigen Menschen nahezubringen bestrebt war.

Tübingen

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- A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic*, I: The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos. Brill, Leiden 1959, xxii + 358 + viii p. Price: fl. 90.— (in subscription fl. 75.—).

¹⁾ The mention of books in this list neither implies nor precludes subsequent review at length.



Walter B. Benson

HERRN PROFESSOR MILLAR BURROWS

Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

zum 65. Geburtstag

Sehr verehrter Herr Kollege!

Zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag sprechen Ihnen Ihre Fachkollegen die aufrichtigsten und herzlichsten Segenswünsche aus. Mögen Ihnen noch viele Jahre fruchtbarer und befriedigender Tätigkeit beschieden sein! Mit ihren guten Wünschen verbinden Ihre Fachgenossen den Ausdruck ihrer Verehrung und ihrer Dankbarkeit für alles, was Sie für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft bedeuten.

Die Anregung, Ihnen bei dieser Gelegenheit eine „Festschrift“ zu widmen, ist von Ihren engeren Kollegen an der Yale University ausgegangen; und der Herausgeberausschuss von „Vetus Testamentum“ ist dieser Anregung gern gefolgt. So haben sich denn einige Ihrer engeren Kollegen mit einigen Repräsentanten der internationalen alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft zusammengefunden, um Ihnen Verehrung und Dankbarkeit in sichtbarer Form zu bezeugen.

Sie haben die Zeitschrift „Vetus Testamentum“ von Anfang an mit Ihrem freundlichen Interesse und mit Ihrem guten Rat begleitet. Jetzt, da Sie Ihrem Wunsch entsprechend aus dem Herausgeberausschuss von „Vetus Testamentum“ ausscheiden, sei Ihnen herzlicher Dank gesagt für Ihre bereitwillige Mitarbeit, die sich stets bewährt hat, auch wenn Sie mit Rücksicht auf die weite Entfernung nicht immer an den Sitzungen des Ausschusses teilnehmen konnten.

Darüber hinaus dankt Ihnen die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft für Ihre Forschungsarbeit, und zwar besonders für den Geist, in dem Sie diese Arbeit getan haben. Sie haben mit Treue und Gewissenhaftigkeit sich um wissenschaftliche Erkenntnis bemüht, und Sie haben mit Unbestechlichkeit und Offenheit das ausgesprochen, was Sie als wissenschaftlich richtig erkannt hatten. Sie haben damit in vorbildlicher Weise dem Ethos wissenschaftlicher Arbeit gedient.

Ihr Name wird immer verbunden bleiben mit der Geschichte der „Dead Sea Scrolls“. Dass Sie in selbstloser Weise die Ihnen zur Verfügung stehenden Schriftrollen des ersten Fundes ohne Verzug in ausgezeichnete Weise veröffentlicht und damit den Beginn der

wissenschaftlichen Arbeit an diesem so wichtigen Fund möglich gemacht haben, wird Ihnen nicht vergessen werden. Es gehörte Mut und Selbstverleugnung dazu, diesen ersten entscheidenden Schritt zu tun. Sie haben ihn gewagt, und Sie haben sich damit ein bleibendes Denkmal gesetzt.

Nehmen Sie bitte das vorliegende Heft von „Vetus Testamentum“, das notwendigerweise einen begrenzten Umfang haben muss, als eine Huldigung der ganzen alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft freundlich entgegen!

Im Namen des Herausgeberausschusses
MARTIN NOTH

SOME REMARKS ON THE SONG OF MOSES IN DEUTERONOMY XXXII

BY

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The Song of Moses is one of the most impressive religious poems in the entire Old Testament, but it differs so strikingly from other poems in genre ¹⁾ that it has been exceedingly hard to date. The views of serious scholars have in the past ranged over nearly a millennium, but there is lately a strong tendency to date the Song earlier. So, for instance, in the first edition of my book, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1940) I dated it about the seventh century B.C. (p. 227). In the latest edition, on the other hand, published seventeen years later (1957), I dated it "apparently" in the tenth century (p. 296).

Meanwhile Otto EISSFELDT has gone much farther. In the second edition of his famous *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1956) he refers the Song to the middle of the eleventh century B.C. (pp. 271 f.). This very early date is defended at length in a monograph on Deut. xxxii and Psalm lxxviii, published two years later, where he proposes as *termini post* and *ante quem* 1070 and 1020 B.C. ²⁾ My own first reaction was a somewhat dazed admiration for Eissfeldt's daring, but after rereading the chapter over and over again at intervals I have come around to his eleventh-century dating—though a little later with quite different interpretations of some key passages. In this short essay I shall limit myself to observations on a few passages.

Here again the Dead Sea Scrolls have come to our rescue, with Mgr. Patrick W. SKEHAN's publication of a large fragment of a stichometric text of the Song, in typical book-hand from about the Christian

¹⁾ S. R. DRIVER's comments (*An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 6th ed., 1897, p. 96) vividly illustrate the distance traversed by literary criticism during the past half-century. He comments on the "maturity" of thought and style, comparing Deut. xxxii with Hos. ii, Jer. ii, Ezek xx, Psalm cvi, as a historical retrospect. Needless to say, there is little in common when we turn to compare form and language.

²⁾ *Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32 1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78 samt einer Analyse der Umgebung des Mose-Liedes (Berichte über die Verh. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Kl., 104: 5, Berlin, 1958).*

era or a little earlier.¹⁾ Verse 43 is preserved in six cola, as against the four of MT and the eight of LXX. The question is: Have we secondary expansion or contraction of the original text? SKEHAN, following an earlier reconstruction, made before anyone dreamed of the Qumran discovery, proposed a four-colon modification of the MT obtained with the aid of LXX²⁾ CROSS, in a very careful analysis of the recensional variants, agrees substantially with SKEHAN³⁾. EISSFELDT proposes a six-colon reconstruction. Interesting suggestions were also made by H. L. GINSBERG⁴⁾, N. H. TUR-SINAI⁵⁾ and others, before the Qumran text appeared, and similar efforts have been made by various scholars subsequently.⁶⁾ In 1955 I proposed an eight-colon reconstruction⁷⁾, which I should now modify in detail but which still seems to me more likely than the curtailments offered by other scholars⁸⁾:

<i>Harnînu šāmāyim 'immô</i>	<i>we-histahwû-lô⁹⁾ benê 'Elôhîm</i>
<i>Harnînu gôyîm' et-'ammô</i>	<i>we-hîxqû(?) -lô kol mal'akê 'El</i>
<i>Kî dam bânâw yiqqôm</i>	<i>we-nâqâm yâšîb le-šarâw</i>
<i>.....¹⁰⁾</i>	<i>we-kîpper 'admat 'ammô¹¹⁾</i>

¹⁾ BASOR, 136, 12-15.

²⁾ Ibid., p. 15.

³⁾ *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (New York, 1958), pp. 135 ff. For another loss in vss. 14 f. see SKEHAN, JBL, 78, p. 22.

⁴⁾ Tarbiz, 24 (1954/55), pp. 1-3.

⁵⁾ Tarbiz, 24, p. 232.

⁶⁾ See EISSFELDT's convenient survey, *op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 1.

⁷⁾ BASOR, 140, pp. 32 f., n. 27.

⁸⁾ The metrical structure appears as a rule to consist of bicola with 3 + 3 beats, but in the extant text 3 + 2 structure is often found, and our knowledge of Hebrew metrics remains in its infancy. My transcription of Hebrew is as simple as practicable. Since there was as yet not spirantization of BGDKPT I have not indicated it except in the case of *p-f*, where consistency would have flouted all pronunciations employed today.

⁹⁾ SKEHAN and CROSS (doubtfully) suggest *we-bābû 'ôz* for the unique Greek ἐνισχυσάτωσαν, but this seems rather arbitrary.

¹⁰⁾ It seems likely that the colon *û-l-mešanne'ân yešallēm*, which appears both in Q and G, but which is missing in MT, comes from verse 41, as thought by SKEHAN and CROSS. However, the person is different in vss. 41 and 43, there are other partial repetitions in the chapter, and we may have a tricolon here (as certainly in verse 39b). Since it does not fit the eighth colon at all, I omit it and suppose that the original seventh colon has been lost. It should be observed that the sixth colon is not close enough to the parallel text in 41 to warrant cutting it out too.

¹¹⁾ Cf. the suggestions made by GINSBERG and TUR-SINAI to read some word for "blood" here. With reference to the latter's comparison with Accadian *adammatu*, "dark blood", cf. my own view that the antonym of the word in question, *šarqu*, "red blood," appears in Ugaritic with the same meaning (BASOR, 83, p. 41).

This may be rendered:

Rejoice with Him, O heavens,

and bow before him, O sons of God!

Rejoice with His people, O nations,

and work hard(?) ¹⁾ for it, O angels of God!

Truly He will avenge the blood of His sons,

and He will visit retribution on His foes;

.....

and He will cleanse the land of His people!

This restoration is based primarily on G, which is put back into Hebrew in accord with the Qumran fragment, whenever possible. The first colon has been lost in MT by obvious vertical dittography, but G and Q both have it. The second colon has become partially conflated with the fourth; *kol* may have come into the *Vorlage* of G from the fourth colon, which is preserved only in G. For *benê 'Elohîm* cf. Deut. xxxii 8 in Q. The third colon follows MT (with an inserted *'et*) and G; it has been lost in Q just as the first colon was lost in MT. The fourth colon follows the Greek literally, but since it seems to make good sense, it may be approximately correct. The fifth colon follows G and Q; *'abādāw* in MT was presumably substituted for *bānāw* because of its occurrence in verse 36. The sixth colon appears in all three recensions, but there has been dittography in G. The seventh colon seems to have vanished from all our recensions, leaving the eighth colon a torso which may be variously interpreted. Of course, I should not insist on the correctness of my point of view, but it does accord with the increasing evidence from the Qumran Scrolls that our Hebrew originals, once edited in antiquity, suffered far more from omissions by copyists than from additions. In other words, glosses and conflate readings can seldom be detected on the basis of recensional differences alone, though we are often justified in assuming from the state of a text that they may have been incorporated into it by the original editor.

The textual condition of MT elsewhere in the Song of Moses is much better than might be inferred from the above discussion, but there are numerous examples of similar phenomena elsewhere in it. Verse 17, for example, is awkward and strange as it stands in MT; G repeated *yedā'ûm* in the third colon, disregarding the otherwise

¹⁾ Cf. Deut. xii 23, Josh. xxiii 6, etc., for similar idioms. This rendering is only a guess, since we do not seem to have any good parallel.

The other important theological passage is verse 8 f., where the new Qumran fragments published by Mgr. SKEHAN confirm a very important reading of LXX, *benē 'Elōhīm* (so; see *JBL*, 78, p. 22) instead of the *benē Yisrā'el* of MT. The scribal error could not be more natural, in view of the fact that both expressions were so common. Here I must differ from EISSFELDT, who thinks that the appellation '*Elyōn* refers to the later-forgotten head of the pantheon, to whom Yahweh was subject like the other *benē 'El*. On the contrary, we have here merely another example of parallelism carried over groups of verses (cf. verses 21 and 30 f. for cases). Render:

In other words, 'Elyôn = Yahweh kept Israel for His own special domain. This does not, of course, mean that in some earlier polytheistic form of this ethnogonic myth two gods were not involved. It may be pointed out that the *benê 'Elôhîm* (= Ugaritic *bn 'El*) were in pre-Mosaic times also the *bânû 'Athîrat* (Asherah being the consort of El), whose number is given in the Canaanite Baal Epic as seventy. In the Table of Nations (Gen. x) we have approximately seventy peoples listed, and in the Haggada we read that seventy angels were appointed by God to rule the seventy nations.¹⁾ This is, therefore,

²¹ See especially the material collected by Louis GINZBERG in his *Legends of the Jews*, I, p. 181, and V, pp. 204 f. (which gives the references). I was perhaps not entirely wrong in *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1940), p. 227, in identifying the "sons of God" here with the stars, but the emphasis is not on the stars but on the angels as members of the heavenly assembly (see most recently F. M. Cross, *JNES*, XII, 274-277).

ʾēkāh yirdōf ʾēhād ʾelef u-šenáyim yānīšu rebābāb
ʾim-lōʾ kâ šūrām mekārām we-Yabwéh . . . hisgīrām
kâ-lōʾ ke-šūrīm ²⁾ šūrēnū < ba-lōʾ > ³⁾ ʾōyebenū pelikīm

“How can one man chase a thousand,
and two put a myriad to flight,
Unless their “rock” had sold them
and Yahweh had handed them over. .?”
Truly our “Rock” is not like (their) rocks —
 < are not > our foes the judges?

4) It must be remembered that *šûr* in the sense "god" is derived from the word **šûru* (for still older **šubru*, "back, ridge") = Aramaic *šûrâ* and Ugaritic *šûr* (like *g̃m'a*, "be thirsty," Arab. *šami'a*, etc., etc., as shown by GOETZE), "mountain". In exactly this sense the word *šûrim* appears in parallelism with *gebâ'ôt*, "hills", in the Balaam Oracles from the late thirteenth century; see my remarks in *JBL* 63 (1944), 212. In second-millennium Syria and Anatolia all important mountains were deities.

way-yar¹ Yahwēh way-yik'ās min-na'aṣ¹) bānāw ū-bnôtāw

Yahweh saw and He became angry

at the insults of His sons and daughters.

Cases of archaic morphology and vocabulary are common in the Song of Moses; there are many which have not been mentioned here. It is hard not to see a number of instances of archaic consonantal spelling without the *matres lectionis* at the end of words, which generally suggest a written original not later than the tenth century B.C. ²) EISSFELDT's early date for Deut. xxxii thus appears to be justified. He is also clearly right in recognizing the Philistine period as the background of the poem, though I should go farther and point to the intransigent monotheism of the author, which is made all the more vivid by his archaic imagery. Such virile monotheism belongs to a time when Yahwism was fighting for its life against both external and internal foes—in brief, to the period when Samuel rallied Israel against its hereditary enemy as well as against the paganism rampant in its midst.

We cannot directly compare the literary genre of Deut. xxxii with the Blessing of Moses in Deut. xxxiii, since the latter belongs to a category of tribal blessings which goes back long before the Song of Deborah and is therefore replete with extreme archaisms. While we can probably date Deut. xxxiii before the Philistine conquest of Israel in the third quarter of the eleventh century, it may be considerably later than the Song of Deborah. ³) The Blessing of Jacob probably dates after the Philistine conquest but before Saul's reign ⁴) and the solitary incipit of this category which we find in Psalm lxviii may belong to the reign of Saul. ⁵)

¹) With the same sense as *ne'āṣāh*. [Cf. *JBL*, 78, p. 22.]

²) Cf. ALBRIGHT, *JBL* 63, 208 ff., CROSS and FREEDMAN, *Early Hebrew Orthography* (New Haven, 1952) and *JNES* XIV (1955), 237 ff.

³) Note the striking absence in both Judg. v and Deut. xxxiii of the plays on the names of tribes which characterize Gen. xlix and the slightly later Lament of David. The bitter criticism of Levi in Gen. xlix seems to point to the period of lowest Levitic fortunes in the second half of the eleventh century, and is in striking contrast to the earlier praise of Levi in Deut. xxxiii. On the great archaism of the latter see CROSS and FREEDMAN, *JBL* 67 (1948), 191-210; I heartily concur with their orthographic argument for the dating of the Blessing of Moses in the eleventh century.

⁴) Verse 8b does not fit and is presumably a later insertion. As yet no up-to-date treatment of the Blessing of Jacob has appeared, though there are numerous *Vorarbeiten*. Here again we must draw heavily on Ugaritic parallels and on recognition of archaic orthography.

⁵) Cf. *HUCA* XXIII, 1 (1950-51), pp. 30 f. According to MOWINCKEL the entire psalm belongs to the reign of Saul, whereas I should date much of its content to the tenth century.

THE FORM AND STRUCTURE OF THE COVENANTAL FORMULATIONS

BY

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New York

In no area of biblical study has the application of the critical methodologies employed in recent decades proved more fruitful than in our investigations of the Deuteronomic literature. Thanks to the criticism of literary types and to the analysis of the history of traditions we have come to a truer estimate of the range and character of this literature and of the creative forces which went to its making. It has become increasingly clear that behind the promulgation of the Deuteronomic Code of 621 B.C. lies a long history of literary and cultic activity and that this history extends through the rest of the Old Testament, notably in the great prophetic corpuses of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the hymns and liturgies of the Psalter, and the work of the Chronicler, and beyond these into the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament.¹⁾ It should be possible now to trace the course of this development from its beginnings to its culmination in the Qumran texts and early Christian literature with some degree of clarity and to discern the contexts in which they most characteristically appear. Even though Deuteronomic style and theology come to classical expression in the Book of Deuteronomy, it is questionable whether the term "Deuteronomic" is altogether satisfactory since it tends to call too exclusive attention to the Book and to the Josianic Reformation and does less than justice to the whole stream of develop-

¹⁾ The extent of Deuteronomic influence in the literary compositions and the cultic rituals of the Qumran community is now quite generally recognized. We see it most clearly in the liturgical section at the beginning of the *Manual of Discipline* (i. 1-iii. 15), in the anticipation of the coming of the prophet, in the legalistic prescriptions, and the covenant contexts throughout. In the New Testament its influence is to be discerned in the frequent use made of the book (see G. Ernest WRIGHT, *Interpreter's Bible* 2 (1953), p. 311), especially in the Synoptic Gospels. Cf. C. F. EVANS, "The Central Section of Luke's Gospel" in *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot* (edited by D. E. NINEHAM), 1957, pp. 37-54.

ment which precedes and follows it. ¹⁾ It is to the researches of Martin NOTH that we are indebted for a clearer comprehension of the character of the great Deuteronomic work extending from Deuteronomy through Second Kings and for an analysis of the history of the traditions which are there present. ²⁾ Gerhard VON RAD has isolated and described many of the *Gattungen* of Deuteronomy, has stressed the place and function of the cult in the formulation of the traditions, and has sought to trace the origins of Deuteronomic religion and practice. More particularly, he has succeeded in exposing the central motifs which determine the form and structure both of the Book and of the "theology of history" in 1-2 Kings. ³⁾ Many other scholars have subjected this literature to their scrutiny with the result that there is now a greater unanimity on the major issues than a generation ago and we are in a better position than before to do justice to its range and history. Yet, despite these many contributions, much still remains to be done: the large and varied terminology associated with covenantal formulations requires closer attention, the composition and rhetoric and structural forms need to be studied more carefully, and the *Sitz im Leben* of many contexts must be examined more closely. On a different level, the place of the northern kingdom in the history of Israel's literature and religion demands greater recognition.

The following conclusions commend themselves to a large number of scholars: (1) The present book of Deuteronomy is composed of various strata of tradition, but at its base there is a *Grundschrift* emanating from a much earlier period than the time of Josiah. (2) The origin of this *Urdeuteronomium* is variously defined. Albrecht ALT locates it in the period immediately following the fall of the northern kingdom. ⁴⁾ GALLING, ⁵⁾ ROST, ⁶⁾ and OESTERLEY and ROBINSON ⁷⁾

¹⁾ The Book of Deuteronomy itself witnesses to a long history, being composed of a variety of traditions.

²⁾ Martin NOTH, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* I. Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament (1943), pp. 3-100.

³⁾ Gerhard VON RAD, *Deuteronomiumstudien*, FRLANT, N.F. 40 (1947), Zweite Ausgabe. English Translation, *Studies in Deuteronomy* in *Studies in Biblical Theology*, No. 9 (1953). Cf. also *Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium*, BWANT, 3 (1929); *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes*, BWANT, 4, 3 (1930); *Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuchs*, BWANT, 4, 26 (1938). Taken together, these works are an impressive testimony to the vast scope of the Deuteronomic tradition in the O.T. writings.

⁴⁾ Albrecht ALT, "Die Heimat des Deuteronomiums", *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel II* (1953), pp. 250-275. Note ALT's observations on p. 73 concerning the relationship of the Elohist, Hosea, and the Elijah-Elisha narratives to *Urdeuteronomium*, "die vor allem auf das doch wohl ebenfalls aus

adopt a very similar view. W. F. ALBRIGHT apparently traces the nucleus of the Book to the ninth century. ¹⁾ The complex of traditions associated with the Sinaitic covenant have their locus in the old Shechemite amphictyony according to VON RAD and NOTH, and this view has found wide support. ²⁾ It is now generally held that the Reformation of 621 was a movement of restoration, and that its ultimate origin is to be discovered in the amphictyony of Shechem. ³⁾ (3) The provenance of Deuteronomy is the northern kingdom, and the covenantal traditions which it preserves are northern. ⁴⁾ (4) More important is the generally accepted view of the relationship of Deuteronomistic covenantal traditions to the Elohist, and in this connection the close affinities of both the Elohist and Deuteronomy with Hosea and Jeremiah. ⁵⁾ (5) Of considerable consequence, too, is the cultic

dem Reiche Israel stammende elohistische Erzählungswerk im Hexateuch und auf die Erzählungen von Elia und Elisa zu erstrecken wäre."

¹⁾ Kurt GALLING, "Das Gemeindegesetz im Deuteronomium", *Festschrift für Alfred Bertholet* (1950), pp. 176-191; „Das Königsgesetz im Deuteronomium", *TLZ* 76, 3 (1951), p. 138. GALLING dates *Urdeuteronomium* in the last period of northern Israel.

²⁾ Leonard ROST, „Sinaibund und Davidsbund", *ThLZ* 72 (1947), pp. 130-34. ROST also believes that the original book was brought to Judah by fugitives from the northern kingdom (p. 132). Cf. also SELLIN-ROST, *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, Eighth edition (1949), pp. 61 f.; „Es dürfte etwa um 700 entstanden sein."

³⁾ W. O. E. OESTERLEY and T. H. ROBINSON, *An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament* (1934), p. 58. Like VON RAD, ALT, and others, the writers stress the close affinities to the Elohist and Hosea.

⁴⁾ W. F. ALBRIGHT, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (1932), p. 155: "The most natural explanation is that Deuteronomy represents a selection from the religious and family legislation of the region of Shechem, in so far as it was believed in the ninth century B.C. to go back to Moses." Cf. *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1940), pp. 241, 244.

⁵⁾ NOTH, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* (1930), pp. 140-51; *Die Gesetze im Pentateuch* (1940), re-printed in *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (1957), pp. 53-58. VON RAD, *Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuchs*, pp. 30-37; *Studies in Deuteronomy*, p. 45: „Deuteronomy renews the cultic tradition of the old Shechemite amphictyony." The supposition that it was in „the Holy War even more than the Covenant Festival at Shechem that ancient Israel really first entered into her grand form" seems less probable. But see p. 359, n. 1.

⁶⁾ So ALT, VON RAD, NOTH, ALBRIGHT, WRIGHT. Cf. also H. J. KRAUS, *Gottesdienst in Israel* (1954), pp. 43-66 and F. DUMMERMUTH, „Zur deuteronomischen Kulttheologie und ihren Voraussetzungen", *ZAW* 70 (1958), p. 60.

⁷⁾ H. GRESSMANN, „Josia und das Deuteronomium", *ZAW* 42 (1924), pp. 313-46; A. C. WELCH, *The Code of Deuteronomy* (1924); *Deuteronomy: the Framework to the Code* (1932). So also ALBRIGHT, ALT, GALLING, ROST, OESTERLEY and ROBINSON, G. E. WRIGHT, VON RAD.

⁸⁾ J. HEMPEL, *Die Schichten des Deuteronomiums* (1914), p. 268 and *passim*. So ALT, ALBRIGHT, DUMMERMUTH, VON RAD, WELCH, WRIGHT, SELLIN, ROST

setting of the traditions, more particularly of course those associated with the Sinaitic revelation in Exod. xix-xxiv ¹⁾. (6) Many scholars believe that the Elohistc covenantal traditions, preserve to some degree an authentic memory of Mosaic religion and that these traditions lie behind the work of the prophets. ²⁾

The problem of the dates of the Elohist and of *Urdeuteronomium* needs review. ³⁾ The arguments which led to the eighth century date of E have little force today in view of modern reconstructions of the early history of Israel and Israel's early literary history. If the origins of Deuteronomic language, style, and literary structure are to be traced to the latter part of the eighth century and before that period to the Shechemite amphictyony in the period of the settlement, then it is clear that the history of Israel's religious faith requires restatement. This applies *a fortiori* to the covenant formulations of the Elohist and the Deuteronomists, the royal covenant pericopes, and the covenant contexts in the prophets, above all Hosea and Jeremiah.

The Book of Deuteronomy is the covenant book κατ' ἐξοχὴν. But it comes to us as a "second law" and is based in its prevailing terminology upon the formulation of the covenant in Exod. xix-xxiv. G. VON RAD has shown convincingly that the general structure of the two correspond. ⁴⁾ What is more, not only Deuteronomy but many of the other covenant contexts of the Old Testament as well as the theophanies show the influence in representation, language, and structure of the Sinaitic revelation. ⁵⁾ The source analysis of this section has been much controverted from the days of WELLHAUSEN, but it is

and others. Cf. OESTERLEY and ROBINSON, *Introduction*, p. 58: "It would, in fact, not be unfair to describe D as E modified by the teaching of Hosea."

¹⁾ S. MOWINCKEL, *Le décalogue* (1927), pp. 121 f., 132-138. See above all VON RAD, *Das formgeschichtliche Problem*, pp. 23-37. Cf. also NOTH, KRAUS, and WRIGHT.

²⁾ So WELCH, ALBRIGHT, WRIGHT. Cf. KRAUS, *op. cit.*, p. 35: „Alle Hinweise, die Alt und v. Rad geben, führen uns in die erste Zeit der Existenz Israels zurück".

³⁾ Modern study of the history of traditions confirms in many ways the judgment pronounced by Otto PROCKSCH, *Das nordhebräische Sagenbuch: Die Elobimquelle* pp. 307 f., in which he argued for the very early date of the Elohist. Appeal to historical background is notoriously tenuous here, and the contention that E represents a more developed theology can be readily explained if the origins of the election-covenant faith are to be traced to the northern tribes, especially Ephraim and Manassch. See also NOTH, *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch*, pp. 248-9.

⁴⁾ G. VON RAD, *Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuchs*, pp. 24 f.; H. J. KRAUS, *Gottesdienst in Israel*, pp. 51-53.

⁵⁾ This has been emphasized particularly by Arthur WEISER, especially in his commentaries on the Psalms (*Die Psalmen*, ATD, 1955⁴) and Jeremiah (*Das Buch des Propheten Jeremia*, ATD, 1956²).

generally agreed that by far the greater part of it belongs to the Elohist.

Exodus xix 3-6: the Covenant at Sinai

Of crucial importance for our purposes is the little pericope of Exod. xix 3-6 which KÖNIG characterized long ago as „die durchherrschende Dominante aller alttestamentlichen Weissagungen”¹⁾. and KRAETZSCHMAR as „die ausführlichste Darlegung der am Horeb festgesetzten Bundesbedingungen in D”.²⁾ The WELLHAUSEN school tended in general to ascribe the passage to D, and this view is still supported by NOTH.³⁾ But in general the tendency today is to assign it to the Elohist in whole or in part.⁴⁾ It is doubtful whether the hand of the Deuteronomist is to be found anywhere in the Tetrateuch;⁵⁾ the line which separates the literary style of the Elohist from the Deuteronomist is often hard to define. Further, since the whole section of Exod. xix-xxiv is so prevalingly Elohist exceptions require demonstration. Again, other sections of the Pentateuch which betray a very similar style have often been given to the Elohist (cf. Exod. xv 18). As we shall see, the composition of Exod. xix 3-6 is so closely woven and the structure so apparent that the excision of any line of verse actually mars its unity and destroys its literary character.⁶⁾ Finally, when the words and phrases of the passage are compared with their Deuteronomic contexts, in every instance the priority belongs to the Elohist; i.e. it becomes clear that it is the Deuteronomist who is borrowing in his characteristic manner elsewhere and making such transformations as suit his more expansive

¹⁾ Ed. KÖNIG, *Das alttestamentliche Prophetentum und die moderne Geschichtsforschung* (1910), pp. 63 f.

²⁾ *Die Bundesvorstellung im Alten Testament in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (1896), p. 130.

³⁾ *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch*, p. 33.

⁴⁾ O. EISSFELDT, *Hexateuch-Synopse* (1922), p. 47, 146 attributes it to E; G. BEER, *Exodus* (HAT) (1939), pp. 96 f. to E¹; STEUERNAGEL, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, (1912), pp. 150 f. accepts an Elohist *Grundlage* as do OESTERLEY and ROBINSON. BENTZEN, SELLIN-ROST, DUMMERMUTH, and apparently von RAD all assign it to the Elohist. While S. R. DRIVER gives it to J, his subsequent discussion supports the Elohist provenance (*Introduction to the Old Testament* (1916), p. 32).

⁵⁾ Cf. G. E. WRIGHT, *Interpreter's Bible* 2, p. 320.

⁶⁾ Martin BUBER, *Moses* (1946), p. 101, maintains that the protasis of Exod. xix 5 is out of place and renders it "when ye hearken, hearken unto my voice and keep my Covenant:"! Such a deletion not merely destroys the pattern of the structure but robs the passage of its force.

homiletic and parenetic style. What we have in Exod. xix 3-6 is a special covenantal *Gattung*,¹⁾ and it is scarcely too much to say that it is *in nuce* the *fons et origo* of the many covenantal pericopes which appear throughout the Old Testament.

The literary type is the *message* or proclamation, and belongs to the fixed forms of ancient Near Eastern utterance. Its provenance is probably to be seen in the royal message, whether in the manner of the suzerainty treaties which have been illuminated by KOROŠEC²⁾ and MENDENHALL³⁾ or in the epilogues to the great legal corpuses of the Near East.⁴⁾ It is the language of direct address, of proclamation and urgent call to hearing, of stress upon the first and second persons, the *I* and the *Thou*, and above all of the covenant contingency with its protasis and apodosis, which lies at the heart of the message.

The structure of the message may be represented as follows:

Thus shall you say to the house of Jacob,
and speak to *the sons of Israel*:

You אַתָּם have seen what I did to the Egyptians,
how I bore you on eagles' wings,
and brought you to me.

And now עַתָּה if you will listen to my voice,
and keep my covenant

then you will become my own possession among all
peoples

For all the earth is mine

You אַתָּם shall become to me a kingdom of priests
and a holy nation.

These are the words you shall speak to *the sons of Israel*.

The compass of the unit is indicated by the opening and closing lines with the accent falling upon *sons of Israel*. Similarly the first and last lines of the message are introduced by the emphatic second

¹⁾ A part, to be sure, of the larger covenant complex, which VON RAD has described in *Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuchs*, p. 19.

²⁾ *Hethitische Staatsverträge: ein Beitrag zu ihrer juristischen Wertung*, Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien, Heft 60 (1931), especially pp. 88f.

³⁾ *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (1955), pp. 24-50.

⁴⁾ Note the extended conditional formulations (not to be confused with the casuistic laws) in the epilogue to the Code of Hammurabi in PRITCHARD *ANET*, pp. 178 f. Cf. the close of the treaty between Suppiluliumas and Mattizawa (*ANET*, p. 206). Observe how the style here conforms to some of the Deuteronomic contexts.

person pronoun **אתם**. The tricola in the first division is paralleled by the tricola of the second, which opens with the emphatic **ועתה**. The first division culminated appropriately in the climactic "and brought you to me" (**ואבא אתכם אלי**) whereas the concluding colon of the second opens with "and you will become to me" (**והייתם לי**). More striking is the pronounced *I-Thou* style which pervades the whole unit: note the effect of the two-fold **אתכם** in the first division and the three-fold **לי** in the second, thus producing a remarkable climactic effect in the *I-Thou* relation, which is enhanced by the assonance of the whole unit. The nature of the parallelism is clear from the text given above, but there is one feature that deserves special notice, for it reveals clearly how the burden of the message is represented in the literary form. It is apparent from the foregoing analysis that the final colon of the second division requires a parallel to match the bicola of the protasis, that is, the clause *you will become to me* needs the corresponding line of the final climactic colon, and *you will become to me*. And it is precisely this final line which contains the burden of the whole message as is shown by the introductory pronoun **אתם**, the preceding *for all the earth is mine*, which serves to set it apart and yet to relate it to the whole, and by placing the **גוי קדוש** in the crucial position it requires. Indeed the whole message culminates in these words. The first division stresses the mighty acts which brought Israel into the presence of Yahweh on the mountain, the second places Israel before the choice between obedience or disobedience in the great conditional sentence introduced by **ועתה אם** and culminating in the two-fold "you shall be to me" with the stress falling first on **סגולה** of the final colon of the second division and then more emphatically still on the **ממלכת כהנים** and **גוי קדוש**. Whoever has undertaken a study of Hebrew literary composition and rhetoric will be quick to see that such phenomena are by no means fortuitous and that they may be illustrated by scores of examples, not least of all in the contexts of the covenant message. Here we have an example of Hebrew prose style in a very elemental form; one need only read it aloud to catch its nuances and stresses, its keywords and assonance, its proclaiming or preaching style. It is the form which gives us the pattern of the thought. The relationship between Yahweh and Israel is set forth in the very structure of the passage, a conspicuous feature of numerous literary compositions.¹⁾ Israel is witness to what

¹⁾ Note, e.g., the literary structure of the Song of Deborah in Judg. v, the Song of the Sea in Exod. xv 1-18 in its original form, and many of the psalms.

Yahweh has done for her, that is the message of the first division; now she must confront the call to obedience, and upon her decision rest the fateful promises which bring the unit to a climax: סגולה, גוי קדוש, ממלכת כהנים.

We are now prepared to examine the covenant message more closely:

Oracular opening (xix 3b). This style is familiar to us from the similar phraseology of the Mari royal texts and the Hittite treaties.¹⁾ It is the characteristic speech of the messenger, the rôle which Moses is to assume here.²⁾ As we have seen, it is probable that the style and form of the whole unit have their origin in royal discourse. The same manner was employed by the prophets in their proclamations, and it was greatly elaborated in the parenetic, homiletic discourses of the Deuteronomists.

Proclamation of the mighty acts (xix 4). Israel is *witness* to the mighty acts of Yahweh. For the phraseology אַתֶּם רֵאִיתֶם, cf. Exod. xx 22 (E); Deut. xxix 1 (Heb. 2); Josh. xxiii 3 *etc.* This motif of the witness has its ancient Near Eastern parallels,³⁾ and in the Old Testament plays of course a significant rôle, particularly in the covenant contexts (Gen. xxxi 44, 48 (E); Deut. xxx 19, xxxi 28; Josh. xxii 27 f.; xxiv 22-27; 1 Sam. xii 5 (cf. emended text of vs. 6); cf. Isa. xliii 10, 12). For the figure of the eagles' wings Deut. xxxii 11 is to be compared.⁴⁾

The covenant condition (Exod. xix 5-6). Despite the external similarity to the casuistically formulated laws, the affinities of style and terminology are rather with the apodictic constructions,⁵⁾ as is confirmed by the history of the *Gattung* in the Old Testament. The introductory word וְעַתָּה is encountered in many similar contexts and is perpetuated in the later oracles of salvation. [The use of the infinitive absolute

¹⁾ NORTH, "History and the Word of God in the Old Testament" *BJRL* 32 (1950), pp. 194-206. Compare KOROŠEC, *Hethitische Staatsverträge*; MENDENHALL, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East*; J. B. PRITCHARD, *ANET*, pp. 202-3.

²⁾ For the probable royal provenance of the form and terminology see G. E. WRIGHT "The Terminology of Old Testament Religion and Its Significance" *JNES* I (1942), pp. 404-14; Ludwig KÖHLER, *Deuteriojesaja stilkritisch untersucht*, pp. 103 ff. Martin BUBER, *Moses*. Cf. also BUBER and ROZENZWEIG, *Die Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung*, pp. 55-75 („Die Sprache der Botschaft”).

³⁾ MENDENHALL, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, p. 35. See p. 356, n. 1.

⁴⁾ Cf. BUBER, *Moses*, pp. 101-9.

⁵⁾ A. ALT, *Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts*, re-printed in *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 278-332. See the section on „Das apodiktisch formulierte Recht”, pp. 302 ff.

in the call to hearing is noteworthy (Exod. xv 26; Deut. xi 13 f.; xv 5; xxviii 1; Jer. vii 5-7; Zech. vi 15. cf. also Deut. viii 19; Josh. xxii 12; Jer. xii 6). The verb *to hear* at the opening of the prophetic oracles is in all probability derived from the same style. The demand for obedience lies at the center of the covenant relation, though the freely given mighty acts of grace precede it. The first promise of the apodosis is that Israel become Yahweh's *sēgullab*, his treasured possession.¹⁾ The Deuteronomists are aware of the covenant associations of the word (Deut. vii 6-8; xiv 2; xxvi 18 f. Cf. also Mal. iii 17), and elaborate it in various ways, especially by the idea of the נחלה. The second promise that Israel will become a kingdom of priests has no close parallel and is absent from Deuteronomy. It is probably derived from royal speech. The climactic promise is the גוי קדוש, which the Deuteronomists naturally alter to עם קדוש, as in vii 6; xiv 2, 21; xxvi 19; xxviii 9.

A scrutiny of other covenant contexts in the Old Testament confirms the view that the little *Gattung* with which we have been occupied in the foregoing discussion exercised an influence upon their terminology, formulation, and structure.²⁾ There is diversity, to be sure, for covenant speech comes to include a more varied and richer terminology, the formulation is often influenced by its particular setting, and the structure of the protasis-apodosis is elaborated both positively and negatively (i.e. *if . . if not*). But the essential features persist. The presence of the covenant mediator, the motif of the witness ("you have seen for yourselves"), the pronounced *I-Thou* style, the recital of the mighty acts, the emphatic call to obedience, the inclusion of apodictic requirements, the conditional sentence, and the transitional *and now* appear in many covenant contexts. It is noteworthy too that the deliverance from Egypt continues to be the

¹⁾ Mosche GREENBERG, "Hebrew s^gulla: Akkadian sikiltu", *JAOS* 71 (1951), pp. 172-74.

²⁾ Gen. xxvi 26-30 (J?); xxxi 44-50 (E); Exod. xv 22-26 (E); xxiii 22 (E); Lev. xxv 2-45 (H); Num. xxxii 20-27 (J?); Deut. viii 11-20; xi 13-15, 22-25, 26-28; xxviii 1-6; xxviii 15-19; xxviii 58-60; xxx 15-20; Josh. xxiv (E); Judg. ix 15, 16-20; 1 Sam. vii 3-4 (E?); 12; 1 Kings vi 12-13; ix 1-9 (note vss. 4-9); xi 38-39; 1 Chron. xxviii 2-10; 2 Chron. vii 11-22; Neh. i 8-10; Ps. lxxxi; lxxxix 30-37; cxxxii 11-19 (cf. Ps. l, but without the conditional); Jer. iv 1-2; vii 1-15; xii 16-17; xvii 24-27; xviii 7-11; xxii 4-5; xxvi 4-6 (cf. vii 5-7); xxxi 36-37; xxxiii 19-26; Mal. ii 1-5. The same style appears in the vows, as we should expect: cf. Judg. xi 29-30; Ezek. xvii 16, 19. For similar formulations compare Josh. ii 14; 1 Sam. xxvi 17-20; 2 Sam. xv (vss. 8, 25-26); 2 Chron. x 6-8; xv 1-2; xxx 9; Ezek. xviii 3-15. The list is by no means complete, but may be said to be representative.

decisive redemptive event (Josh. xxiv; Lev. xxvi 45; Deut. viii 11-20; xi 3-4; 1 Sam. xii *etc. etc.* Cf. Neh. i 8-10). It is significant also that the covenant formulation appears at the conclusion of the codes of law (Exod. xxiii 22; Deut. xxviii; Lev. xxvi) in the manner of the Hittite treaties noted above and the Code of Hammurabi.¹⁾ It is clear that we are following a stream of tradition here, as is shown by the preponderance of passages ascribed to the Elohist. In most of the passages the cultic provenance is plain to see. While several of the most impressive references have their setting at Shechem (Josh. xxiv; Judg. ix 15, 16-20. cf. Gen. xxxv 1-8), it seems clear that the covenant *Gattung* was also employed in the royal cult of the House of David at Jerusalem. A cursory inspection of such psalms as l, lxxxix, lxxxix, and cxxxii will reveal the degree to which the covenant terminology and form was adapted for use in worship.²⁾ In this connection it is worth observing that they also appear in the context of prayers.³⁾ The prophets also employed covenant words

¹⁾ The Hittite treaties given in PRITCHARD, *ANET*, pp. 201-5 contain a number of interesting features many of which are recognized by KOROŠEC and MENDENHALL. It is noteworthy that in the treaty between Mursilis and Duppi-Tessub of Amurru the appeal to the witnesses (cf. Exod. xix 3b-4) is followed at once by the conditional (cf. Exod. xix 5-6) (p. 205). The situation in the treaty between Suppiluliumas and Mattizawa is even more striking. Here we have the same succession of witness and treaty condition, but the latter is greatly expanded and contains several interesting similarities to the Deuteronomic formulations, such as the reference to the succession of wives, children, children's children. Note the following: "... at the conclusion of the words of this treaty let them be present, let them listen and let them serve as witnesses. If you, Mattizawa, the prince and (you) the sons of the Hurri country do not fulfil the words of this treaty, may the gods, lords of the oath, blot you out ... If (on the other hand) you, Mattizawa, the prince, and (you), the Hurrians, fulfill this treaty and (this oath), may these gods protect you ...". Translation by Albrecht GOETZE.

²⁾ The association of Pss. l and lxxxix with the Sinaitic theophany and covenant have been frequently noted, especially by VON RAD. In Ps. lxxxix the covenant terminology, structure, ideology, and major motifs have been appropriated by the royal theology of the House of David and is therefore focussed upon the king (cf. also 2 Sam. vii; also the discussion *infra* of 1 Sam. xii). The central section (20-37) preserves the two major divisions of the proclamation of saving deeds (20-30) and the exhortation with the conditional protasis and apodosis (31-38). Similarly, in Ps. cxxxii the "oath" sworn to David (11, cf. lxxxix 34-35) preserves the same forms of proclamation (11) and covenantal contingency (12). Cf. S. MOWINCKEL, *He That Cometh* (1954), pp. 73 f.; Aubrey R. JOHNSON, *Sacral Kingship* (1955), pp. 23-27 and *passim*; Hans-Joachim KRAUS, *Die Königherrschaft Gottes im Alten Testament* (1951), pp. 73-78.

³⁾ Israel responds to Yahweh's election-covenant acts in the same language and indeed in the same rhetorical forms as were addressed to her in the proclamation and exhortation of the covenant revelations. In Solomon's prayer of dedication

and forms, most notably Hosea and Jeremiah, though the conditional, strangely, is nowhere present in the former.

Joshua xxiv: the Covenant at Shechem

It is not our purpose here to enter into the textual and historical problems associated with this account nor to attempt any source analysis. Several comments are in order, however. In the first place, the LXX must be used only with great reserve. It is particularly precarious to read *Shiloh* in vss. 1, 25 for M. T. *Shechem*; both textually and historically the latter reading is to be preferred. Secondly, before historical questions can be answered, it is essential to determine the literary character and form of the material, as it has been transmitted. Historical problems often arise because the literary forms are ignored. In this connection it is important to stress the cultic setting in which the event is reported and unfolded and the fact that we are dealing with cultic speech and cultic forms. Finally, source analysis in and of itself often goes astray in failing to view the unit as a whole, to discern its structure and rhetoric, to do justice to the kind of style represented here. The presence of doublets is particularly questionable. One need only examine similar contexts in the ancient Near Eastern texts where repetitions are much more profuse than in their biblical counterparts to appreciate the manner of ancient Semitic style. Our task, then, is primarily to come to a better understanding of this admittedly difficult text.

The Elohistic provenance of the *Grundlage* is generally accepted, and the hand of the Deuteronomic redactor widely recognized. It is possible that the original form has been altered, but we must always reckon with the possibility of omission as well as addition. Be that as it may, an analysis of the rhetoric and structure of the chapter helps us to see something of what was in all probability the original form. Since it is always our first task to discover the limits of the composition, we may observe that the basic narrative is com-

(1 Kings viii 22-53) we have an elaborate composition. The king stands "before the altar in the presence of all the assembly of Israel" and there invokes the covenant with David, constantly calls upon Yahweh to hear, and then articulates the basic protasis-apodosis formulation of the covenant in concrete situations. Interestingly he pleads more than once that Yahweh's eyes may be open (29, 52). The motif of the holy people appears in a climactic context (51), and of course the basic appeal to the deliverance from Egypt receives the emphasis characteristic of the classical covenant contexts (51, 53).

prised in xxiv 1-25, as the opening and concluding verses make clear:

Then Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel *to Shechem*.
So Joshua made a covenant with the people that day, and
made statutes and ordinances for them *at Shechem*.

cf. Exod. xix 3b, 6b.

The report of the covenant event shows the same sense for form, the expression *Yahweh, the God of Israel* appearing in Joshua's first and last words (vss. 2b, 23b). Compare Exod. xix 4a, 6a. It is not denied that vss. 26-28 belong to the tradition, but they are not within the literary unit.

The following outline will suggest what may well have been the original structure:

- I. Introduction: the cultic setting: **וַיִּתְּצֻוּ לִפְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים** xxiv 1.
- II. The Covenant Event at Shechem: xxiv 2-24
 - A. Joshua's proclamation of Yahweh's saving deeds: vss. 2-13.
 1. From the call of Abraham to the Exodus: vss. 2-7.
 - a. The gracious deeds to Abraham (vss. 2-4), concluding *but Jacob went down to Egypt*.
 - b. The mighty acts in Egypt (vss. 5-6a), concluding *then I brought your fathers out of Egypt*.
 - c. The deliverance at the Exodus (vss. 6b-7), concluding *and your eyes saw what I did to Egypt*.
 2. From the entrance into the land to the settlement (cf. 8a and 13a): vss. 8-13.
 - a. The conquest of the Amorites (vs. 8), concluding *I gave them into your hand . . . and destroyed them before you*.
 - b. The defeat of Balak, king of Moab (vss. 9-10), concluding *so I delivered you out of his hand*.
 - c. The victory at Jericho (vs. 11), concluding *and I gave them into your hand* (vs. 12 is difficult: note the antecedent to *them* and the reference to the Amorites, then the generalized conclusion of 12b-13, where the style is certainly Deuteronomic).
 - B. Joshua's exhortation and Israel's response: xxiv 14-24.
 1. The choice between the foreign gods and Yahweh (vss. 14-15), concluding *but as for me and my house, we will serve Yahweh*.

2. The decision against the foreign gods for Yahweh (vss. 16-18), concluding *therefore we also will serve Yahweh, for he is our God.*
3. The fateful consequences of the decision and Israel's renewed affirmation (vss. 19-21), concluding *no, but Yahweh we will serve.*

C. Covenant witnesses and commitment (vss. 22-24), concluding *Yahweh our God we will serve, and his voice we will obey.*

III. Conclusion: vs. 25.

It is clear from the foregoing presentation not only that we are dealing with a formal literary unit but also that it is articulated according to a definite pattern and one which can be paralleled by numerous examples from the prose and poetry of ancient Israel. Yet it is just as clear that an original report has been altered. It is apparent, for example, that while vss. 2-7 and vss. 14-25 contain numerous terminological and structural features associated with covenantal formulations, vss. 8-13 are of quite a different order although a form is easy to recognize here also. To be sure ancient Israel was no slave to literary form, but compositions such as this certainly were originally more coherently and elaborately fashioned. It seems likely, then, that what we have here is a precis or abridgement of what was once a much more elaborate account. If so, it is all the more striking that the original form has been preserved so well.

Only a few general observations are permitted here. In the first place, the affinities with the covenant message of Exod. xix 3b-6 are numerous. The two major divisions are introduced similarly: **יהוה כה אמר** (2b. cf. Exod. xix 3b) and **ועתה** (14a. cf. Exod. xix 5a). In both, the first section is a proclamation of the mighty acts of Yahweh and the second an exhortation or parenesis. Throughout both the *I-Thou* style is pronounced. Both begin with the gathering together of the assembly (cf. also Josh. xxiv 1 and Exod. xix 6). In both we are in a definitely cultic situation (1a: "they presented themselves before God"; cf. Exod. xix 3a).¹ The appeal to witness in Exod. xix 4

¹ See the study of Walter HARRELSON in *Biblical Researches* III (1958), pp. 1-14, in which he offers an illuminating discussion of the verb *hithyasebb* and suggests that it belongs to the terminology of the Holy War. "To take one's stand before Yahweh would thus refer, in its original setting, to the gathering of the able-bodied men before Yahweh . . . Then as the annual gathering of the tribes at the central sanctuary for covenant renewal became a fixed part of the life and worship of Israel, the term was employed to indicate the act of standing at the disposal

("you have seen for yourselves what I did to the Egyptians") is preserved in the climatic line of 7d ("and your eyes saw what I did to Egypt" cf. also 5c). The contrast between Yahweh's acts of grace in the kerygma of xxiv 2-13 and the covenant obligation to serve him in vss. 14-23 is more extended than in the crisp, succinct words of Exod. xix 3b-6 and is greatly accentuated by the choice between the foreign gods, the motif of which is struck at the opening (2d) and then sounded again and again in the parenesis of vss. 14-24, and Yahweh, whose name appears in all the climactic contexts (see the outline), above all at the beginning and end: *Yahweh, the God of Israel* (2b, 23b). This is the choice which the twelve tribes gathered at Shechem are called upon to make, and their decision is the basis for the amphictyony. Again we have the conditional (15, 20), but it is not given in so solemn and well-fashioned a structure as in Exodus. The urgent call to obedience with which the protasis of Exod. xix 5-6a opens **אם שמעו תשמעו בקולי** is superbly preserved in the final words of the assembled tribes **ובקלו נשמע**. A comparison of the relationship between the two passages favors the priority of Exod. xxiv 3b-6. As so often in the Old Testament, the earlier exemplars of a literary type reveal the strictest form, as, for example, in their parallelism. Moreover, the manner in which the various motifs appear in Josh. xxiv suggest that they are borrowed from a literary type, and this we find in a perfect form in Exod. xix. That we are standing within the same tradition is obvious, but the tradition was transmitted according to fixed forms, and an examination of the covenant formulations cited above (p. 355, n. 2) strongly confirms our view that the covenant structure was preserved in the memories of the cult, in its festival celebrations, in its rituals and liturgies, in the oracles of the prophets, and in the royal psalms.

1 Samuel xii: the Covenant at Gilgal(?)

We come now to the third great event of Israel's history under Yahweh, Lord of the covenant. It is the hour of the kingdom. The old order is passing away, a new order is about to dawn. The days of the amphictyony associated with Gilgal, Shechem, and Shiloh have come to a close. Again we have the gathering of "all Israel", presumably at Gilgal. Samuel pronounces his great valedictory to the people,

of the covenant God, ready to join in the rehearsal of his saving deeds and to affirm loyalty to him and him alone" (p. 5).

but he does so in language which belongs to a long history of covenant tradition. He appears to us in a three-fold guise, as covenant representative, covenant mediator, and covenant intercessor. That the stream of tradition with which we have to do here is the same as that in Exod. xix-xxiv (especially xix 3-6) and Joshua xxiv is certain.

The Elohist provenance of the chapter is quite generally recognized; the so-called Deuteronomic phraseology which is present here and there is not surprising, for, as we have seen, Elohist and Deuteronomist not infrequently merge with each other, i.e. the Elohist stream of tradition flows into the Deuteronomic and the latter in turn, has its sources in the former. It is often said that the report has been fashioned after the model of Joshua xxiv, but it is more likely that both accounts go back to the literary genre which receives its classical form in the Sinaitic pericope and was perpetuated in the active cult at the amphictyonic centers. Here we have the same terminology, the same style, the same major motifs, key words, historical memories, and other characteristic features of the covenant *Gattung*. The conservatism shown in the preservation of identical structural features is especially noteworthy, and this is often apparent in the preservation not only of names and events in the same form-critical contexts but also of the rich terminology of covenant speech in the same literary types.

The contents of the chapter may be ordered as follows:

- I. The Passing of the Old Order: Samuel's faithfulness to the covenant: vss. 1-6.
 - A. Introduction: the situation: "*I have made a king over you*": vs. 1.
 - B. Israel's witness to Samuel's obedience as Yahweh's covenantal mediator.

Introduction: *And now, behold the king walks before you* vs. 2.

 1. Samuel's obedience to the apodictic laws vss. 3-5.
 2. Conclusion: *Yahweh has brought your fathers out of the land of Egypt* vs. 6
- II. The Covenantal Order of the Kingdom introduced by ועתה התיצבו vss. 7-15.
 - A. Samuel's proclamation of the saving acts of Yahweh (צדקות יהוה) vss. 7-12.

Introduction: the witness vs. 7.

 1. The Exodus from Egypt: Yahweh sent Moses and Aaron vs. 8.

2. The period of the Conquest: Yahweh sent deliverers vss. 9-11.
 3. The Ammonite war and the request for a king: "... *you said to me, "No, but a king shall reign over us," when Yahweh your God was your king.*
- B. Samuel's exhortation or parenesis, introduced by ועתה הנה.
1. The presentation of the king: *And now behold the king whom you have chosen . . . ; behold, Yahweh has set a king over you.* vs. 13.
 2. The covenantal contingency vss. 14-15.
- III. Yahweh's Act: "*this great event which Yahweh will do before you eyes*", introduced by גם עתה התיצבו.
- A. The sending of thunder and rain, concluding *And all the people greatly feared Yahweh and Samuel* vss. 16-18.
- B. Samuel's intercession for Israel vss. 19-25.
1. The people's request vs. 19.
 2. Samuel's response vss. 20-25.

In the first division the motif of the "witness" is dominant. Now that Israel has been given a king, Samuel calls upon them to testify to his covenantal obedience to a pentad laws, which are here transformed into questions: ¹⁾

את שור מי לקחתי
 וחמור מי לקחתי
 ואת מי עשקתי
 את מי רציתי
 ומיד מי לקחתי כפר

The solemn engagement takes place before Yahweh and his anointed (3b, 5b), probably in the sanctuary of ancient Gilgal. The dialogical style here is similar to Joshua xxiv and is doubtless to be understood as cultic affirmation and cultic response (cf. vss. 5-6; cf. Exod. xix 7-8), culminating in the climactic covenant words: "and brought your fathers out of the land of Egypt" (6b). With this final pronouncement Samuel is prepared to meet the radically new situation which

¹⁾ On the nature of the *Gattung* preserved here see K. GALLING, "Der Beichtspiegel: Eine gattungsgeschichtliche Studie" *ZAW* 47 (1929), pp. 125-130 and especially G. VON RAD, "Die Vorgeschichte der Gattung von 1 Kor. xiii, 4-7", originally published in the Festschrift for ALR in *Geschichte und Altes Testament* (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie), 1953, pp. 153-168 and now in his *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*, pp. 281-296. See pp. 292 f.

has arisen by the presence of the king. What makes the event here described so impressive is that the ancient covenant speech and literary forms are now placed in the service of the new order of the kingdom. The proclamation of the "saving events" is introduced in precisely the same manner as in Joshua xxiv: "They presented themselves before Yahweh" (7). The recital of Yahweh's deliverance from Egypt reaches its climax in the words: "and made them dwell in this place", corresponding to the "and brought you to myself" of Exod. xix 4. The deeds of the Conquest are given much in the style of Josh. xxiv, but, as there, they do not have the richness of covenantal terminology, suggesting that this again is an addition to the original proclamation at Sinai, where every line is essential to the structure. The recital comes to a close in the account of the Ammonite war and its upshot in the demand for a king; here the contrast between covenant and kingship is tightly drawn and thus presents the new situation in which Israel finds itself: "You said to me, 'No, but a king shall reign over us,' when Yahweh your God was your king."

The exhortation or parenesis opens again with the characteristic "And now" (cf. Exod. xix 5; Josh. xxiv 14), but it is given in the context of the new situation: "behold the king whom you have chosen, for whom you have asked; behold Yahweh has set a king over you", thus opening characteristically with the same motif with which the whole episode began (vs. 2). Then follows the covenant conditional, closer to Exod. xix than to Josh. xxiv but more expanded, yet preserving the very heart of the Mosaic formulation: **ושמעתי** (14-15), and again the new situation is accentuated in the final words of the apodosis, "Then the hand of Yahweh will be against you and your king". This concludes the proclamation and exhortation, and it conforms throughout to the covenant types of Exodus and Joshua.

The report of the new event which follows is still in the covenant style: not only the solemn introductory words, "And now present yourselves", but also the call to witness, "See this great event, which Yahweh will perform before your eyes" (cf. Exod. xix 4a; Josh. xxiv 7d), which, again characteristically, is repeated at the close: **כי ראו** (16). The people ask Samuel to intercede with Yahweh on their behalf because they have been faithless to their covenant Lord in asking for a king to rule over them. As Yahweh's covenant mediator and intercessor he accedes to their request, reminding them of the great evil they have done, but calling them back to

covenant obedience and service, for Yahweh has not rejected Israel but 'has taken it upon himself' to make Israel a people for himself **כי הואיל יהוה לעשות אתכם לו לעם** (cf. Exod. xix 5-6) He assures them that he will continue to intercede for them, but again calls them back to their vocation as witness to Yahweh's saving deeds (cf. vs. 24 and 7b!), ending climactically with the covenantal conditional with which we have become familiar (25).

The fundamental stylistic features of the chapter are those of the Sinaitic and Shechemite covenant accounts. We are dealing with the same literary form with its division into proclamation and exhortation, covenant witness and covenant requirement, recital of saving events and call to obedience. It is clear, too, that the terminology is basically the same, although there is a development and an enrichment in Josh. xxiv and 1 Sam. xii. In all three the covenant mediator plays a distinctive role. It has often been said that Joshua is a second Moses, and indeed the Deuteronomic editor of Joshua is at great pains to make this clear throughout the book; Samuel, too, is a second Moses, for he plays the same role as Moses at the decisive moment of the institution of the kingdom. Both Moses and Samuel play the part of intercessor for Israel; a motif perpetuated in the prayers of the King and in the petitions of the prophets in behalf of the people.

In all three instances we are placed in a cultic situation "before Yahweh", and it is apparent that the sanctuary is the locus of all three, as is most apparent in Josh. xxiv and 1 Sam. xii. It has not been our concern here to identify the precise occasion; it is likely, however, that the events at Shechem and Gilgal(?) are thought of in some sense as covenant renewals. The central event in all three is the deliverance from Egypt, as the literary analysis makes indisputably clear, but to the covenant recital at Shechem the events of the conquest are added, as in the covenant recital at Gilgal(?) also. The new event on the occasion of defection to the kingdom (1 Sam. xii 16 ff) comes outside the covenant recital and parenesis, but it belongs to the same basic ideology and literary form and style. In the cult the ancient memories are preserved and transmitted, but each occasion has its own concrete setting: the original covenant at Sinai (the representation of all Israel is of course later accomodation), the covenant of the twelve tribes at Shechem, and the meeting of kingdom and covenant at the end of the old amphictyony at Gilgal (?). In all three covenant events the place of the covenant condition is noteworthy. Inspection of other covenant contexts cited above shows that this feature was

persistently retained; indeed it formed the background against which the prophets (especially from the north) launched their invectives and threats and made their promises for a felicitous future. This basis is classically formulated in Exod. xix, but more fully elaborated in 1 Sam. xii. It is not without significance that the Hittite suzerainty treaties have the same conditional forms, much in the style of 1 Sam. xii and later formulations and that they appear in the epilogues or closing words.

Our examination of the three covenant contexts suggests that we are dealing with an ancient literary form, that terminology and structure may be derived from royal compacts or treaties, and that the covenant mediator and intercessor plays a definite role in all of them. When we turn to the prophetic literature, we see that the covenant types are employed in new settings, especially in the Book of Jeremiah, and that here the protasis-apodosis constructions are given new emphasis in contexts of proclamation and exhortation. It is significant that it is in the Temple that Jeremiah makes his great address (vii 1-15) and that the language he employs is drawn throughout from covenant speech. More than that, the Temple speech is appropriately followed by the motif of the prophet as intercessor (vii 16 ff.). Finally, the question may be raised whether the two basic forms of covenant proclamation (*κήρυγμα*) and exhortation (*διδαχή*) may not be perpetuated in the general structure of the letters of Paul and other early Christian literature.

THE OMRIDES OF JEZREEL

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The present text of 1 Kings xxi was once aptly characterized by GUNKEL in the phrase "mit Auffüllungen überladen."¹) Among other difficulties, the narrative in its present form suffers from the dual location of Naboth's vineyard at once in Jezreel and Samaria.

The problem is first introduced in v. 1 by the phrase אשר בִּיזְרְעָאֵל, which is omitted in LXX. The modifying clause of MT would appear to be unnecessary; if we read of a piece of land belonging to one Naboth the *Jezreelite*, we naturally infer that it is in Jezreel. But we read further in v. 1 that the vineyard is located near the palace of Ahab, king of *Samaria*; in v. 2 the situation of the vineyard near Ahab's house is repeated; vv. 8 and 11 rather imply that Jezebel's letter is sent from a place other than Jezreel, Naboth's native city; and in v. 18 we are specifically told that Ahab is *in Samaria*.

Apparently, then, we are to understand from the present form of the text that Naboth's vineyard lies adjacent to the royal residence in Israel's capital, although Naboth himself is a native of Jezreel; and that the murderous plot is arranged and carried out in Jezreel, to which city, presumably, Naboth is summoned from Samaria. Such, in fact, is BENZINGER's conclusion.²) The frequent occurrence of the full name 'Naboth the Jezreelite' he regards as further evidence that the narrator so meant his story to be understood: Naboth was known in Samaria as 'the Jezreelite'—from his native city.

Most commentators, however, acknowledging the ambiguity of the present text, regard Jezreel as the location of the vineyard; and if this be true, then we must assume that Ahab was in residence in that city. SKINNER³), to be sure, attempts to find a ground between: the vineyard is in Jezreel; Ahab has a residence there; but he and

¹) *Elias, Jahwe und Baal*, Tübingen, 1906, p. 27. Cf. MONTGOMERY-GEHMAN, *Kings* (ICC), 1951, pp. 330-335.

²) *Die Bücher der Könige*, (KHCAT), Tübingen, 1899.

³) *Kings* (Century Bible), Edinburgh, 1904 ff.

Jezebel are living at the time in Samaria. ¹⁾ This suggestion ill agrees with vv. 2-4; and there is reason to think that Samaria figured not at all in the original narrative.

In any case we should undoubtedly omit with LXX the clause **אשר ביזרעאל**. ²⁾ If BENZINGER is right, it is a gross contradiction in the story. If the narrative originally placed the vineyard in Jezreel, the phrase is superfluous.

With the clause a gloss, there is nothing *apparent* which disagrees with BENZINGER's conclusions. On the contrary, vv. 1, 8, 11 and 18 now return the distinct impression that Ahab lives in Samaria where Naboth the Jezreelite owns a vineyard close to Ahab's house; and that Naboth falls into Jezebel's plot when he goes from Samaria back to his native Jezreel where he is stoned to death. Nevertheless, there is considerable evidence that Naboth's land was in Jezreel; that Ahab was living in Jezreel; and that the scene of the entire chapter is Jezreel.

It is in the first place improbable, to say the least, that one Naboth the Jezreelite possessed "the inheritance of his fathers" (v. 3) in Samaria; and if this odd circumstance were in fact the case, the narrative would have remarked this clearly. The designation of Ahab as 'king of Samaria' certainly does not do so. It may be that the word is used as a name of the kingdom rather than the city. It is also possible that **מלך שמרון** is a gloss. It occurs again only once in the Old Testament, and then not with reference to Ahab but to his son Ahaziah. ³⁾ If any such designation were original here it would probably be **מלך ישראל**, which, in fact, we read in v. 18. It may be significant that in 1 Kings xvii-xviii (with xix from the same cycle) Ahab is not once referred to by anything other than his name alone—not even in xvii 1. In xxi 1; then, we should probably read simply that Naboth the Jezreelite had a vineyard close to the palace of Ahab.

In v. 8 Jezebel, having already promised (v. 7) to secure Naboth's vineyard, sends letters in Ahab's name to the elders and nobles 'which (were) in his city'.

The phrase seems to imply—although not of necessity—that Jezebel is writing from a city other than Jezreel; hence that she and Ahab

¹⁾ If a seasonal residence only, Jezreel was not, as SKINNER thinks, the summer home of Ahab, but the winter capital, since its elevation is 1000 feet below Samaria. V.i., pp. 121 ff.

²⁾ So BENZINGER, BURNEY, SKINNER, STADE (*The Book of Kings*, Leipzig, 1904).

³⁾ 2 Kings i 3.

are in Samaria. But it is omitted in LXX, and perhaps correctly: that it may be a gloss is indicated by a second subordinate clause which immediately follows — **הַיִּשְׁבִּים אֶת־נָבוֹת**. The two clauses, coming together as they do, are awkward and redundant. The first should therefore probably be cancelled ¹).

BENZINGER understates the case when he says of v. 11 that it is "unnötig voll". The *RSV* fairly translates:

And the men of his city, the elders and the nobles who dwelt in his city, did as Jezebel had sent word to them. As it was written in the letters which she had sent to them.

It is improbable that this is the original text: the verse is redundantly crowded with clauses. STADE cancels "the elders and the nobles who dwelt in his city" (11a) and all of v. 11b (from **כַּאֲשֶׁר כָּתוּב**) as intrusions influenced by v. 8. Even BURNEY, as cautious as he is, suggests that 11b is a gloss: "the words are redundant after the phrase immediately preceding." Still a third clause should probably be cancelled. As **אֲנֹשִׁי עִירוֹ** in v. 8 appears to be a gloss, so too **אֲנֹשִׁי עִירוֹ** in v. 11a, should be omitted: the two intrusions are apparently from the same hand, with the obvious purpose of stressing the (erroneous) distinction between the cities of Ahab and Naboth. It is quite possible that v. 11 originally read simply "And they did as Jezebel sent word to them."

By reason of the clause **אֲשֶׁר בְּשֶׁמְרוֹן**, v. 18 implies that the scene between Ahab and Elijah takes place in Naboth's vineyard in *Samaria*. But here again there can be little doubt that we have an intrusion. BENZINGER himself, whose suggestion it is that "die Eliageschichte die Sache irrtümlich so verstand, dass Naboth zwar Jesreelite war, aber einen Weinberg in Samarien besass", is compelled to say that the clause "kann nicht ursprünglich sein." STADE, too, marks it as a gloss but with the doubtful explanation that it is an attempt to harmonize 'king of Samaria' (v. 1) and the more common 'king of Israel', also v. 18. SKINNER comments: "The words are a gloss added by one who supposed that Naboth, though a native of Jezreel, had his vineyard in Samaria." This would appear to be the best explanation.

¹) So BENZINGER, STADE, KITTEL (*Die Bücher der Könige*, Göttingen, 1900), and PFEIFFER (*Introduction to the Old Testament*, New York, 1949). The two clauses may be a conflation of variant readings but the second appears to carry a special significance and is therefore preferable.

It is possible, then, that the same glossator is responsible for additions in vv. 1, 8, 11 and 18; and in any case, it is improbable that Samaria figured in any way in the original narrative. The single setting for all the scenes of ch. xxi is Jezreel. It is not difficult to account for the reasoning of this "one who supposed that Naboth . . . had his vineyard in Samaria." For the sake of convenience we shall use the symbol 'Sa' in referring to this glossator (or these glossators). We shall presently see this type of gloss, if not the same glossator, in 1 Kings xxii and 2 Kings x.

The Oracle of 1 Kings xxi 19

We may turn now to the more complex but related problem involved in the word of Yahweh to Ahab through Elijah, 1 Kings xxi 19 (RSV):

"And you (Elijah) shall say to him (Ahab), 'Thus says Yahweh, 'Have you killed, and also taken possession?' And you shall say to him, 'Thus says Yahweh: "In the place where dogs licked up the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick your own blood." ' "

Now Naboth was stoned to death just outside the city of Jezreel (vv. 8-14).¹⁾ The oracle taken poetically, as it should be, predicts two parallels between the blood of Naboth and Ahab: it foretells a coincidence in manner of death-violent; and the place-coincidence-Jezreel. One may well wonder whether Jezreel may not have remained for Omri and Ahab the first, and not a secondary, royal residence.

Omri, Ahab's father, bought and built the site of Samaria for his capital.²⁾ The choice and fortification of Samaria fitted the pattern of political and military wisdom; but a number of considerations suggest the possibility that Jezreel better suited the domestic tastes of Omri and his family. So far as Omri himself is concerned, we can go only upon inference. It has been reasonably suggested that Omri was a native of Jezreel.³⁾ HRRZIG almost a century ago inferred from the various narratives that both Omri and Ahab were particularly appreciative of natural beauty.⁴⁾ Apart from the fact that Jezreel was beautifully situated "on its shelf two hundred feet above the

¹⁾ If Jezreel mentioned in 2 Sam. ii 9 is the city and not the whole plains area, it is by inference there a place of size and importance.

²⁾ 1 Kings xvi 24.

³⁾ A. T. OLMSTEAD, *History of Palestine and Syria*, New York, 1931, p. 368.

⁴⁾ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1869, pp. 174 ff.

plain to which it gave its name", ¹⁾ it is also to be remarked that Samaria was long in process of building. "It was an unoccupied mountain top when Omri purchased it." ²⁾ Left unfinished at his death, work was continued by Ahab; but much that archaeologists previously assigned to Ahab has recently been reduced in date. "It may be that the 'palace of Ahab' . . . will have to be assigned to Jeroboam II." ³⁾ We do not know when, in Omri's reign, Samaria was purchased; but from the fact that any notice to the contrary is totally lacking and that beyond any doubt Jezreel was a place of residence for Ahab, it is an altogether reasonable inference that Omri lived in Jezreel and took up permanent 'residence' in Samaria only when he died. ⁴⁾

In 1 Kings xviii 46 Ahab returns to Jezreel. There is therefore good reason to infer that the scene of xvii 1 and xviii 1-19 is Jezreel and vicinity. It is probable as we have seen, that all the scenes of xxi are laid in Jezreel. Since we never find Jezebel in Samaria, and since Jezreel is the focal point in xvii, xviii and xxi, it is not an unreasonable assumption that the scene of xix 2 is also Jezreel, and therefore Elijah's place of hasty departure.

MORGENSTERN has expressed at length his reasons for regarding Jezreel as Ahab's winter capital. ⁵⁾ One suspects, however, that it was more than a mere seasonal residence, that it was, in fact, the main residence of Ahab's family. Contrary to MORGENSTERN, there is perhaps some real significance in the fact "that Ahab wished to acquire the vineyard of Naboth for a vegetable garden." That notice of 1 K xxi 2 hardly agrees with the picture of a relatively short-term residence each winter.

The importance of Jezreel to the Omrides after Ahab is suggested by the notice of 2 Kings viii 29 (ix 15). When Joram is wounded in battle at Ramoth-Gilead it is to Jezreel that he comes—and this, according to MORGENSTERN's own chronology, in summer. It is true that Jezreel was nearer than Samaria; ⁶⁾ but apparently the residence

¹⁾ OLMSTEAD, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

²⁾ C. C. McCOWN, *The Ladder of Progress in Palestine*, New York, 1943. Not improbably, aesthetic considerations influenced the choice of Samaria, as any modern visitor to the spot would testify, p. 196.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 194. For a recent review of available data on Samaria, see G. E. WRIGHT, *Biblical Archaeology*, Westminster Press, 1957, pp. 151 ff.

⁴⁾ 1 Kings xvi 28.

⁵⁾ *Amos Studies*, Vol. 1, Cincinnati, 1941, p. 286.

⁶⁾ See on, p. 376, n. 3.

in Jezreel was open and in use. Jezebel, now queen-mother, is there (2 Kings ix 30 ff). Joram entertains king Ahaziah, of Judah, while he is convalescing (viii 29). These, together with the notices of ix 17 ff. do not support an inference that Joram came to Jezreel simply because of its proximity to Ramoth-Gilead. On the contrary, the narrative seems to indicate that the royal residence was at the time in Jezreel.

It is probable that in the narrative of 2 Kings x 1-14 we have further evidence that Jezreel was the main residence of the 'house of Ahab'. In its present form the narrative places the sons of the king in Samaria, Jehu in Jezreel. By letter Jehu successfully arranges to have them beheaded; and the heads, sent to Jezreel, are piled at the gate. Now, *in Jezreel*, Jehu murders all that *remain* of Ahab's house. On his way to Samaria, Jehu meets the brothers of Ahaziah who are *on their way* to visit the royal family of Israel. Jehu slaughters them.

It would appear, as in 1 xxi, that a later hand—perhaps the same 'Sa'—knowing only Samaria as the home of Israelite kings—has additions to that intent.

As the text now stands, 'Samaria' (as the residence of the royal family) is supported by the name twice used in v. 1; by *ועיר מבצר* (which could only mean Samaria) v. 2; and by *זרעאל*, vv. 6 and 7. But in favor of Jezreel—and so, as in 1 xxi, a marked ambiguity—we have *אל-שרי זרעאל*, v. 1; the unmistakable implication of v. 11; made and the unequivocally implied destination 'Jezreel' in v. 13.

While no single point may be decisive, the cumulative evidence against 'Samaria' and in favor of 'Jezreel' is impressive. BENZINGER and STADE are probably right in regarding v. 1a as a gloss; there is something of a discrepancy between "Ahab", v. 1a and Joram (implied) in v. 2; and certainly the number "70" is suspicious. The "70 men" of v. 7 is an obvious intrusion: the number is not mentioned again. It is probable that v. 1a is a gloss from 'Sa' designed to locate the royal family in Samaria. "Seventy" is indeed a "round number"¹—very round and only of secondary interest to the glossator. In v. 1b we face an outright contradiction between adjacent words in the text—*זרעאל* *וישלח שמרון אל-שרי זרעאל*. In order to remove it, the majority of commentators would read, after Luc. *העיר ואל* instead of *זרעאל*, which, it is supposed, has arisen in MT from a mistaken combination of letters. The explanation is credible and it removes

¹ BURNEY, following D. H. MÜLLER (*Die altsemit. Inschr. von Sendschirli*, p. 9), suggests that it "is a round number to denote the whole of the royal kin." Cf. xix 18 and xx 15.

the contradiction; but at the same time it is possible that שמרון is a gloss. We note that it is neither preceded by a preposition nor followed with the accusative ending. Although neither is absolutely necessary, we should normally expect to find one or the other. Indeed, if the destination of the letters was Samaria we might expect to read, 'and he sent to the princes of Samaria'¹). As we shall see in a moment, there is evidence in the story which follows to suggest that שמרון should be canceled. The text in v. 1b probably read: 'And Jehu wrote letters and sent (them?) to the princes of the city (i.e., the city where Jehu is, Jezreel) and to the elders etc.'. The word שמרון was probably a marginal gloss by one, perhaps 'Sa', who believed that the royal family was in Samaria.

In v. 2, ועיר מבצר might be taken as a reference to Samaria. But all commentators agree that we should read with LXX and the VSS ערי מ'. As STADE says, "עיר cannot be used collectively here, nor can it be referred to Samaria alone." To the present writer, it seems more probable that the two words are an intrusion. "Fortified cities" appears to interrupt the unity of 'chariots', 'horses' and 'armor'. In that case the plural reading of the VSS is a correction of what was originally a gloss in MT to identify the *one* city, —Samaria, again.

The only other possible indication of Samaria as the residence of the royal family is ירעאלה in vv. 6 and 7. But even if Jehu were writing to Samaria, there is no sense at all in a reference to Jezreel (v. 6) when he has already written one letter (vv. 1-2) and received a reply (v. 5) with no mention of where he is. The word is even more superfluous in v. 7: does any *reader* need to be informed that Jehu is in Jezreel?

Now let us see the positive evidence that, as in 1 Kings xxi, the message by letter was written, received and executed in Jezreel. That v. 1 marks the destination of Jehu's letters 'Jezreel', that the actual slaughter was in that city, and that 'the house of Ahab' was there—these points seem to be confirmed by v. 11. The notice that all those remaining to Ahab's house *in Jezreel*, coming where it does in the narrative and followed as it is by specific categories (his great men, his familiar friends, his priests)²)—this can be understood only

¹) The LXX includes the name 'Samaria' in both places, making a total of 3 occurrences in v. 1.

²) Cf. v. 17 where, most significantly, it is simply 'Ahab', not 'house of Ahab', and where no such specification follows.

as a sequel to the slaughter of the 'sons of the king' (v. 7) in Jezreel, the home of the royal family.

V. 12 is corrupt, but there is no reason to regard vv. 12-14 as secondary. BENZINGER, for example, reasons that it is "undenkbar, dass mindestens zwei Tage nach dem Blutbad von Jesreel und einen Tag nach der Metzerei in Samarien die judäischen Prinzen ahnungslos eine Tagereise nördlich von Samarien betroffen werden." Since, he continues, vv. 1ff. place the Israelite princes in Samaria and vv. 12-14 in Jezreel, "so weist er sich eben damit als von anderer Hand stammend aus." But there is no problem at all if we understand that the 'sons of the king', the 'house of Ahab', were in Jezreel, not in Samaria. Vv. 12-14 are unintelligible if Jehu's plot was executed in Samaria. The episode at a station between the two cities is surely authentic, and shows again that Jezreel was the location of Ahab's house.

Finally, then, we see the subtle psychological parallelism between this narrative and 1 Kings xxi. Here Naboth's death is potently avenged in circumstances strikingly similar to those which led to his own murder. In both chapters all events were laid in the original accounts in Jezreel. Both stories describe a plot negotiated by letter and consummated in violence. One describes the harsh extinction of Naboth outside Jezreel, 1 xxi 13; and the other tells of the Lamechlike vengeance for that death—at the same place (2 x 8).

It was Jezreel that held the schemes and saw the violence of those bloody days in the middle of the 9th century B.C. There, in considerable part, the mighty 'house of Omri' lived out the brief generations of its brilliant life; and there, under the merciless hand of Jehu, it died a horribly violent death.

Samaria may, indeed, have been the royal residence in summer. More than that, Samaria was a mighty fortress. Beyond a doubt Ahab was forced to seek the shelter of her formidable natural and artificial fortifications on more than one occasion:¹⁾ but Israel's relative security under the Omri dynasty made a royal residence in Jezreel reasonably safe, whereas in later years the hazards of foreign powers precluded even the possibility that Jezreel's pleasant lands should hold the palace of kings.

Both Omri and Ahab, shrewd kings that they were, built on Shemer's hill with a careful eye first to military—not domestic—exigencies. "In the beginning there was an almost rectangular

¹⁾ So, e.g., 1 Kings xx 1 ff.

enclosure, walled with excellent masonry, surrounding the summit of the hill . . . This wall was soon strengthened by a casemated wall of great strength just outside it. It was a true citadel . . ." The first wall is assigned to Omri; the second to Ahab.¹⁾ As for Ahab's fabulous 'house of ivory' (1 Kings xxii 39) suggesting an elaborate royal residence built in Samaria by Ahab, J. W. and Grace M. Crowfoot authoritatively prick the bubble: "All that it means is a room or pavilion. The ivory house which Ahab made was, we suggest, a room with ivory inlaid in the panelling of the walls."²⁾ That brief notice of 1 xxii 39 nevertheless leaves open the possibility that Ahab built extensively at Jezreel.

Returning now to the narrative of Naboth's vineyard, we find Ahab going down to take possession (v. 16)—obviously not down from Samaria since Ahab is in Jezreel, but down from Jezreel's shelf to the vineyard which "lay below where wine presses still pit the rock."³⁾ There he is confronted by Elijah: "In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick your own blood!"

In its broader implications then, we submit that 1 Kings xxi 19 predicts for the 'house of Ahab' a fate corresponding in place and manner to that of Naboth. We have seen the important place of Jezreel in the life and death of Ahab's house, beginning, we may fairly assume, with Omri and ending with the slaughter of his descendants. In the same place, Jezreel, and in the same violent manner, the house of Ahab was exterminated. "In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick your own blood!"

The Death of Ahab

It may be, furthermore, that 1 Kings xxi 19 also intentionally draws a personal parallel between the place and manner of death of the two individuals, Naboth and Ahab. In point of fact, it is not at all certain that Ahab died at Ramoth-Gilead and was brought immediately to Samaria, as the present text of 1 Kings xxii 34-37 reports. Naboth died a violent death—from stoning; Ahab's death, too, was violent—from battle wounds. As to place, if Ahab died in the evening at Ramoth-Gilead (but see below) his body was probably

¹⁾ C. C. McCOWN, *op. cit.*, p. 195. Cf. W. F. ALBRIGHT, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, 1949, p. 137 f.

²⁾ *Early Ivories from Samaria*, London, 1938, p. 1.

³⁾ OLMSTEAD, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

brought, hardly yet cold, to Jezreel, where his family was.¹⁾ His burial would, of course, be in Samaria where his father Omri "slept" (1 Kings xvi 28), but in all probability his body was prepared for burial and his death first mourned in Jezreel. This alone would appear adequately to satisfy the statement of xxi 19.

But that verse may well have been more literally true.

The present form of MT in 1 Kings xxii 34-37 is unsatisfactory. The LXX and 2 Chron. xviii 33-34 are at variance with MT and at points with each other:

- v. 34 — Instead of MT המחנה, 'host', Chr. and LXX read 'battle'.
- v. 35a — Chr. reads 'until evening' and LXX 'from morning till evening' in place of MT וימת בערב, 'and he died in the evening', which is obviously out of place here.
- v. 35b — Chr., apparently summarizing MT 35b-37 concludes with 'and he died about (the time of) the setting of the sun'; while LXX follows MT 35a with 'and the blood etc.' (as MT), then 'and he died at evening' and then, again, a doublet on 'and the blood etc.' reading somewhat differently.
- V. 37 — LXX, agreeing with MT in v. 36, reads in v. 37a 'because the king is dead' instead of MT וימת המלך, 'and the king died'.

We may further note in MT that 34b and 35a hardly agree; and 35a is even more ill-fitting if we read, following HAUPT's reasonable suggestion, not the passive מַעֲמֵד (*RSV* "was propped up") but hiph. מַעֲמִיד (ellipsis in מעמיד, 2 Chr. xviii 34), which gives "the exact meaning of the English phrase 'he kept up' (or bore up)!".²⁾ The original narrative would hardly record Ahab's saying 'carry me out of the battle' and then add the statement that Ahab 'bore up' or even 'was stayed up' until evening: to what purpose, indeed, if he was taken out of battle? It is possible, as BENZINGER, STADE and EISSFELDT believe, that 35b is secondary;³⁾ but it follows 34b with far better reason and sequence than does 35a. V. 35b is purely descrip-

¹⁾ See on, note 30.

²⁾ See STADE, *Kings*, note on 1 Kings xxii 35.

³⁾ As a later attempt to explain v. 38, itself a gloss, certainly, as all commentators agree (See on). EISSFELDT sees the *same* hand in vv. 35b and 38 (*Einleitung in das A.T.*², Tübingen, 1956, p. 351). It seems more probable that v. 38 was not only influenced by xxi 19 but took a cue directly from the original notice of v. 35b.

tive while 35a is more subjective, almost in the nature of a hero-making statement. It is, therefore, far more probable that 35a is a gloss.¹⁾ A specific objection to the notice of Ahab's death in v. 35 (in either MT of LXX) is the fact that the same notice is given again in v. 37: if the death of Ahab was originally announced in v. 35 there is no need to repeat (MT), or to give a reason for the shout of v. 36 (LXX).

We may, therefore, question whether Ahab actually died at Ramoth-Gilead. The original narrative quite possibly did not include v. 35a; and very probably it gave no notice of his death until v. 37. Ahab is wounded and carried out of the battle (v. 34); his wound is serious (b. 35b); now the shout of retreat spreads through Ahab's forces (v. 36); and finally, in v. 37a, we read that Ahab died.²⁾ The implication of Micaiah's statement in 1 Kings xxii 17, the summary remark of the Chronicler, the proximity of Ahab's family in Jezreel, the reasonable inference that some attempt would be made to save the king's life, and the authentic character of xxi 19—all, together with a critical analysis of the present form of the narrative, lead to one conclusion: Ahab was taken to Jezreel, mortally wounded—and there, in Jezreel, he died.³⁾

The notice in v. 37 that Ahab came (יִבּוֹא) to Samaria is indelicate, following the notice of his death: LXX has changed the word to καὶ ἔλαθον (יִבְּאֵר). But the phrase is quite superfluous: the double location of Samaria serves no purpose whatsoever. There can be little doubt that יִבּוֹא שֶׁמְרוֹן is a gloss, of one intent if not one hand

¹⁾ EISSFELDT, *loc. cit.*, pointing out the fact that chs. xx and xxii treat Ahab with sympathy, cites xx 4, 7-9, 33 and xxii 35. But a comparison will show that xxii 35a goes quite beyond mere sympathy.

²⁾ Against the majority of commentators, I am of the opinion that MT is preferable to LXX in v. 37a: 'because the king is dead' is unnecessary in any case. It probably represents a change from the original text, in order not to repeat the secondary notice of Ahab's death in v. 35. MT v. 37a was the first and only original statement that Ahab died.

³⁾ The fact of Jezreel's proximity and easy accessibility to Ramoth-Gilead is of utmost significance. Even if one were going to Samaria the route would lie through Jezreel, via the valley of Jezreel. G. A. SMITH decided emphatically against the old location near the Jabbok: "I feel it necessary, from what the Old Testament says of the frequency with which Ramoth-Gilead was contested by Aram and Israel, to put it farther north on or near the Yarmuk" (*The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*²⁶, London, 1931, p. 615). Fortunately, the investigations of Nelson GLUECK fairly certainly determine its location. He identifies Ramoth-Gilead with Tell Ramith "some seven kilometers almost due south of Remtheh". It would therefore be due east across the Jordan from Jezreel. (*B.A.S.O.R.* No. 92, Dec., 1943, pp. 10 ff.)

with the 'Sa' already observed and intruding again in the next verse. This gloss in v. 37 is apparently a preparation for v. 38; they must come to Samaria, chariot and all, if the chariot is to be washed there. Ahab died, and he was buried in Samaria with his father Omri; but from Ramoth-Gilead he was taken, probably dying, to Jezreel. "In the place where dogs licked up the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick your own blood."

As the broader implications of xxi 19 are fulfilled in 2 Kings x 1-11, so is the personal comparison verified by the reconstruction of text and circumstance relating to Ahab's death. He and his entire family died from violence—and in Jezreel. The discrepant report of xxii 38 is no problem. Generally recognized as a textual intrusion, it was the work, probably, of 'Sa', a glossator, or glossators, convinced that the royal family of Israel must live exclusively in Samaria. It is a point of view which apparently missed the fact that in any case xxi 19 implies Jezreel, not Samaria.¹⁾

Conclusions

Finally, we note that Joram was killed in Naboth's vineyard, 2 Kings xi 21 ff. While this account in itself is in no wise at odds with the sense of 1 Kings xxi 19, it is probable that 2 Kings ix 26 represents the attempt to apply Elijah's words more exactly to the historical occurrence in the specific case of Joram's death. The question of the relationship between 1 Kings xxi and 2 Kings ix f. is difficult. 2 Kings ix 26 refutes BURNES's theory that the two sections are from the same hand. SKINNER's conclusion is better: "Although there is no material discrepancy between the two accounts, still the difference in the terms of the oracle makes it improbable that the author of either narrative was acquainted with the other. They embody separate traditions. . ."²⁾ The two accounts are apparently contemporaneous, or very nearly so. Both reflect what may even be a first-hand knowledge of those fearful days in Jezreel. The first narrative is mainly concerned with the circumstances of Naboth's murder leading up to Elijah's part in the picture. The second, obviously, is primarily directed to the description of the horrible aftermath. As the first writer knew the subsequent

¹⁾ The last words of v. 38 are a still later intrusion which fact calls from GUNKEL this comment: "Man sieht also eine Reihe von Zitaten, die über einander gewachsen sind, wie Blätter ein Blattknospe." (*Op. cit.*, p. 29.)

²⁾ So too BENZINGER.

details—Ahab's death in Jezreel, Joram's murder in Naboth's vineyard, and the coldblooded extermination in Jezreel of all that remained of Ahab's family—so, too, the second writer knew of Elijah and of his prophetic sentence on Ahab's house. The points of so-called discrepancy are largely the result of a rather prolific—and certainly persistent—glossator or glossators whose misleading intrusions are probably to be seen in 1 Kings xx 43; xxi 1, 8, 11, 18; xxii 37, 38; and in 2 Kings x 1, 2, 6, 7. Still another intruder, with loyal sympathy—and more—for Ahab, has confused the picture of 1 xxii 34-37 by making it appear that Ahab remained at the battle of Ramoth-Gilead until his death in the evening; whereas in all probability he was taken out of battle and home to Jezreel where he died.

The extant narratives on the Omri dynasty, critically examined, strongly suggest that, as a place of royal residence, Jezreel was as important as Samaria, if not more so.¹⁾ The Deuteronomic formula of course includes Samaria, not Jezreel, as the place of the king's reign.²⁾ That we should expect: under Omri, Ahab, Ahaziah and Joram it was the capital city and presumably grew steadily in importance; and after Jehu's ruthless purge of Jezreel (2 Kings x 11), Samaria was not only the capital but probably the year-round home of Israel's royal family.

¹⁾ There appears to be one possible exception: 2 Kings i 2 ff. presents Ahaziah in Samaria. But the narrative is hardly from the Elijah cycle. Certainly it is not historically reliable in its details, and in any case it does not preclude the continued use of Jezreel as an important royal residence in Ahaziah's brief reign.

²⁾ Cf. 1 Kings xvi 29, xxii 51, 2 Kings iii 1.

THE QUMRAN SECTARIES AND THE ZEALOTS

AN EXAMINATION OF A RECENT THEORY

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To share in honouring Professor Millar BURROWS is itself an honour, as well as a pleasure. The integrity of his scholarship has long been recognized by his colleagues in Old Testament studies. To the wider public his name has become familiar since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, partly because he was the Director of the American School in Jerusalem at the time when they first became known—though he was absent from Jerusalem when some of the Scrolls were first brought there—and partly because he is the author of two large and widely circulated books ¹⁾ reviewing for the general reader the scholarly discussions to which the Scrolls have given rise. It may not be inappropriate, therefore, to continue that discussion in this tribute to Professor BURROWS.

When the Scrolls first came to light the suggestion was made that the sect from which they emanated was to be associated with the Essenes. ²⁾ Professor BURROWS himself later examined this suggestion with some caution. ³⁾ Since then it has become widely accepted, sometimes with an element of reserve, and sometimes with the claim that the identification of Qumran sectaries and Essenes is now proved. ⁴⁾ Not all writers on the newly recovered texts have adopted this view, however, and among the less favoured views has been the theory that the sect of the Scrolls was the Zealots. This was advanced

¹⁾ *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1955, and *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1958.

²⁾ Cf. A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Revue archéologique*, 6th series, xxxiv, 1949, 80 f., and in many subsequent publications. Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls the possible Essene origin of the Zadokite work had been discussed. I. LÉVI, *Revue des études juives*, lxi, 1911, 195, had compared the מַבְקָר of the sect with the Essene ἐπιμελητής, and J. BONSIRVEN, *Le judaïsme palestinien*, i, 1936, 67, had noted similarities between the sect and the Essenes, while refraining from identifying them.

³⁾ Cf. *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, viii, 1950, 156 ff.

⁴⁾ Cf. J. STRUGNELL, *JBL*, lxxvii, 1958, 107.

by Dr DEL MEDICO,¹⁾ who maintained that the Teacher of Righteousness was Menahem, and who has elaborated various aspects of his view in successive publications. DEL MEDICO goes so far as to deny that there ever were any Essenes,²⁾ and claims that they were the fictitious product of the fertile brain of Philo. With this view the present paper is not concerned.

Two British scholars have taken up the theory that the Qumran sectaries were the Zealots, though they do not share with DEL MEDICO the denial that there ever were any Essenes, and in other respects their view modifies his at a number of points. These British scholars are Professor G. R. DRIVER and Mr. Cecil ROTH. The former has issued a number of publications on the Scrolls,³⁾ and has gradually carried back their age, so that this Zealot view represents the earliest dating of the Scrolls which he has advocated. As he has not yet published the full presentation of his case for this date, his views will be left out of account here. Mr. ROTH, on the other hand, after writing a number of articles setting forth his view in brief,⁴⁾ has now issued a volume setting it forth in full⁵⁾, and the present article is devoted to the examination of some aspects of it.

It is a pleasure to start by agreeing with Mr. ROTH. He says 'A cursory reading of the Habakkuk Commentary is enough to show that the writer has in view a period in which Palestine was being relentlessly overrun and its inhabitants imminently threatened by a heathen enemy from across the seas, well-organised and of overwhelming military might, invariably termed here and in the parallel documents the "Kittim"'.⁶⁾ With the single substitution of the word 'Kittim' for 'Romans' we may approve the further statement that we have to identify 'circumstances in which (1) the menace to Jewish Palestine

¹⁾ Cf. *Deux manuscrits hébreux de la Mer Morte*, 1951, and *L'énigme des manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, 1957.

²⁾ Cf. especially *Le mythe des Esséniens*, 1958.

³⁾ Cf. *J.Q.R.*, N.S. xl, 1949-50, 127 ff., 359 ff., xliv, 1953-54, 1 ff.; *Hibbert Journal*, xlix, 1950-51, 11 ff.; *J.Th.S.*, N.S. ii, 1951, 17-30; *The Hebrew Scrolls from the neighbourhood of Jericho and the Dead Sea*, 1951; and also *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, xxxiii, 1957, 798 f., and *Manchester Guardian*, 20th June 1957, p. 14.

⁴⁾ Cf. *The Listener*, 27th June 1957, pp. 1037 and 1040 f.; *Commentary*, October 1957, pp. 317 ff.; *Evidences*, Juin-Juillet 1957, pp. 37 ff., Mars 1958, pp. 13 ff.; *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, xc, 1958, 104 ff. The present writer examined some aspects of Mr. ROTH's case in *Von Ugarit nach Qumran* (Eissfeldt Festschrift), 1958, pp. 184 ff. Cf. also A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Evidences*, Décembre 1957, pp. 27 ff.

⁵⁾ *The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1958. An advance translation of this book appeared in Modern Hebrew in 1958.

⁶⁾ *The Historical Background*, p. 2.

from the 'Kittim' was appallingly acute, although they were not actually in control of the entire country; (2) political authority was in the hands of the priesthood, or priests, so that they were able to persecute or bring about the death of a religious leader who opposed them.' ¹⁾ It is by the use of the word 'Romans' for 'Kittim' here that Mr. ROTH adroitly limits the possible period and claims that the period of the Jewish War offers the only suitable time. For it is clear that if the Kittim could stand for the Greeks or Macedonians, the period of Antiochus Epiphanes would perfectly fit these conditions.

It is necessary, therefore, to traverse the slender arguments whereby the 'Kittim' are turned into the 'Romans'. Attention is drawn to the fact that the Targum of Onkelos interprets the Kittim as the Romans in Num. xxiv 24. ²⁾ But no attention is drawn to the fact that the much older 1 Macc. i 1 says that Alexander, who had become king of Greece, came from the land of 'Kittim'. In truth no argument can be based on either of these equations. Indeed, on another page, in an appendix, Mr. ROTH concedes that 'the term Kittim could conceivably have been applied to the Greeks, but only at the time when they were actively persecuting the Jews of Palestine and threatening their existence: i.e. in the relatively brief period of Seleucid oppression, between say 175 B.C. and 165 B.C.' ³⁾ He endeavours to exclude this possibility, however, by the remarkable argument that the Scrolls contemplate some ultimate enemy, and came from people who believed that they were living in the 'end of the days', so that once they had survived the Seleucid domination the literature would have retained only academic interest, and the documents would have lost their last shreds of validity, since it would have been tragically plain that they had been misleading. ⁴⁾ Mr. ROTH repeatedly reminds his readers that he is a historian; some of them may be surprised at this argument coming from a historian. For they are familiar with the book of Daniel, and are aware that that book was written in precisely the period Mr. ROTH excludes, and that it reflected the belief that that period was the climax of the ages and that earthly kingdoms were about to be swept away and the enduring kingdom of the

¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 3 n.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 76 ff.

saints established. ¹⁾ They are also well aware that the book of Daniel did not become discredited when its hopes were not realized. Moreover, with strange self-contradiction, Mr. ROTH goes on to argue that bar Cochba stood in the succession of the Zealots, ²⁾ and says: 'All this goes to support the possibility that Qumran-Zealot doctrine continued to be a powerful force within Pharisaic Judaism after the suppression of the great "First Revolt" against Rome.' ³⁾ It is not obvious to one reader why misleading hopes in the time of Antiochus should be presumed to discredit the literature that contained them, when there is historical evidence that it did not so discredit the book of Daniel, and when in the same breath it is admitted that similar misleading hopes in A.D. 66-70 could survive undiscredited. All this seems quite inadequate either to exclude the second century date or to establish the date Mr. ROTH favours.

The thesis with which Mr. ROTH embarked on his book was that the Teacher of Righteousness was Menahem. More recently he has become less sure of this and now hesitates between Menahem and Eleazar ben Jair. The result is that the reader is sometimes baffled by the equivocal statements he meets. Thus we read: 'Either he (i.e. Eleazar ben Jair) or else Menahem was, then, the Teacher of Righteousness, *par excellence*. He apparently was responsible for one important innovation in the religious life of the sect: that of interpreting the Biblical prophecies as archetypes of the End of Days now imminent.' ⁴⁾ This appears to mean that Eleazar ben Jair initiated this method of interpretation. Yet on the next page we are told that 'this method of the Teacher was taken over and elaborated after his death by his kinsman Eleazar ben Jair.' ⁵⁾

For the identification of the Teacher favoured by Mr. ROTH great reliance is placed on the reference in the Habakkuk Commentary to the 'house of Absalom'. ⁶⁾ There the 'house of Absalom' is reproached for failing to help the Teacher of Righteousness against the 'Man

¹⁾ Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 31, where are told that in the second century B.C. the 'end of the days' could only refer to a remote future, despite the fact that it is known beyond a peradventure that in that age it was believed to refer to the imminent future, precisely as Mr. ROTH recognizes it to have been believed in the times of the Jewish War.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 78 f.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 13 f.

of Lies'. Mr. ROTH notes that Josephus informs us that one of the lieutenants of Menahem, named Absalom, loyally supported Menahem and died with him.¹⁾ He then proceeds to *assume* that the followers of Absalom did not support their leader, and continues: 'It is obvious that Absalom was a person who should have supported the Teacher, but whose followers at some critical moment did not do so,'²⁾ as though this consideration established his assumption. Neither Josephus nor the Habakkuk Commentary can offer the slightest evidence for the assumed disloyalty of the followers of Absalom to *Absalom*, or for supposing that while 'Absalom'—whoever he was—stood by the Teacher to the death, his followers deserted him in the crisis.

For the rest, Mr. ROTH relies on the series of 'coincidences' he had already put forward earlier,³⁾ and says: 'If then the identification suggested here is not accepted, we would have to assume that in the years A.D. 66-8, if not longer, there were at Qumran and at Masadah two different groups venerating the memory of two sophist-teachers, each of them with an associate of the name of Absalom, and each assailed by a "wicked" priest of Jerusalem about the time of the Day of Atonement. A coincidence so preposterously extended and duplicated is out of the question.'⁴⁾ He then concludes that the Teacher of Righteousness was *necessarily* Menahem, or his nephew. The present writer has elsewhere examined this claim, in its earlier form, and has exposed its hollowness, and it is unnecessary to repeat it here.⁵⁾

Again, for the identification of the 'wicked priest' we are offered the following curious argument. The Habakkuk Commentary indicates that this priest was delivered into the hands of his enemies and tortured⁶⁾. Mr ROTH notes that Josephus records that Eleazar, the Captain of the Temple (not Eleazar ben Jair, of course) received the capitulation of the Roman garrison after the death of Menahem, and was subsequently sent to Idumaea⁷⁾ and we hear no more of him.

¹⁾ *Ibid.*

²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁾ Cf. *Evidences*, Juin-Juillet 1957, p. 39.

⁴⁾ Cf. *The Historical Background*, p. 18.

⁵⁾ Cf. *Von Ugarit nach Qumran*, pp. 187 ff. In *P.E.Q.*, xc, 1958, p. 104, Mr. ROTH says his argument is unanswerable, but omits to note that it has been answered, despite the fact that he refers on the following page to the article in which the answer was given.

⁶⁾ Col. ix, lines 1 f., 10 ff.

⁷⁾ Cf. *The Historical Background*, pp. 19 f.

But Josephus records that a revolutionary tribunal was set up by the extremists, which persecuted and tortured their opponents.¹⁾ It is therefore once more *assumed* that the said Eleazar was amongst those tortured, and Mr. ROTH proceeds to observe that his identification of the wicked priest thus seems to be definitely *established*.²⁾ The assumption of that which is to be proved can hardly constitute its proof.³⁾

We are told that after the death of Menahem there was a breach between two wings of the Zealots, and that Eleazar ben Simon commanded one branch, which remained in the Temple area, while Eleazar ben Jair and his followers remained aloof in Masada, offering no further assistance.⁴⁾ Eleazar betook himself to literary pursuits and perhaps composed the War Scroll,⁵⁾ as well as the already mentioned *pesher* literature, while other followers were busy copying various texts in the *scriptorium* of Qumran.⁶⁾ But in A.D. 68 the deserted group of Zealots in Jerusalem despatched to Qumran for safe keeping the copper scrolls containing a list of captured treasure and the places where it was buried.⁷⁾ One would have thought that Eleazar ben Jair and his followers would rather have merited the reproaches heaped on the house of Absalom for their desertion. We are certainly offered no evidence for this supposed mark of the confidence of the deserted Eleazar in the group that had deserted him.⁸⁾

The War Scroll, as is well known, mentions the Kittim of Ashur

¹⁾ Cf. *B.J.* IV v. 4 (334 ff.).

²⁾ Cf. *The Historical Background*, p. 21.

³⁾ It may be noted that the Commentary on Ps. xxxvii promises that the 'wicked priest' will suffer at the hands of the violent men of the Gentiles (pPs xxxvii Fragment C, lines 3 f.; cf. *J.B.L.*, lxxv, 1956, 94).

⁴⁾ Cf. *The Historical Background*, pp. 15 f., 47, 66.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 54 f.

⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 51, 67.

⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 67.

⁸⁾ Mr. ROTH asks what could be more natural than this depositing of the copper scrolls in Qumran? To the present writer it seems anything but natural. On p. 44 n. Mr. ROTH suggests that the breach between Eleazar ben Simon and Menahem may have been less serious than it seemed in retrospect. Yet on an earlier page (p. 16) he tells us that there must have been a profound gulf between the two parties, and says (p. 15) that even when Jerusalem was reduced to its last extremity Eleazar ben Jair did not raise a finger to help. Such complete desertion could only represent a very serious breach, and it would be a most surprising exhibition of magnanimity if the one party had continued to trust the other. Such magnanimity was little in evidence amongst the Jewish insurgent groups in that period, and ought not to be so lightly assumed.

and the Kittim in Egypt.¹⁾ Mr. ROTH observes that in preparation for his Palestinian campaign, Vespasian first concentrated his forces in Syria, marching on Palestine from the north, and meanwhile sent Titus to Egypt to bring up the fifteenth legion from the south, and that the two forces converged at Ptolemais, and concludes that this explains the reference to the two groups of Kittim in the Scroll. Actually the War Scroll speaks of a battle against the Kittim of Assyria, *after which* the Jews will march against the Kittim from Egypt. This would seem to have no relevance whatever to the supposed situation.

We may now turn to consider the history of the Qumran sect, as Mr. ROTH understands it. He supposes that the Qumran centre was built by Essenes²⁾, from whom he sharply distinguishes the sect of the Scrolls, but that its original owners had abandoned it after the earthquake of 31 B.C.³⁾ The Zealot sect first began with the revolt of Hezekiah in *circa* 47 B.C., which was suppressed by Herod.⁴⁾ In 4 B.C. Hezekiah's son, Judah, revolted and captured Sepphoris, but the revolt was put down, though Judah and a body of followers escaped and migrated to Damascus.⁵⁾ Some eight or ten years later they returned and occupied the deserted buildings at Qumran, which they found conveniently prepared for them.⁶⁾ During the ten years that followed 4 B.C. the Zadokite Work—which Mr. ROTH calls the Damascus Covenant—was composed,⁷⁾ and shortly after the return the Manual of Discipline and the Thanksgiving Hymns.⁸⁾ About A.D. 6 Judah sallied forth from Qumran for a further unsuccessful revolt.⁹⁾ Despite the suppression of this revolt, Mr. ROTH apparently supposes that no action was taken against the headquarters of the rebels, and the rebels were allowed to return to Qumran undisturbed. This is a very remarkable historical assumption. In A.D. 46-8 there was a further armed revolt, which led to the crucifixion of two of Judah's sons, Jacob and Simon.¹⁰⁾ Yet again it is

¹⁾ Col. i, lines 2, 4.

²⁾ *The Historical Background*, pp. 64 ff.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 63 f.

⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 64.

⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 65. It is suggested that Judah the Galilaean was the author of the Hymns.

⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁾ *Ibid.*

assumed that no action was taken against the headquarters of the rebels. Indeed, Mr. ROTH says 'it would be natural to think that to the outside world they appeared or even posed as Essenes, this providing the cloak for their increasingly subversive activities.'¹⁾ He now supposes that Menahem, the third son of Judah, assumed the lead,²⁾ and from Qumran organized the activities of the *sicarii*.³⁾ But surely the *sicarii* were an underground movement, which the authorities could not lay hold of, and not a group with imposing headquarters from which armed rebellion had twice issued.

Menahem first emerges into the light of history in A.D. 66, when Mr. ROTH supposes that he led his followers from Qumran to occupy Masada,⁴⁾ and later went to Jerusalem, where he lost his life at the hands of his Jewish enemies and fellow rebels.⁵⁾ Under the leadership of Eleazar ben Jair his followers withdrew to Qumran to exchange the sword for the pen,⁶⁾ where they continued after the fall of Jerusalem, until in A.D. 73 the Romans turned to this 'recalcitrant pocket'.⁷⁾ The Qumran Zealots then buried their literature in the caves and abandoned their centre.⁸⁾

The deferring of the fall of Qumran to A.D. 73, as against the A.D. 68 date assigned by Father DE VAUX, may be left to the archaeologists to discuss. Here it may be noted that the composition of all the *pesher* literature would fall within a few years. If, as Mr. ROTH appears to mean, it was Menahem who initiated this type of literature, some would fall before A.D. 66. The Habakkuk Commentary, which *ex hypothesi*, recounts events of that year, must be later,⁹⁾ and presumably the texts which mention the Teacher of Righteousness were not written by the Teacher they refer to. If Menahem were the Teacher, they might be supposed to be written by Eleazar, but it is unlikely that if Eleazar were the Teacher he himself composed these texts about himself. Professor CROSS notes that only one copy of each

¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 65. We have no evidence of any leadership of Menahem until A.D. 66, so that the date of his assumption of the leadership is conjectural.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 65.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 66 f.

⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 69.

⁹⁾ Indeed Mr. ROTH holds that the work was unfinished at the time of its deposit in the cave (*ibid.*, p. 33).

of the *pesher* texts has been found,¹⁾ and he thinks they were all written long after the death of the Teacher.²⁾ To the present writer it seems more likely that Mr. ROTH is right in supposing that these texts were all written very close to the time of the Teacher.³⁾ The very allusiveness of the references to the Teacher mean that they would be understood by contemporaries, but not after a long interval of time, and this may well explain why they were not frequently copied.⁴⁾ It seems more improbable that the War Scroll was written between A.D. 66 and 73, to describe the war against the Romans under the guise of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, by one who regarded himself as belonging to the Sons of Light, but who had withdrawn from the war. For such an author would stand self-condemned in thus standing aloof from the Battle of the Lord.

There is one text mentioning the Teacher of Righteousness which was often copied, and indeed it first came to light more than half a century ago in mediaeval copies preserved in Egypt. This is the Zadokite Work. Despite the allusiveness of not a little in this text, it may have retained its value for the sect because it contained a more connected history of the founding of the sect than did the *pesher* literature, and preserved some account of the early discipline of the sect. That its composition antedates that of the Manual of Discipline seems to the present writer probable.⁵⁾ He would, however, make the interval between the two works longer than does Mr. ROTH.

His difficulties with the latest view are much greater than this, however. On Mr. ROTH's view, the Zadokite Work was written during the decade following 4 B.C.,⁶⁾ while the Manual of Discipline came shortly after the sect had established itself at Qumran and organized itself there. But the Zadokite Work would appear to come from a time after the sect was fully organized, even though it was a less developed form of organization than that reflected in the Manual. The Zadokite Work appears to look back on the first beginnings

¹⁾ Cf. *J.B.L.*, lxxv, 1956, 123 f.

²⁾ Cf. *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 1958, p. 85: 'towards the end of the sect's life'.

³⁾ Cf. *The Historical Background*, pp. 54 f.

⁴⁾ Cf. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xl, 1957-58, 145.

⁵⁾ Cf. *Theologische Zeitschrift*, xiii, 1957, 537 ff. See also R. P. C. HANSON, in *A Guide to the Scrolls*, 1958, p. 63.

⁶⁾ As he places the founding of the sect in about A.D. 6 (cf. *The Historical Background*, p. 7), he supposes that the Zadokite Work preceded that founding.

of the sect, ¹⁾ which groped in darkness for twenty years, until the rise of the Teacher of Righteousness. The natural reading of this implies that the twenty years are already past. It would therefore seem that, on Mr. ROTH's view, Judah was the Teacher of Righteousness, who gave the sect its organization. But in the Zadokite Work we are told that the sect first appeared three hundred and ninety years after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. ²⁾ The present writer attaches little importance to this figure, which seems to him to be schematic rather than precise, and even though he holds it to be approximately correct, he attributes that to accident rather than to accurate calculation. ³⁾ Mr. ROTH also doubts the precision of the figure, ⁴⁾ but notes that if the reckoning is made from the time of Alexander the Great, instead of from Nebuchadnezzar, it brings us approximately to the time of the rise of Menahem. ⁵⁾ Surely this is very curious, and it is a little difficult to know whether we are standing on our head or our heels. Did a work written at the beginning of the Christian era, before the sect was organized under Judah, describe as though it were past the rise of the Teacher of Righteousness several decades in the future, and can any significance be attached to its approximate accuracy if it were prediction rather than history? Moreover, is it supposed that the organization reflected in this prophecy is the anticipated organization, or was the organization given to the sect by Judah ascribed to the future Menahem? If the former, it is curious that it is so much less developed than that to be attained within a year or two, and embodied in the Manual; if the latter, it would be surprising for the current leader, Judah, to be robbed of the credit for his achievement in its transfer to a future leader.

Further, what has happened to the twenty years of groping? If Eleazar ben Jair is assumed to be the Teacher, the twenty years assigned to the leadership of Menahem could be called the years of groping, but it would once more be little short of astonishing for a sect which had been so ably organized by Judah as Mr. ROTH's theory supposes, to assign its first beginnings to a date far in the

¹⁾ Cf. *The Historical Background*, p. 46, where we are told that the Zadokite Work reflects the circumstances of the establishment of the sect.

²⁾ *Zadokite Work*, p. 1, lines 5 f.

³⁾ Cf. *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1952, pp. 62, 64, and *Mélanges Bibliques en l'honneur de André Robert*, 1957, pp. 341 f.

⁴⁾ Cf. *The Historical Background*, p. 53.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

future, to be followed by its initial gropings. If, on the other hand, Menahem were the Teacher, then the death of the Teacher fell about three hundred and ninety-seven years after Alexander reached Palestine, and the supposed twenty years of the leadership of the Teacher, together with the twenty years of groping which preceded his leadership, would have to be almost wholly telescoped into the three hundred and ninety years which preceded the latter of these periods. If the Zadokite Work is presumed to offer neither reliable history nor reliable prophecy, it would surely be best to dismiss it altogether, and to admit that the reconstruction of the history of the sect takes no serious account of that work.

Again, the Zadokite Work tells us that forty years would elapse between the death of the Teacher and the passing of all the men of war who followed the 'Man of Lies'. ¹⁾ That the end of this forty years lay in the future is certain; that its beginning also lay in the future is improbable. Mr. ROTH notes that the expression used here is not Teacher of Righteousness, but Teacher of the sect. ²⁾ That this is a different person from the Teacher of Righteousness seems to the present writer unlikely, though it is suggested that this is conceivably Eleazar ben Jair, Menahem then being the Teacher of Righteousness.³⁾ For the identification of the Man of Lies we are offered the figure of Simon bar Giora. ⁴⁾ Mr. ROTH tells us that he first emerged in A.D. 66. ⁵⁾ Hence the passing of the men of war who accompanied him must be put later than this. It is puzzling to see how the Man of Lies can have come within the purview of the writer of the Zadokite Work at the date to which Mr. ROTH attributes its composition.

It is equally puzzling to understand the identification of the Man of Lies with Simon bar Giora. Mr. ROTH tells us he first emerged in A.D. 66, but soon roused the opposition of the Jerusalem rebel leaders who sent an army against him, causing him to take refuge at Masada until A.D. 68 ⁶⁾. His qualification for the title of Man of Lies is said to be his social and religious programme, which differed from that of the Qumran-Masada sectaries. ⁷⁾ The Habakkuk Commentary tells us that the House of Absalom did not come to

¹⁾ *Zadokite Work*, p. 20, lines 14 f.

²⁾ Cf. *The Historical Background*, p. 43.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 51 f.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 42 f., 48.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁶⁾ *Ibid.*

⁷⁾ *Ibid.*

the aid of the Teacher of Righteousness against the Man of Lies, when the latter rejected the law in the midst of the whole congregation.¹⁾ Mr. ROTH interprets the reference to the House of Absalom, as above noted, in connexion with the incident that involved the life of Menahem, and says that Eleazar ben Jair considered his escape from death on that occasion to be by special providence.²⁾ How improbable is it that the Man of Lies, whose hostility had led to the death of his predecessor and almost led to Eleazar's, should have been welcomed at Masada by Eleazar and kept there for two years!³⁾ In another connexion Mr. ROTH pulls himself up by observing that what he has enunciated is hypothesis, and 'we must be careful not to allow ourselves to be swept away by romantic guesswork'.⁴⁾ Unhappily there is too much guesswork in Mr. ROTH's book and the overworking of the word 'obvious' and the claim to have 'demonstrated' or 'proved' this or that will not conceal from the instructed reader the slender basis for this theory.

Further, in the Zadokite Work there is a reference to the chief of the Kings of Greece, who will come to wreak vengeance on the sect's Jewish enemies.⁵⁾ It is hard to see what relevance such an expectation might have either at the date Mr. ROTH assigns to the composition of this text, or in the age to which he attaches so many of the allusions here found. For the kings of Greece were no more.

There are a number of references in the various texts to the 'seekers after smooth things'. Mr. ROTH renders this phrase the 'makers of smooth interpretations', and holds that it refers to the Pharisees, to whom the sect was strongly opposed.⁶⁾ One of the texts that contains this phrase is the Nahum Commentary, which mentions these despised 'seekers after smooth things' twice. In one place we are told that the Lion of Wrath hung them up alive.⁷⁾ Here Mr. ROTH iden-

¹⁾ Col. v, lines 9 ff.

²⁾ Cf. *The Historical Background*, p. viii.

³⁾ How magnanimous this second Zealot leader is presumed to have been!

⁴⁾ Cf. *The Historical Background*, p. 45.

⁵⁾ *Zadokite Work*, p. viii, line 11, p. xix, lines 23 f.

⁶⁾ Cf. *The Historical Background*, pp. 41, 48, 65.

⁷⁾ 4 QpNah, line 7 (cf. *J.B.L.*, lxxv, 1956, 91). The line is defective and the interpretation is uncertain. Mr. J. M. ALLEGRO thinks the people who are here said to be hung alive were the Pharisaic enemies of the 'Lion of Wrath' (*ibid.*, p. 92) and T. H. GASTER (*The Dead Sea Scriptures*, Doubleday Anchor edition, 1956, p. 243) renders: 'the Young Lion who [wrought vengeance on them "that sought smooth things"]'.

tifies the Lion of Wrath with John of Gischala,¹⁾ amongst whose victims he says there is reason to believe Pharisees numbered. But the other passage speaks of Demetrius, the king of Greece, who sought to enter Jerusalem with the help of the 'seekers after smooth things'.²⁾ Some have identified this Demetrius with Demetrius III, in which case the 'seekers after smooth things' would be the Pharisees, who invoked the aid of Demetrius against Alexander Jannaeus. Mr. ROTH discounts this view, and instead agrees with the present writer that the reference is more probably to Demetrius I.³⁾ But this means that the "seekers after smooth things" cannot here be the Pharisees. While the term 'Pharisees' does not seem to have been used in the time of Demetrius I, there can be little doubt that the Pharisaic movement grew out of the elements in the nation that supported the Maccabees against the Seleucids. Those Jews who in that age supported the foreign enemy—and there were many of them—must be differently identified. It is surely improbable that the phrase 'seekers after smooth things' was used in a single text within a few lines with two quite different meanings.

Here it may be observed that the present writer finds himself once more in agreement with Mr. ROTH in holding that any period between say 175-165 B.C. and the time of the Jewish Revolt against Rome for the setting of the work of the Teacher of Righteousness is unsuitable.⁴⁾ What is required is a period in which the foreign enemy and the internal enemies were alike active in Palestine, and violently persecuting the faithful. These conditions are satisfied in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and in the time of the Roman War. But in the former age the internal enemies of the sect, including the Wicked Priest, were working hand in glove with the external foe, whereas on Mr. ROTH's view the Wicked Priest belonged to another wing of the rebels. To the present writer it would seem that the former of these alternatives accords better with the natural reading of the references in the Scrolls. The internal enemies are the tools of the Kittim, even though it is promised that the rapacity of the priests will finally lead to the possession of their ill-gotten gains by the equally rapacious

¹⁾ Cf. *The Historical Background*, pp. 40.

²⁾ 4QpNah, line 2 (cf. *J.B.L.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 90).

³⁾ Cf. *The Historical Background*, p. 42 n, where the author recognizes that the identification with Demetrius III would better suit his thesis, but confesses that the identification with Demetrius I is more logical.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 37, 77.

Kittim.¹⁾ This is precisely the situation we find in the early part of the second century B.C., when High Priests were made and unmade by the Seleucid authorities, and the office was bought by the highest bidder, who was thus forced to hand over to the alien oppressor the Temple treasures that had been extorted from the people. It will be remembered that at one time Antiochus Epiphanes had carried off a vast sum from the Temple.²⁾

It does not belong to our present purpose to argue for the second century date for the Teacher of Righteousness, for which the writer has argued elsewhere in a series of publications.³⁾ What has been here essayed is the examination of the case for the location of the Teacher of Righteousness in the first century A.D. and his identification with Menahem or Eleazar, and the exposure of some of its many weaknesses. These are so many and so serious that Dr. DEL MEDICO is unlikely to welcome his new ally, and the case of Mr. ROTH must be pronounced quite unacceptable.

¹⁾ Habakkuk Commentary, Col. ix, lines 4 ff. This passage stands towards the end of the Commentary, which Mr. ROTH holds to have been in the process of composition in A.D. 73, some years after the wealth had been safely buried and the inventory of it deposited at Qumran, in the care of Eleazar ben Jair, to whom he ascribes its authorship!

²⁾ Cf. 1 Macc. i 20 ff., 2 Macc. v 15 f., 21; also Josephus, *Ant.* XII v. 4 (249 ff.) and *Contra Ap.* ii. 7 (83 ff.). 2 Macc. v 21 states that he carried away 1,800 talents.

³⁾ Cf. *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1952; *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxv, 1952-3, 111 f., xl, 1957-58, 114 ff.; *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, xxviii, 1952, 257 ff.; *J.B.L.*, lxxv, 1956, 188 ff.; *P.E.Q.*, lxxxviii, 1956, 92 ff.; *Jewish Apocalyptic and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1957; *Theologische Zeitschrift*, xliii, 1957, 530 ff.; *Von Ugarit nach Qumran* (Eissfeldt Festschrift), 1958, 184 ff.; *The Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran*, 1958.

ZUR STRUKTUR DER GEMEINDE DES NEUEN BUNDES IM LANDE DAMASKUS

VON

L. ROST

Erlangen

Die sieben Bruchstücke der Damaskusschrift unter den Handschriftenfunden von Chirbet Qumran haben mehr Fragen aufgeworfen als gelöst. Zwar ist nun der Mutterboden, dem die Damaskusschrift entsprossen ist, einigermassen freigelegt, und eine Reihe von mehr oder minder vollständigen Texten, die aus einer mindestens zwei Jahrhunderte blühenden Bewegung hervorgegangen sind, stehen zur Verfügung, wenn es gilt, die geistige Situation genauer zu umreissen, aus der die Gemeinde des neuen Bundes im Lande Damaskus hervorgegangen ist. Aber eben dieser Zuwachs an neuem Material ist es nun, der neue Probleme aufwirft. Es ist freilich schon immer deutlich gewesen, dass die Damaskusschrift jünger als das Jubiläenbuch und jünger als das Testamentum Levi sein muss, auch wenn das Zitat iv 15 ff. nicht in dem uns überkommenen Text dieses Pseudepigraphons zu lesen ist, und es ist nunmehr sicher, dass die Damaskusschrift vor der Zerstörung von Chirbet Qumran und der Bergung der Bücherei dieser Siedlung in den in der Nähe gelegenen Höhlen vorhanden war. Aber noch nicht genügend geklärt ist die Frage, wie sich die Damaskusschrift in das Schrifttum von Chirbet Qumran einordnet. Ein paar Erwägungen hierzu sollen im Folgenden als Festgabe für den Gelehrten vorgetragen werden, dessen Name mit der ersten Ausgabe von Qumrantexten für alle Zeiten verbunden bleibt.

1.

Ausgangspunkt für die Untersuchung soll die Struktur der Gemeinde des neuen Bundes im Lande Damaskus sein, wie sie sich aus den drei von S. SCHECHTER veröffentlichten Texten ergibt. Die Gemeinde gliedert sich in drei oder vier ständische Gruppen: die Priester, die Leviten, die israelitischen Laien und die Proselyten, die so auch in einem namentlichen Gesamtverzeichnis erfasst werden

sollen (xiv 2). Sie ist in dieser Hinsicht ein Spiegelbild des zeitgenössischen Judentums. Die Priester scheinen der Zahl nach einen sehr geringen Anteil auszumachen. Das zeigt sich zwar weniger in der Zusammensetzung des Gerichtes, wo vier Priester sechs Laien gegenüber stehen (x 10 ff.), als in der Tatsache, dass mit der Möglichkeit des Amtierens eines einfältigen, also geistig beschränkten Priesters gerechnet wird.

Nun war freilich der Bedarf an Priestern gross; einmal war die Zeit des Amtierens auf das 30.-60. Lebensjahr beschränkt (xiv 7); zum anderen sollte auch die kleinste Siedlung einen Priester in ihrer Mitte haben. Die Mindestzahl der Glieder einer Siedlung war aber auf zehn Männer festgesetzt, die zu den Gemusterten gehören, also mindestens zwanzig Jahre und höchstens sechzig Jahre alt sind. Legt man diesen Massstab zugrunde, dann käme man auf ein Zehntel an Priestern. Aber da nirgends zu erkennen ist, ob auch in grösseren Siedlungen das gleiche Verhältnis gewahrt ist, bleibt die Berechnung fraglich. Nun könnte man freilich aus der Exegese von Ez. xlv 15 (iv 2 f.) „die Priester, das sind die Umkehrer Israels, die aus dem Lande Juda ausgezogen sind“ die Vermutung ableiten, dass „Priester“ nur ein Ehrentitel für die Initiatoren der Bewegung gewesen sei, zumal die Leviten als diejenigen erklärt werden, die sich ihnen angeschlossen hätten. Aber der ausdrückliche Hinweis, dass selbst im Falle verminderter Zurechnungsfähigkeit die Aussatsthora nur vom Priester verwaltet werden dürfe (xiii 4 ff.) verbietet diese Annahme. Ist aber Priester nicht nur Ehrentitel, sondern beruht dies Amt auf Geburtsrechten, dann ist die Annahme wohl nötig, dass auch die Leviten aufgrund ihrer Abstammung ihre Bezeichnung tragen.

Wenn nun das Gericht aus zehn Richtern bestehen soll, von denen vier Priester sein müssen, dann kann es sich dabei nur um ein Obergericht handeln, das für die gesamte Gruppe oder zum mindesten für eine grössere Anzahl kleinerer Siedlungen zuständig ist. Man wüsste gern Näheres über die Aufgaben dieses Gerichtes, zumal ja der **מבקר** anscheinend ebenfalls in einem nicht näher zu bestimmenden Umfang Rechtsentscheidungen treffen kann, und zwar sowohl der in jeder einzelnen Siedlung amtierende, als der an der Spitze der ganzen Gruppe stehende. Aber es soll nun nicht über diese Träger eines organisatorisch wichtigen Amtes gesprochen werden, obwohl auch dazu einiges zu sagen wäre.

2.

Wichtiger ist es, über die Glieder der Gemeinde zu reden. Zuerst die Frage: Wie wird man Glied? Einmal dadurch, dass man sich zum Gesetz Moses in der bei der Gruppe verpflichtenden Interpretation bekehrt, und sich in die Gruppe einordnen lässt und sich so den Beschränkungen unterwirft, die für die Mitglieder gelten, zum anderen dadurch, dass man als Sohn eines Mitglieds von seinem Vater im Alter von zwanzig Jahren veranlasst wird, sich durch ein konfirmationsähnliches Gelöbnis in die Gruppe als Vollmitglied aufnehmen zu lassen (xv 5 f.). Das heisst, die Gruppe ergänzt sich zu einem nicht näher zu bestimmenden Anteil aus sich selbst. Die Mitglieder sind verheiratet. Sie scheiden sich nicht von ihren Familien. Schon GINZBERG (*MGW* 1912, S. 44-45) hat aus vii 6-8 den Schluss gezogen, dass diese Gruppe für die in Siedlungen Lebenden die Ehe vorschrieb. Aber xii 1 gibt, wie A. RUBINSTEIN ¹⁾ mit Recht gegen GINZBERG erklärt, keine Unterlage ab für eine Beweisführung dafür, dass sie überhaupt den Zölibat für einen Teil ihrer Mitglieder vorschrieb; denn der Aufenthalt in der heiligen Stadt bringt für die Pilger den Verzicht auf den Beischlaf mit sich, so dass daraus nur geschlossen werden kann, dass, wie auch xi 19 zeigt, die Beziehungen zum Jerusalemer Tempel gepflegt wurden, dass die Anhänger der Gemeinde aber nicht in Jerusalem selbst wohnten. Aber die Mitglieder sind nicht nur verheiratet, sie haben auch Sklaven und Sklavinnen, sie bauen Getreide und züchten Vieh, nicht nur für den eigenen Gebrauch, sondern auch für den Verkauf. Und nur beim Verkauf von Sklaven und Sklavinnen, von Getreide und Vieh sind sie gewissen Beschränkungen unterworfen. So dürfen sie nicht an Nichtjuden abgeben. Ja, die Mitglieder verfügen auch über ein eigenes Einkommen, von dem sie nur zwei Tagelöhne monatlich dem מִבְּקָר abliefern müssen, der diese Beträge in Gemeinschaft mit den „Richtern“ verwaltet und sie zu in xiv 14 ff. festgesetzten sozialen und humanitären Ausgaben verwendet.

Sind die eben herausgehobenen Stellen richtig interpretiert, dann ergibt sich der Schluss: Die Gemeinde des neuen Bundes im Lande Damaskus ist der Zusammenschluss von Familienvätern mit ihren Familien in einer Gesellschaftsordnung, die ihnen gewisse Verzichtes im Verkehr mit Aussenstehenden auferlegt, sie einer Leitung durch

¹⁾ Arie RUBINSTEIN "Urban halakhah and camp rules in the 'Cairo Fragments of a damascene covenant'", *Sefarad* 12, 1952, S. 290.

Priester und den **מבקר** unterstellt, sie zu einer bestimmten Observanz des Gesetzes verpflichtet, aber zugleich auch gewisse soziale Sicherungen ausser der Garantie der Zugehörigkeit zum Volk der Heilszeit verbürgt.

3.

Sucht man innerhalb der Qumrantexte nach Analogien, dann bieten sich zwar für einige Bestimmungen Parallelen in dem **סרך היחד** an. Aber eben nur für einige. Sieht man von BROWNEE's kaum zu rechtfertigender Emendation von 1 QS 1, 1 ab, so ist weder über Frauen noch über Kinder in dem **יחד** irgend etwas ausgesagt. Und da der Eintretende dort nach seinem Noviziat beim Ablegen der Profess sein gesamtes Vermögen dem **יחד** zu übereignen hat, kann von einem Privatbesitz an Sklaven und Sklavinnen und an verkaufbaren Ackerfrüchten oder Vieh nicht die Rede sein.

In der Männergemeinschaft des **יחד** ist jedoch trotz aller Einordnung und Unterordnung und trotz alles Verzichts auf eigene Lebensgestaltung eine demokratische Ordnung da, insofern als der Volksversammlung der **רבים** das Recht auf endgültige Zulassung eines neuen Mitglieds und die Mitwirkung bei Entscheidungen zukommt. Dagegen existiert in der Gemeinde des neuen Bundes zwar noch die Vollversammlung, aber nirgends ist davon die Rede, dass sie entscheidende Rechte habe. Die Aufnahme der Neueintretenden ist ausschliesslich Sache des **מבקר** und vielleicht noch des Priesters. Aber die Gemeinde ist in diesen und anderen Fragen rechtlos. Ja, auch die Bestimmung des **סרך היחד**, dass in einer Gruppe von zehn Männern einer ganz für das Studium der Thora freigestellt werden solle, ist in der Gemeinde des neuen Bundes nicht da. Sie setzt nur den Priester und den **מבקר** aus sich heraus.

Diese wenigen herausgegriffenen Unterschiede zwischen dem **סרך היחד** und den **משפטים** der Gemeinde des neuen Bundes sind schon unübersehbar gross. Eine genauere Prüfung liesse noch mehr Differenzen hervortreten. Aber sie würde das gewonnene Bild nicht wesentlich ändern. Das Urteil A. RUBINSTEIN¹⁾, dass der Essenismus der Damaskusgruppe im Vergleich zu dem jüdischen Prototyp eher dekadent zu nennen sei, ist in dieser Form nicht aufrecht zu halten, da der **יחד** und die Gemeinde des neuen Bundes eine ganz andere soziologische Struktur haben. Es ist deshalb auch ganz unwahr-

¹⁾ A.a.O. S. 296

scheinlich, dass die Glieder der Gemeinde des neuen Bundes je eine Siedlung (מחנה) in Chirbet Qumran als Nachfolgerorganisation des יחד hätten einrichten können und wollen. Der Umbau der Siedlung müsste den ganzen alten Bauplan verworfen haben. Auch die Tatsache, dass nur auf einem Nebenfriedhof in Qumran Frauenbestattungen festzustellen sind, während die Hauptgrabanlage nur Männerbestattungen zeigt, spricht nicht dafür.

4.

Aber trotzdem bestehen Zusammenhänge, allerdings nicht mit dem סרך היחד selbst, wohl aber mit seinem ersten Anhang 1 QSa. Er enthält ergänzende Bestimmungen für den Anbruch der Heilszeit. Dann soll der יחד die Aufgabe übernehmen, den Rest des Volkes Israel für die Heilszeit zuzurüsten, indem er ihn sich eingliedert und auf eine Interpretation des Gesetzes verpflichtet. Dabei bestehen die Familien weiter. Es ist auch nicht die Rede davon, dass das Vermögen in die Gemeinschaftskasse der Gruppe überführt werden muss. Aber die Söhne werden mit dem zwanzigsten Lebensjahr durch Selbstverpflichtung Glieder des יחד „im Rahmen ihrer Sippe“ und können mit wachsendem Lebensalter zu gewissen Ämtern zugelassen werden.

Nun ist die Gemeinde des neuen Bundes im Lande Damaskus der Meinung, dass sie in der Endzeit lebe und das Erscheinen der Messiasse aus Aharon und Israel und damit der Anbruch der Heilszeit unmittelbar bevorstehe. Sie ist ihrem Aufbau nach jener Tertiärerorganisation, die 1 QSa für die Heilszeit vorsieht, so ähnlich, dass man versucht sein könnte, diese Gemeinde des neuen Bundes als die Verwirklichung jenes Entwurfes anzusehen. Und doch ist diese Annahme in dieser Form kaum richtig; denn zwischen einem Erziehungsplan für die Heilszeit und einem Organisationsschema für eine noch in der „Zeit der Gottlosigkeit“ existierende, wenn auch die Heilszeit erwartende Gemeinde ist ein grosser Unterschied, der bei einer genaueren Vergleichung des Tenors der Bestimmungen und der Terminologie nur noch tiefer wird. So scheint mir die Gemeinde des neuen Bundes zwar gewisse formale Gemeinsamkeiten mit der Planung von 1 QSa zu haben, aber doch auf einem Neuansatz zu beruhen. Wenn ich die Aussagen der Handschrift B richtig interpretiert habe ¹⁾, dann dürfte es allerdings im Laufe der Zeit, und zwar noch zu Lebzeiten des Lehrers der Gerechtigkeit, der anschei-

¹⁾ *TbLZ* 78, 1953, Sp. 143-148.

nend der Gründer der Gemeinde des neuen Bundes gewesen ist, zur Annäherung gekommen sein, die nur darin bestanden haben kann, dass die Damaskusgemeinde angegliedert worden ist, wobei sie ihren Anfang, um die Entstehungsgeschichte des **77** verlängert, in eine weitere Vergangenheit zurücklegen konnte und anscheinend auch den Sündenbegriff der älteren Gruppe übernahm, wie das in Dam. xx 28-30 überlieferte Sündenbekenntnis 1 QS 1, 20-2, 1 andeuten könnte.

UNE HACHETTE ESSÉNIENNE?

PAR

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Lorsque nous avons fouillé, en 1956, la grotte 11 de Qumran¹⁾, nous avons recueilli, en même temps que des fragments inscrits et de la céramique identique à celle de Khirbet Qumrân, un outil de fer que reproduisent la pl. I et la fig. 1. Il a 28 cm. de long et tient à la fois de la hachette et de la piochette. D'un côté, il a une lame parallèle au manche, longue de 8.5 cms., élargie vers son tranchant, qui a 5.7 cms. De l'autre côté se trouve une lame longue de 15 cms., qui est coudée et dont le tranchant est perpendiculaire au manche et mesure 1.9 cms. Le trou d'emmanchement a un diamètre de 2.5 cms., pour un manche qui devait être assez court. L'outil était assez léger pour être employé avec une seule main.

Le type est connu à l'époque romaine. La fig. 2 ne donne que quelques exemples qui proviennent: *a*, de Vayrac dans le Lot²⁾; *b*, de Boscoreale³⁾; *c*, de Lyon⁴⁾. Ces trois pièces mesurent plus de 40 cms. et sont donc nettement plus grandes que celle de Qumrân, mais leur forme est la même, et toutes pouvaient servir aux mêmes usages. C'est un instrument pour ouvrir le bois, à la fois hachette et herminette, mais il pouvait aussi fouir la terre avec sa lame coudée et il était bien adapté au travail de défrichage, où il faut à la fois creuser et couper des racines. Notre hachette-piochette a pu servir à tout cela dans la main des habitants de la grotte 11, qui étaient certainement — la poterie et les manuscrits le prouvent — des membres de la communauté de Qumrân.

Mais ne peut-on pas aller plus avant? Parlant des Esséniens, Josèphe rapporte un trait curieux. Au début de leur noviciat, les postulants recevaient „une hachette, *ἄνωρον*, et le pagne dont il

¹⁾ Cf. *RB*, LXIII, 1956, pp. 573-574.

²⁾ Musée de Saint-Germain, no. 63661, d'après *Revue Archéologique*, 1916 A, p. 215, pl. II.

³⁾ D'après Fl. PETRIE, *Tools and Weapons*, 1917, pl. XIV, 57.

⁴⁾ Musée de Lyon, no. 2755, d'après *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CXLV, 1954, I, p. 22.

a été parlé, et un vêtement blanc”¹⁾. Cette hachette avait un emploi très spécial. Les Esséniens observaient le repos du Sabbat plus rigoureusement qu’aucun Juif et ils s’abstenaient même d’aller à la selle ce jour-là. „Les autres jours, continue Josèphe, ils creusent un trou profond d’un pied avec le hoyau, *σκαλῖς* — car c’est à quoi ressemble la hachette, *ἄξινιδιον*, qui est remise par eux nouveaux adeptes — et ils y font leurs besoins en s’enveloppant de leur manteau pour ne pas offusquer les rayons de Dieu. Puis ils repoussent dans le



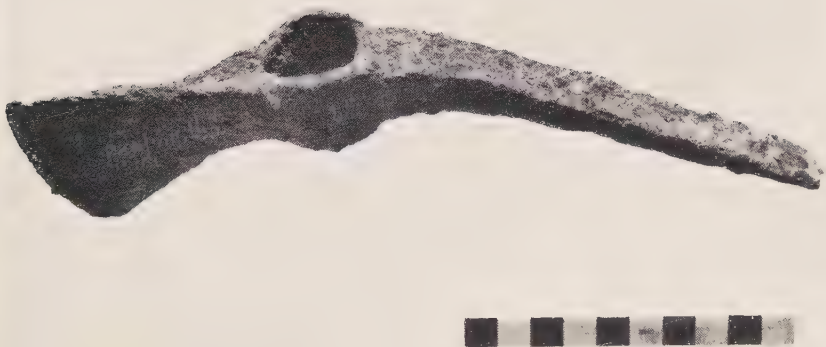
Fig. 1. Hachette de la grotte 11 de Qumrân.

trou la terre qu’ils avaient extraite. Et, pour ce faire, ils choisissent les lieux les plus déserts.”²⁾ Les deux mots *ἄξιναριον* et *ἄξινιδιον* sont propres à Josèphe et il ne les emploie que dans ces deux passages, mais le sens ne peut faire de doute: ce sont deux diminutifs d’*ἄξινη*. C’est un outil qui sert aux mercenaires grecs de Cyrus le Jeune pour fendre le bois³⁾. C’est le mot dont usent les Septante pour traduire *garẖèn* et *qardom*, la hache ou la cognée du bûcheron, Jer. xlv 22, avec laquelle on coupe des arbres, Deut. xix 5, ou des branches, Jud. ix 48. Dans le Nouveau Testament, c’est la hache qui est déjà mise à la racine des arbres pour les abattre, Mat. iii 10 = Lc iii 9;

¹⁾ B.J., II VIII 7, § 137.

²⁾ B.J., II VIII 9, § 148-149.

³⁾ XÉNOPHON, *Anab.* I v 12.



(Photo Palestine Archaeological Museum)

Hachette de la grotte 11 de Qumrân

cf. Lc xiii 7 (texte occidental). Une petite ἀξίνη, c'est donc une hachette. Mais Josèphe précise que celle-là ressemble à une σκαλίζ, un hoyau, et qu'elle peut en faire l'office. Cela correspond exactement à la hachette-piochette de la grotte 11; n'est-il pas tentant d'y reconnaître un ἀξινάριον, ou ἀξινίδιον, essénien?

Ce mot ἀξίνη est bien intéressant. Il est apparenté, semble-t-il, à l'akkadien *ḫaššinnu*, qui signifie également la hache, une arme mais aussi un outil pour abattre les arbres, comme est *ḫašînâ* en araméen,

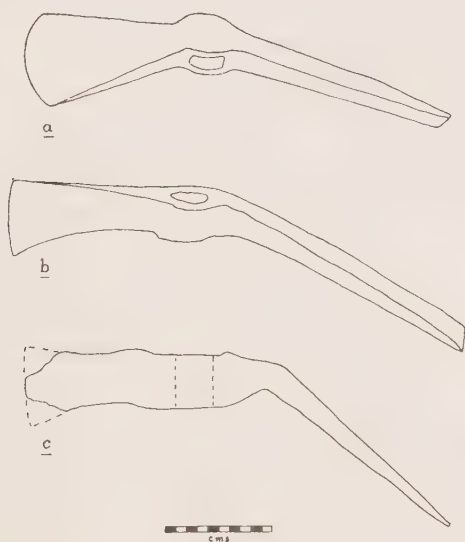


Fig. 2. Hachettes romaines.

comme serait en hébreu *ḫāšîn*, qui est lu par certains critiques dans le texte corrompu de 2 Sam. xxiii 8 ¹⁾. Mais le mot n'est probablement pas sémitique d'origine: il a un doublet, *garzên*, qui est le mot ordinaire pour désigner la hache en hébreu (avec *qardom*), et les deux formes *ḫaššinnu* et *garzên* ²⁾ seraient des transcriptions approximatives d'un mot dont le son était étranger aux oreilles sémitiques. On pourrait avoir une forme intermédiaire dans l'ugaritique *ḫr̥sn* inscrit sur une herminette du chef des prêtres de Râs Shamrâ ³⁾. Les premiers

¹⁾ Le mot est accepté par KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER dans leur récent dictionnaire.

²⁾ Et *qardom*, qui serait alors un triplet?

³⁾ Ce fut l'un des premiers textes connus. Dernière publication: Cl. F. A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica III*, 1956, fig. 230, 231, 233.

déchiffreurs des textes avaient interprété le mot comme désignant l'instrument sur lequel il était gravé; les auteurs récents y voient plutôt le nom du grand prêtre, à cause de l'attestation à Ugarit des noms propres *ḫa-ru-ZI-en-ni* et *ḫu-ra-ša-na*¹⁾. Mais, d'une part, ces noms auraient été transcrits en ugaritique avec la gutturale sourde *ḫ* plutôt qu'avec la vélaire spirante sourde *ḫ*²⁾, d'autre part, le fait que le nom de l'objet soit gravé sur l'objet lui-même et précède l'indication du propriétaire a un excellent parallèle dans les flèches trouvées en Phénicie et en Palestine et inscrites „Flèche d'Un Tel”³⁾. Quoi qu'il en soit de l'ugaritique, l'incertitude de prononciation que révèle l'alternance *ḫaššinnu-garẓen* se retrouve dans d'autres mots relatifs aussi à l'industrie du métal, le casque se dit en hébreu *kôba'* et *qôba'*, la cuirasse, *siryôn* et *širyôn*. Les mots, avec les choses, ont été importés des pays du Nord, où s'est développée la métallurgie⁴⁾.

Le rapport sémantique de la petite hache essénienne, ἄξινη, avec l'araméen *ḫašinnâ* et l'hébreu conjectural *ḫašîn* a suggéré à Ed. DHORME une étymologie nouvelle du nom des Esséniens: ils se seraient désignés, ou ils auraient été désignés, par le nom de l'instrument qu'ils recevaient en entrant dans l'Ordre, qu'ils gardaient toujours et qui était comme l'emblème de leur affiliation, ils étaient les „gens à la hachette”⁵⁾. L'hypothèse est ingénieuse et elle peut toucher juste si *Esseni*, Ἐσσηνοί a été un sobriquet appliqué aux confrères par les étrangers à la secte. Cependant, elle n'explique pas la forme concurrente Ἐσσαῖοι employée également par Josèphe et toujours par Philon. Bien qu'une vingtaine de solutions aient été proposées, l'étymologie du nom se dérobe encore⁶⁾.

L'équivalent latin d' ἄξινη est *ascia*. C'est un instrument qui, d'après les textes, peut avoir diverses formes et servir à plusieurs usages, mais c'est d'abord et surtout un outil pour travailler le bois, une herminette de charpentier ou une doloire de tonnelier. Cependant,

¹⁾ En dernier lieu C. H. GORDON, *Ugaritic Manual*, 1955, Glossaire, no. 746.

²⁾ Un autre nom propre, *ḫa-ra-si-na* en akkadien, est transcrit *ḫrẓn*, GORDON, *l.c.*, Glossaire, no. 659.

³⁾ J. T. MILIK, dans *BASOR*, 143, dec. 1956, avec référence aux découvertes antérieures.

⁴⁾ Cf. J. FRIEDRICH, dans *OLZ* XXXVI, 1933, 739 n. 1.

⁵⁾ Cette suggestion est offerte dans J. CARCOPINO, *Le mystère d'un symbole chrétien, L'ascia*, 1955, p. 54.

⁶⁾ La suggestion de DHORME rappelle, en mieux, une hypothèse oubliée de JELLINEK: le nom dériverait de *ḫošen*, giron, à cause du περὶζωμα, pagne, que les Esséniens recevaient à leur entrée (dans Ch. D. GINSBURG, *The Essenes, Their History and Doctrine*, réimpression 1955, p. 30).

le mot paraît surtout dans des centaines d'inscriptions funéraires, en grande majorité de la région lyonnaise, qui contiennent la formule *sub ascia dedicavit* (en abrégé *s.a.d.*), accompagnée souvent de la représentation de l'instrument: une herminette qui a, d'un côté, le tranchant coudé et, de l'autre, généralement un marteau, parfois — autant qu'on peut interpréter des figures assez schématiques — un petit fer de hache élargi comme dans l'outil de Qumran. Cette représentation se retrouve aussi, sans la dédicace, sur un grand nombre d'autres tombes. La signification de cette dédicace et le caractère, réel ou symbolique, de l'*ascia* funéraire ont donné lieu à toute une littérature et la controverse s'est récemment avivée ¹⁾. Ce problème ne nous toucherait pas si J. CARCOPINO, dans un livre récent ²⁾, n'avait, à ce propos, fait intervenir les Esséniens. Cet ouvrage, extrêmement érudit et brillant, entend démontrer que l'*ἀξίνη* grecque devenue l'*ascia* latine fut d'abord un symbole païen diffusé par les confréries pythagoriciennes et signifiant la hachette de la raison divine qui émonde et purifie les âmes. A Lyon et par la volonté de saint Irénée, cette ancienne image du Logos, qui avait une forme de croix, est devenue un symbole cryptochrétien: une *crux dissimulata*, une profession de foi au Verbe Incarné.

Dans cette démonstration, les Esséniens jouent un rôle important car c'est chez eux que J. CARCOPINO trouve l'explication philosophique du symbole. Selon lui, la hachette, la *ḥaṣinā* araméenne équivalent de l'*ἀξίνη*, ne figure dans l'équipement et les usages des Esséniens que par un emprunt au Pythagorisme. Le sens qu'ils lui donnaient serait indiqué par Philon. Celui-ci propose en effet une explication

¹⁾ Littérature ancienne dans CABROL-LECLERCQ, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, I II, 1907, s.v. *ascia*. Principaux travaux récents: H. WUILLEUMIER, „L'ascia”, dans *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (RHR)*, CXXVIII, 1944 II, pp. 40-83 (indispensable pour son répertoire des tombes à *ascia*, qui s'augmente d'ailleurs presque chaque année, cf. l'Index des *Fasti Archaeologici*); P. -L. COUCHOUD et A. AUDIN, „L'ascia, instrument et symbole de l'inhumation”, dans *RHR*, CXLII, 1952 II, pp. 36-66; Id., „L'ascia, Note complémentaire”, dans *RHR*, CXLV, 1954, I, pp. 18-29; W. DEONNA, „L'ascia”, dans *Rev. arch. de l'Est et du Centre-Est*, VII, 1956, pp. 19-52; E. THÉVENOT, „Le symbole de l'ascia chez les Éduens”, *ibid.* VIII, 1957, pp. 138-148; A. AUDIN et P.-L. COUCHOUD, „Nouvelles considérations sur l'ascia”, dans *RHR*, CLII, 1957 II, pp. 153-173. P.-M. DUVAL tient ouvert un „dossier Ascias” dans sa *Chronique gallo-romaine* de la *Revue des Études Anciennes*, LV, 1953, pp. 398s.; LVI, 1954, pp. 411s.; LVII, 1955, pp. 342s.; LVIII, 1956, pp. 300s. F. DE VISSCHER, „Monumentum sub ascia dedicatum”, dans *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, xxix, 1956-57 (paru en 1958), pp. 69-81; CH. PICARD, „L'ascia et la „Porta inferi” sur un sarcophage païen de Sardaigne” dans *Revue Archéologique*, 1958 I, pp. 102-105.

²⁾ J. CARCOPINO, *Le mystère d'un symbole chrétien. L'ascia*, 1955.

allégorique du „pieu”, πάσσαλος, que Deut. xxiii 14 prescrit aux Israélites d'avoir avec eux pour enfouir leurs excréments en dehors du camp; Philon y voit un symbole du Logos, qui met à nu la nature des êtres, empêche les passions de se répandre et d'infecter les hommes et les déracine du coeur humain ¹⁾).

Cette exégèse est donnée par Philon dans son *Explication allégorique des Saintes Lois* ²⁾, et l'on reconnaît volontiers qu'elle est influencée par le Pythagorisme. Mais Philon ne la met aucunement en rapport avec les Esséniens, contrairement à ce que dit CARCOPINO ³⁾, et il n'établit aucune équivalence entre l'ἄζινη et le πάσσαλος, comme le suggère encore CARCOPINO ⁴⁾. J'ai bien peur qu'il n'allégorise à son tour sur le texte de Philon en y retrouvant „la hachette de la raison divine qui fait voler les passions en éclats comme celle du charpentier les copeaux, qui émonde les vices et tranche le vif de l'erreur comme celle du bûcheron élague les arbres et en coupe les mauvaises branches” ⁵⁾. Si l'on songe que ces textes de Philon sont le seul témoignage qui serve à CARCOPINO pour établir le symbolisme philosophique de l'*ascia*, on éprouve quelques doutes sur la solidité de sa construction, mais ceci sort de notre objet présent.

On peut hésiter aussi à le suivre lorsqu'il attribue une origine pythagoricienne à la hachette des Esséniens. La thèse de l'influence du Pythagorisme sur l'Essénisme a été jadis défendue avec force par Ed. ZELLER ⁶⁾ et soutenue après lui spécialement par E. SCHÜRER ⁷⁾, Is. LÉVY ⁸⁾, Fr. CUMONT ⁹⁾, elle a été poussée à l'extrême par M. WELLMANN ¹⁰⁾. Elle est actuellement reprise en tenant compte des

¹⁾ J. CARCOPINO, *loc.*, pp. 54-57.

²⁾ *Legum Alleg.* III 52-53, § 153-159.

³⁾ P. 54: “Cet étrange renseignement (*celui de Josèphe sur l'emploi de la hachette*) est confirmé par Philon, qui ajoute qu'en l'occurrence les Esséniens assimilaient leur ἄξιιδιον au πάσσαλος”. Il n'y a pas un mot, dans *Legum Alleg.*, sur les Esséniens ni sur leur ἄξιιδιον. Philon ne confirme rien, il n'ajoute rien, il parle d'autre chose.

⁴⁾ Déjà la référence de la note précédente et encore p. 56: „Suivant Philon, en effet, l'ἄζινη, équivalent hellénique du πάσσαλος de la Bible, n'est qu'une image de la raison suprême . . .” Philon n'emploie jamais le mot ἄζινη, il reste dans la perspective biblique et ne parle du πάσσαλος que comme d'un outil qui creuse et qui bouche, qui dégage et qui repousse, jamais comme d'un outil qui coupe.

⁵⁾ *Loc.*, p. 57.

⁶⁾ *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, III 2^a, pp. 307-377.

⁷⁾ *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, II^a, pp. 573-584.

⁸⁾ *La légende de Pythagore, de Grèce en Palestine*, 1927, pp. 264-293.

⁹⁾ „Essénisme et Pythagorisme”, dans *C.R. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1930, pp. 99-112.

¹⁰⁾ „Die Φυσικὰ des Bolos Demokritos und der Magier Anaxilaos aus Larissa”, dans *Abhandl. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 7, Berlin, 1928.

documents de Qumrân, surtout par A. DUPONT-SOMMER, qui fait également sa place à une influence iranienne ¹⁾. Il était bien difficile de résoudre ce problème d'influences tant que nous n'avions, sur les Esséniens, que des témoignages extérieurs, comme sont ceux de Philon et même de Josèphe, et l'on a certainement exagéré parfois la dépendance de l'Essénisme par rapport au Pythagorisme ²⁾. Étant admis que la secte de Qumran se rattache, d'une certaine manière, à l'Essénisme les textes qu'elle nous a laissés permettent de reprendre le problème sur une base plus sûre, mais il faut bien dire qu'on n'y trouve rien de très décisif. Sans nier une influence diffuse de l'hellénisme, qui imprégnait alors tout le monde oriental, sans rejeter la vraisemblance de certains emprunts au Pythagorisme, peut-être à travers le syncrétisme qui caractérise cette période, il faut reconnaître que la secte de Qumrân, et l'Essénisme, est un mouvement foncièrement juif et il ne faut accepter l'origine étrangère d'une de ses coutumes que si celle-ci est expressément attestée en dehors de la secte et si elle ne s'explique pas par ses antécédents juifs.

Or, le port de la hachette et son usage très particulier ne se rencontrent pas dans le Pythagorisme, ni dans aucun milieu grec, et, devant le silence absolu des textes, on s'étonne que J. CARCOPINO n'hésite point „à ranger l' *ἀζίνη*, c'est-à-dire l'*ascia*, dans le magasin d'ustensiles où les Pythagoriciens s'avisèrent d'approvisionner leur morale en métaphores familières” ³⁾. Par contre, les attaches bibliques de la hachette essénienne sont évidentes. Le Deutéronome prescrivait aux Israélites: „Tu auras un endroit hors du camp et c'est là que tu iras, au dehors. Tu auras un „pieu” dans ton équipement et, quand tu iras à la selle au dehors, tu feras un trou avec cet instrument, et en partant tu recouvriras tes excréments” ⁴⁾. La raison est ensuite donnée: le camp, où circule Yahvé, doit être saint et Yahvé n'y doit voir aucune chose dégoûtante. Le „pieu”, c'est l'hébreu *yâtéd*; le mot désigne ailleurs un piquet ou une cheville, comme *πάσσαλος* par quoi traduit la version grecque, il ne s'applique qu'ici dans la Bible à un outil pour fouir, mais en hébreu tardif le *yâtéd* de la charrue est le soc rudimentaire qui creuse le sillon. On sait quel souci de la

¹⁾ „Le problème des influences étrangères sur la secte juive de Qoumrân”, dans *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, XXXV, 1955, pp. 75-92.

²⁾ Il y a encore profit à lire la critique de ZELLER par Ch. D. GINSBURG, *The Essenes, Their History and Doctrine*, 1864, réimprimé 1955.

³⁾ *L.c.*, p. 56.

⁴⁾ Deut. xxiii 13-14. „Dans ton équipement” traduit un terme unique en hébreu; avec le grec et moyennant une légère correction, on peut lire: “à ta ceinture.”

pureté avaient les Esséniens de Josèphe et les sectaires de Qumrân. Leur habitat était un „camp” et la *Règle de la Guerre* contient une prescription qui s'inspire évidemment de ce passage du Deutéronome: „Quant à l'endroit du lieu retiré, il sera à environ 2000 coudées et nulle chose honteuse et laide ne sera visible aux environs de tout leur camp”¹⁾. En se servant de la hachette-piochette pour l'usage que dit Josèphe, ils appliquaient littéralement l'ordre donné par Deut. xxiii 14. Une autre marque d'origine juive est la relation que Josèphe souligne entre cette coutume et l'observance du Sabbat: ils agissent ainsi tous les jours, sauf le Sabbat où „ils n'osent pas remuer un ustensile quelconque ni aller à la selle”²⁾. Le contexte invite à comprendre: ils se retiennent de satisfaire leurs besoins le jour du Sabbat parce qu'ils auraient à se servir de leur piochette. Cette rigueur extrême dans l'observance du repos sabbatique se retrouve dans la liste des interdits qu'aligne le *Document de Damas*, en particulier la défense d'emporter aucun objet avec soi si l'on sort à l'extérieur³⁾.

Tout cela étant dit sur l'ἀξινίδιον des Esséniens, on ne peut pas démontrer que la hachette-piochette retrouvée dans la grotte 11 de Qumrân est un outil essénien: elle a pu servir, entre n'importe quelles mains, au travail du bois pour lequel elle est premièrement faite. On ne peut pas davantage démontrer qu'elle n'est pas un outil essénien: elle correspond à ce que Josèphe dit de l'ἀξινίδιον qui est comme une σκαλῆς et elle a pu servir au même usage particulier. Une pareille incertitude qualifie les autres témoignages archéologiques qu'on serait tenté d'exploiter pour établir le caractère essénien de la communauté de Qumrân. Il faut cependant excepter un témoignage d'ensemble: d'après Pline l'Ancien, les Esséniens sont installées à l'occident de la Mer Morte, à une certaine distance et au delà de la zone nocive du rivage, et ils y vivent dans la compagnie des palmiers; plus bas qu'eux — c'est-à-dire au sud —, est la ville d'Engaddi⁴⁾. Entre la pointe septentrionale de la Mer Morte et Engaddi, il n'y a qu'un site qui corresponde à la description de Pline, c'est le plateau de Qumrân, il n'y a qu'une occupation importante contemporaine de Pline, c'est la ruine de Khirbet Qumrân et son annexe de 'Aïn Feshkha, il n'y a qu'un endroit où les palmiers aient pu pousser en nombre, c'est la région entre Khirbet Qumran et 'Aïn Feshkha. A

¹⁾ 1QM VII 7.

²⁾ B.J. II VIII 9, § 147.

³⁾ CDC XIII.

⁴⁾ Hist. Nat. V 17.

moins de récuser sans motif le témoignage de Pline, Khirbet Qumrân représente cette installation essénienne dont il parle.

Une fois cela admis, on a le droit de chercher si telle découverte de l'archéologie peut s'expliquer, ou si elle s'explique mieux, au cas où les gens de Qumrân seraient des Esséniens. Et c'est ce que j'ai essayé de faire à propos d'une hachette. Mais l'archéologie n'a qu'un rôle auxiliaire et l'identification de la communauté doit se faire par l'étude des textes. Et c'est pourquoi j'ai plaisir à dédier cet humble objet au Professeur Millar BURROWS qui, en partant des textes, a plusieurs fois abordé ce sujet et a conclu par une solution prudente ¹⁾.

¹⁾ M. BURROWS, „The Discipline Manual of the Judaeac Covenanters”, dans *Oud-testamentische Studiën*, VIII, 1951, pp. 156-192; *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1956, pp. 279-294; *More Light on the Dead Sea Serolls*. 1958, pp. 263-274.

SHORT NOTES

A DESCRIPTION OF THE SINAI SYRIAC MS. 35¹⁾

The American Expedition to the St. Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, in 1949-1950 microfilmed more than 1600²⁾ of the extant 3300 MSS in 11 languages. Not the least interesting part of this collection, consists of 159 (out of a total of 276 items) filmed Syriac MSS. The data concerning these MSS found in the catalogue by Agnes Smith LEWIS³⁾, are very summary. A comparison of K. W. CLARK's list and Miss LEWIS'—where the same numbering is valid—shows us much difference.

The collection of Syriac MSS includes some ancient O.T. manuscripts (viz., no. 28; no. 35—see below; no. 41). These MSS can with profit be used in a future critical edition of the Peshitta O.T. Of these MSS no. 35 is likely the oldest (according to CLARK, *op. cit.*, p. 17, 7th cent.), and deserves further attention, because Miss LEWIS' description is very brief.

It appears that this MS—as in Miss LEWIS' description, still consisting of 109 vellum leaves⁴⁾—includes a good part of 1 Samuel and more than half of 2 Samuel. Further it appears that the MS is put together out of parts of 2 different manuscripts.

To the first hand (cf. photo I = fol. 2b: 1 Sam. i 25-ii 1)—20 lines per page—belong folios 1-5 and 7. Fol. 1a has some much effaced notes. Fol. 1b consists of 1 S. i 1-4 to]**ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܕܢܐ**. After a lacuna of 1 or 2 leaves, fol. 2a follows with 1 S. i 21 from **ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ**. The first hand continues to fol. 7b⁵⁾ (1 S. iii 8 to]**ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܕܢܐ**).

¹⁾ I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to my assistant, Mr. W. BAARS, for preparing this note for the printer during my illness.

²⁾ K. W. CLARK, *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai*, Washington 1952.

³⁾ *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*, London 1894.

⁴⁾ With nearly all the other MSS in CLARK's list the number of the folios differs from Miss LEWIS' catalogue. Probably many loose leaves have disappeared from the MSS. For the present-day depositary of MSS(-fragments) originating at Mount Sinai cf. e.g., A. MINGANA, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts*, Pt. III, p. xxi and J. - B. CHABOT "Inventaire des fragments des MSS syriaques conservés à la Bibl. Ambrosienne à Milan" *Le Muséon* 49 (1936), p. 37-54.

⁵⁾ On fol. 2b and 7b are traces of the running title.

Fol. 6 is later (10th cent.(?)), comparable to Plate LXXII [= 928/9 A.D.] in H. W. HATCH, *An Album of dated Syriac Manuscripts* [Boston, 1946] replacing a lost sheet consisting of 1 S. ii 27-35.

Fol. 8 to the end (fol. 109) originates from a second—more slender—hand (cf. photo II = fol. 68b: 1 S. xxviii 1-7), each page consisting of 22-23 lines. Folios 8a-11b consist of 2(!) S. xxiii 10 (ܐܠܝܐܬܐ[) to 2 S. xxiv 20 (ܐܠܝܐܬܐ). Fol. 12 consists of 2 S. xx 22 (ܐܠܝܐܬܐ[) to 2 S. xxi 7 (ܐܠܝܐܬܐ). Fol. 13a continues, after another lacuna of 1 sheet, with 2 S. xxi 16 (ܐܠܝܐܬܐ[). Fol. 14b ends with 2 S. xxii 26 (ܐܠܝܐܬܐ).

Fol. 15 resumes the 1 Samuel text. From fol. 15a: 1 S. iv 2 (ܐܠܝܐܬܐ[) the text continues with some lacunae to 2 S. xv 20 (ܐܠܝܐܬܐ[fol. 109b). After fol. 18b (ending with 1 S. vi 7 ܐܠܝܐܬܐ[) there is a lacuna of 1 sheet. Fol. 19a begins with 1 S. vi 17 (ܐܠܝܐܬܐ[). After fol. 22b (ending with 1 S. ix 2 ܐܠܝܐܬܐ[) there is a lacuna of 2 sheets. Fol. 23a begins with 1 S. ix 21 (ܐܠܝܐܬܐ[). After fol. 60b (ending with 1 S. xxiv 4 ܐܠܝܐܬܐ[), there is a further lacuna of 2 sheets. Fol. 61a begins with 1 S. xxv 5 (ܐܠܝܐܬܐ[). Finally, after fol. 68b which ends with 1 S. xxviii 7 (ܐܠܝܐܬܐ[), one leaf is missing. Fol. 69a begins with 1 S. xxviii 18 (ܐܠܝܐܬܐ[).

The running title ܐܠܝܐܬܐ occurs at the top of fol. 9b, 26b, 31b, 36b, 41b, 46b, 51b, 56b, 64b ⁶), 73b ⁷), 78b, 84b (this being the only exception to the rule of an interval of 5 pages between the running titles), 89b, 94b, 99b, 104b, 109b.

A collation of 2 extensive sections from both parts of the MS based on A. M. CERIANI, *Translatio syra Pescitto veteris testamenti ex codice Ambrosiano*, Mediolani, 1876-1883 will give us an impression of the textual character of this MS.

I: 1 S. i 1-4; i 21-iii 8 = fol. 1-7⁸)

1 S. ii 1 rubric ܐܠܝܐܬܐ + ܐܠܝܐܬܐ


2 ܐܠܝܐܬܐ] *omis.*

7 ܐܠܝܐܬܐ] *omis.*

⁶) A title must have stood on the first of the 2 leaves following fol. 60.


⁷) A title must have stood on the lost fol., following fol. 68.

⁸) On fol. 6 see above.

- 9 חב יבו [חב יבו 9
 15 אפ] אפ 
 15 גכעא +]גכעא
 16 רר] + חר
 22 חלחל | חלחל
 22 כרעב ובר [כרעב
 25 חלחל [חלחל
 26 אפאפ] אפאפ⁹⁾
 27 pr. rubric סגא גא. סבא גא. סגא גא.
 28 לבח [לבח
 29 חלחל | חלחל
 29 חלחל | חלחל
 29 חלחל] חלחל
 31 חלחל] חלחל*
 35 חלחל] חלחל
 iii 3 חלחל] חלחל
 5 חל] + ,ח
 6 חא 1⁰ and 2⁰] + חל

II: 1 S. xvii = fol. 41a-46a

1 S. xvii 1 A ח in the right margin refers to a rubric at the top of the page: חלחל חלחל חלחל

- 1 חלחל] חלחל
 2 חלחל | חלחל
 2 חלחל] חלחל
 5 חלחל] חלחל
 9 חלחל] חלחל
 10 חלחל | חלחל
 11 and 14 חלחל] חלחל
 17 and 18 חלחל] חלחל
 25 חלחל] חלחל
 26 חלחל | חלחל
 31 A ח in the right margin refers to a rubric at the top of the page: חלחל חלחל  חלחל

⁹⁾ Cf. P. PAYNE SMITH; *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 1422.

- (1 S. xvii) 37 ,מאדן ,מאדן
 38 as in v. 5
 44 נכח] נכח
 46 נח] נח
 47 נח] נח
 51 and 45 נח] נח
 54 נח] נח
 57 as in v. 51 and 54, 1⁰

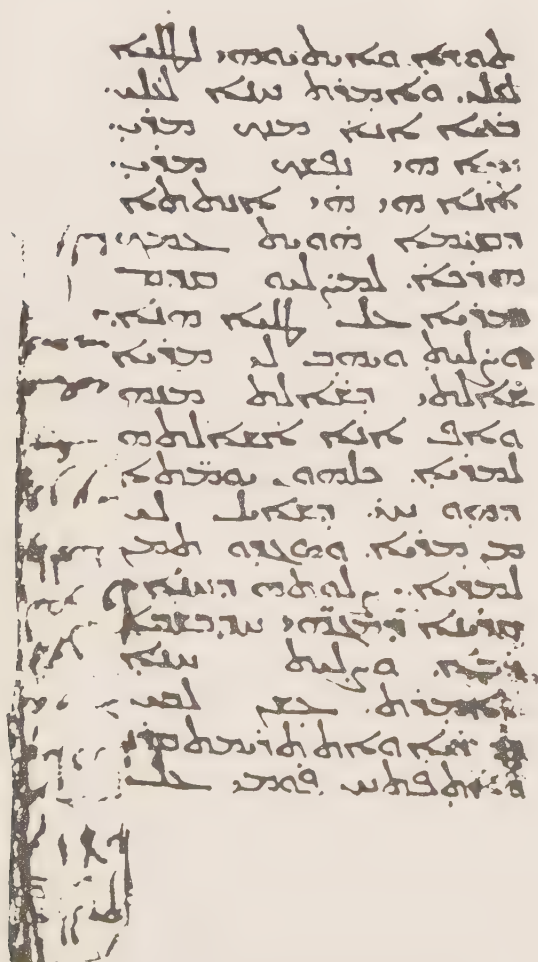


Photo I [A strip with Arabic handwriting placed in the lower left hand corner serves to hold the pages together].

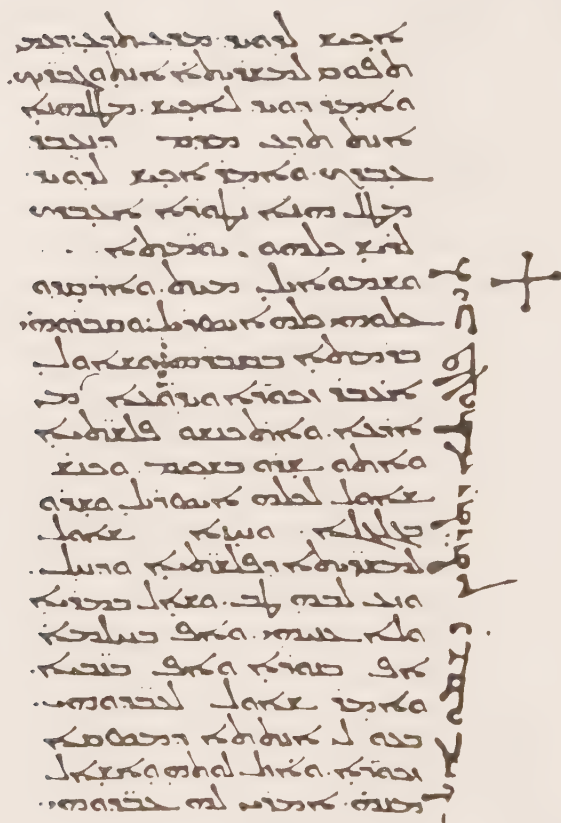


Photo II

Leiden

P. A. H. DE BOER

TOPHEL (Deut I 1)

Depuis longtemps les commentateurs sont préoccupés de ce toponyme. La Bible n'en fait mention qu'une fois. Les variantes de la tradition manuscrite grecque ne permettent pas de lire autre chose; *Tophol*, a le Vaticanus. Les voyageurs comme ROBINSON (*Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 2ème éd. 1856, Londres, II, 167) ont songé au gros bourg de *et-Tafileh* entre Kérak et Pétra, donc au Sud-Est de la Mer Morte. A. MUSIL (*Edom I*, 316 et fig. p. 317) et N. GLUECK (*Explorations in Eastern Palestine*, AASOR XV, p. 100, Newhaven 1935) ont visité le site. Ses sources et ses jardins, sa situation et la

céramique (figurine d'Astarté, tessons du Fer I) en font un site convenable. Il y avait une difficulté, le fait que le *ṭ* de Ṭafileh est emphatique tandis que le *t* de Tophel est un simple taw. Mais le P. ABEL remarquait qu'on constatait la même emphatisation dans la Tébès de Jud. ix 50 devenu Ṭubas (*Géographie de la Palestine*, II, 487, Paris 1938).

Le rédacteur deutéronomique songeait-il vraiment à un site si méridional alors que Num. xxi et les oracles de Balaam supposent déjà Israel au Pisgah (Num. xxiii 14), et qu'en Num. xxxii il a été question de l'installation de Ruben et Gad au moins jusqu'au Yabbok? D'autre part le texte de Deut. i 1 définit le lieu où parle Moïse comme situé entre Pharan et Tophel. Pharan est bien documenté dans la Bible, voire dans Ptolémée, quelques soient les variantes de localisation précise. Comment admettre que l'autre terme soit un lieu absolument ignoré de la tradition biblique?

C'est à ce propos que la lettre de Nimrud ND 2773 publiée par H. W. F. SAGGS en *Iraq* xvii, 1955, p. 131-3, Pl. xxxii, prend tout son intérêt. L'expéditeur de la lettre, Qurdi Aššur, fait part au roi d'Assyrie de certaines affaires de Moab dont est venu l'entretenir un certain Ezazu, KUR Da-ab/p-i-la-aja, *Dabilite*. C'est un gentilice, mais de quel pays?

1° L'éditeur, se référant à l'inscription de Méša où Dibon est écrit *Dybn* pense à cette ville dont le nom aurait été plus ou moins saisi par le scribe cunéiforme. Il a été suivi par H. DONNER (*Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Staates Moab*, dans *Mit. des Inst. für Or. Forschung*, V, 1957, p. 171; *Archiv für Or. Forschung*, XVIII, 1958, p. 392, note 24). Il remarque que le scribe a fait précéder le nom du déterminatif de „pays” et non de „ville”.

2° W. F. ALBRIGHT (*Bull. of the Am. Sch. of Or. Res.*, 140, Déc. 1955, p. 34s) a été frappé de la graphie cunéiforme qui, ainsi que le notait SAGGS, est favorable à un nom de la forme *tab-ilu*, avec un 'aleph entre le *b* et la voyelle. Il a songé à Tab'el de Is. vii 6 (voir aussi E. VOGT, dans *Biblica*, 37, 1956, p. 263s qui pense que c'est la région de la mère du prétendant qu'on veut substituer à Achaz).

3° Mais un nom biblique porte justement ces consonnes, sous deux formes disparates et curieuses. Dans les deux cas ce toponyme se réfère à la région du Nord de Moab où Moïse adresse son discours final. A la fin du catalogue-itinéraire de Num. xxxiii, il est question de 'almôn Diblatâyim, dernière étape avant les Abarim, face au Nébo (v. 46). Jérémie en xlvi 22 prononce le jugement contre les villes

de Moab et cite *Beyt-Diblâtâyim* après Dibon et Nébo. Ce toponyme à forme duel se retrouve dans la stèle de Méša (l. 30) *bt dbltn*; il est cité avec *Madaba* et *Beyt-Ba'al-Me'ôn* (dont *'almôn* de Num. xxxiii 46 est peut-être une corruption); mais on ne peut inférer du texte la localisation précise. Ce *Dbl* se retrouve dans un texte égyptien, que depuis longtemps on a rapproché de Tophel ¹⁾: le Pap. Boulaq 3, publié par MARIETTE, texte tardif, mais traditionnel car il contient le *Rituel de l'embaumement* (publié récemment par S. SAUNERON, Le Caire 1952). Pour ce rituel on se sert d'asphalte (*mmwt*) qui vient (lit. „est sorti”) de *Dpr* (çad *Dpl* car l'égyptien n'a qu'un signe pour *l* et *r*). GAUTHIER dans son *Dictionnaire géographique* (VI, 91) montre que ce *Dpr/l* ne saurait être identique ni au *Dpr* d'Amurru du Pap. Anastasi I, ni au *Dpr* de Galilée de l'Onomasticon du Ramesséum (cf. A. GARDINER, *Anc. Eg. Onomastica*, I, 178*). Depuis Posidonius d'Apamée (cf. ABEL, *Géographie* . . . I, p. 501) les grecs ont appelé la Mer Morte le lac Asphaltite et d'ailleurs les Egyptiens voyaient dans l'asphalte un produit de Harou, çad de Syrie Palestine. Il faut donc songer pour *Dpl* à un site près de la Mer morte.

Nous obtenons ainsi un nom qui en Deut. i 1 répond beaucoup mieux à Pharan. Les voyelles de *Tôphel* correspondent bien à celles de *Dâbilu*. La confusion des dentales *d* et *t* est très fréquente en cunéiforme et égyptien tardif. Damas est parfois écrit *Timasgi* dans les lettres de Tell el Amarna et en hiéroglyphe. Elle est fréquente dans la toponymie palestinienne; tout le monde voit une même racine dans le *Tabor* et *Dabourieh*, le village qui est aux pieds de la montagne. Elle est plus difficile à déceler dans l'hébreu biblique; mais l'alternance s'expliquerait si, comme le croient ALT, WELCH et VON RAD (entre autres), les traditions deutéronomiques viennent du royaume du Nord tandis que les textes de Nombres (xxxiii 46) et de Jérémie (xlviii 22) viennent certainement du Sud. Quant à la voyelle *it* de Diblatayim qui alterne avec *ô* (ou *â*), on pourrait l'expliquer comme le font SAGGS et DONNER pour Dibon qui serait primitivement un Daibon (*dybn*) sur la stèle de Méša; de cette diphtongue aurait procédé conjointement le *â(ô)* du Nord (Deutéronome, lettre de Nimrud) et le *i* du Sud (Méša, Nombres, Jérémie). De même que la LXX a Daibon, elle a Deblathaim en Nombres et Daiblathaim en Jérémie.

Le déterminatif de *Dâbilu* étant „pays” et non „ville” il est vraisemblable que ce *Dbl* producteur d'asphalte était une région plutôt

¹⁾ F. M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine* II, 487; I. Press, *A topographical historical Encyclopaedia* cf. Palestine Jerusalem 1955 IV, 978.

qu'une ville. Pharan de son côté ne désigne une ville que dans Ptolémée. Dans le Deutéronome c'est plutôt un désert, une région, à laquelle correspondrait fort bien la région du Nord de Moab. Il s'y trouverait une ville, la „maison de Diblatayim" de Jérémie et de l'inscription de Méša. Mais celle-ci est trop mutilée pour qu'on soit sûr qu'il s'agisse de „reconstruire" *bn dbltn* et par suite que ce soit là une ville. Et *byt* s'applique à d'autres termes géographiques qu'à des villes. Ainsi le bêt Adini (*byt 'dn*) de Am. i 5 et *byt dḡwn* (*bêt Daganna* des cunéiformes, *bjt Tqn* de Ramses III) est rendu par *'ršt dḡn* dans l'inscription d'Eshmounazar). Il est donc probable que Tôphel comme Dâbîlu désigne une région symétrique de Pharan et l'on y verrait volontiers deux prononciations du même site.

Paris

Henri CAZELLES

ON THE METHOD, APPLIED IN THE COPYING OF MANUSCRIPTS IN QUMRAN.

The discovery of a table, 5 metres long, and one or two smaller tables with benches, and two inkpots in Chirbet Qumran in the spring of 1953, has caused the room in which these things were found to be called the scriptorium¹⁾. The name alone was apt to stir the imagination, and it would be tempting to imagine that the process of copying the MSS followed the pattern, well-known from classical antiquity, when books were often duplicated by a group of slaves copying the books from dictation. On a superficial view the large number of MSS, found in the caves around Qumran—in several cases more than 10 copies of the same writing—might seem to confirm this theory. To the best of my knowledge, however, none of the leading scholars who have worked on the manuscript material at first hand, have declared themselves in favour of this view. It may be adduced as an example that SKEHAN²⁾ writes of the about 100 Bible MSS from Cave IV that in his view there is no "internal evidence which would urge either that anyone of these manuscripts was copied from another identifiable manuscript among the finds, or that any two had a common immediate prototype".

If this is seen in view of the fact that the increasing reliability of Hebrew paleography allows a dating of the MSS from the different

¹⁾ On this see: Père DE VAUX's report in *RB*, 61, 1954, p. 212.

²⁾ *Suppl. V.T.* IV, 1957, p. 149.

caves around Qumran to a period of several hundred years, the application of the above-mentioned observations by SKEHAN on all the MSS from the caves around Qumran will make any idea of the duplication of MSS in the scriptorium according to the antique pattern highly improbable. That a mass copying with a view to export should have been undertaken, may safely, from the present facts, be considered an improbable explanation of the absence of identically worded MSS in the colony or the surrounding caves.

Nevertheless the idea of manuscript copying from dictation crops up from time to time in the scientific literature on DSS, but in the form that many leading scholars have characterized certain peculiar readings in the MSS as mishearings, and not misreadings. The problem was already raised by Millar BURROWS in an article, "Orthography, Morphology, and Syntax of the St. Mark's Isaiah Manuscript" ¹⁾, where he writes: "The total picture is one of freedom like that of Elizabethan English, indicating a partly traditional, partly phonetic manner of writing, probably from dictation or memory" ²⁾, and similarly he talks about "many careless or ignorant mistakes, suggesting Verhörfehler" and "writing from dictation or memory" ³⁾. As might be expected the problem was taken up again in various places in Millar BURROWS's long and excellent book, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York, 1956 ⁴⁾. Yet, he does not, in principle, reject ⁵⁾ the discussion, raised by P. KAHLE ⁶⁾, on the question whether the difference between the two halves of 1 Q Isa is due to different scribes or different originals ⁷⁾. As far as this last problem is concerned, it seems to me that the reasons, adduced by M. NOTH ⁸⁾, prove beyond dispute that 1 Q Is^a was written by two different scribes with a slightly different orthography, and moreover I believe that the numerous examples, found in the whole of this scroll, of inversion of letters, dittography, haplography, homoeteleuton etc., are not naturally

¹⁾ *J.B.L.*, 1949, pp. 195-211.

²⁾ *L.c.* p. 196.

³⁾ *L.c.* p. 203.

⁴⁾ See p. 106 f, where he maintains that there is no reason to suppose that 1 Q Is^a was written from dictation, and again p. 113-114, where he suggests that the scribe may have written from dictation, "or even from memory".

⁵⁾ P. 111.

⁶⁾ See *Die hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle*, Stuttgart, 1951, esp. p. 76.

⁷⁾ The problem has not been taken up again in Millar BURROWS', *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, N.Y., 1958.

⁸⁾ *V.T.* I, 1951, pp. 224-226.

explained except on the assumption that these scribes must have been working with written originals.

In order to throw full light on the method of copying in the Dead Sea Sect I have made a systematic study of the total number of texts, hitherto published, and noted all the supposed mishearings, misreadings, and slips of the pen. I have naturally had to deal with all the MSS, found in the caves, collectively, and have been unable to make allowance for the possibility that at least some MSS may not have come into existence while the sect was staying in the colony at the Dead Sea ¹⁾. Without being able to document my results in detail here, I shall give a compressed survey of my studies.

1) All the texts without exceptions (provided that they have a sufficient length) present errors, similar to those which F. DELITZSCH has classified in his book *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament*, Berlin & Leipzig, 1920 ²⁾.

2) Even though the commentaries are exceptional among the discovered manuscripts in that they occur only in single copies, whereas there are several copies of 1 Q S, 1 Q H, and 1 Q M, and though the particularly favoured Biblical writings such as Deuteronomy, Isaiah, the Psalms, and the Dodecapheton, have even existed in as many as 10 to 14 copies ³⁾, I find it difficult to imagine all the commentary manuscripts to be autographs ⁴⁾. In 1 Q p Hab, at least, it appears to me that the text contains such errors as point to a written original, used directly by the copyist, i.e. without being dictated to him by somebody else who had the original in front of him ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ On this see: F. M. CROSS *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, N.Y., 1958, p. 32 about 3 very old (still unpublished) MSS from cave IV.

²⁾ Cf. also E. WÜRTHWEIN *Der Text des Alten Testaments*, Stuttgart, 1952 (esp. § 15: Ursachen der Textverderbnis) and as a parallel to this from cuneiform literature, Stanislav SEGERT: "Die Schreibfehler in den ugaritischen Keilschrifttexten", in EISSFELDT-Festschrift: *Von Ugarit nach Qumran*, Berlin, 1958, *Beih. Z.A.W.* 77, pp. 193-212.

³⁾ See CROSS, p. 34.

⁴⁾ Thus CROSS, p. 84f, and J. T. MILIK: *Dix ans de découvertes dans le désert de Juda*, Paris, 1957, p. 37.

⁵⁾ My results concerning 1 Q p Hab are largely identical with those of Karl ELLIGER in his thorough study in *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, Tübingen, 1953. I should even put it more strongly than he does on p. 70.: „Die Beispiele sind dünn gesät, bei denen sich die Erklärung als Hörfehler aufdrängt". We are not here concerned with the fact that it is possible to trace a later hand who has inserted his corrections. — As regards the crosses at the end of the lines in some places in 1 Q p Hab, I prefer C. KÜHL's explanation in *VT* II (1952), p. 310 to ELLIGER's in the work cited above, p. 75.

3) The alleged mishearings (confusion of gutturals, sibilants, voiced and unvoiced sounds etc.) are not only numerically, but also proportionally more frequent in the Bible MSS than in the other categories ¹⁾. The explanation is not that dictation was used to a larger extent in the copying of Bible MSS than of other MSS. As was mentioned under item 1, the occurrence of numerous errors, especially in the Bible MSS, forbids this explanation. As it is a well-known fact that in the Orient, even down to our own time, large parts of the holy texts are known by heart word for word, it is highly probable that the scribe who was to copy the holy writings in Qumran, may well have used a written original, but very often omitted to consult it and just written from memory, and even in the cases where he followed the original with his eyes, he would still read it out aloud (Acts viii 30). His individual pronunciation thus automatically acquires a much greater influence on his orthography than we should imagine from modern practice in copying. Many of the errors he happens to make in the process, will apparently be mishearings, but only apparently. A close scrutiny of them would throw light on that particular scribe's pronunciation of Hebrew ²⁾. The fact that errors of the same kind appear in the non-Biblical MSS—though, as mentioned above, to a smaller extent—is not surprising, as many of these texts were also frequently used in the sect. This, for instance, applies to 1 Q S, where it is evident that the copyist must have been very familiar with the contents beforehand. ³⁾

I conclude from my studies that there is nothing in the available material that is necessarily in favour of the theory of dictation in the copying of MSS in the Dead Sea Sect.

Aarhus

E. HAMMERSHAIMB

¹⁾ If F. C. Cross is right in his assertion that other commentary MSS than 1 Q p Hab are autographs, it will naturally be impossible to regard a spelling, differing from the norm in the Old Testament, as a mishearing. In that case it must be evidence of a dialect peculiarity in that particular writer.

²⁾ In my opinion the special suffixes and verbal forms (ipf. with o/u after the 1. radical) to which scholars have long shown much attention, esp. in 1 Q Is^a, must be so explained. For the time being, I consider it impossible to build theories on the basis of these forms, as to whether such isolated phenomena can point towards relationship with the Samaritan dialect, or that these MSS were introduced from Babylonia or possible from Egypt. On the linguistic questions I shall refer to M. H. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN's works with the literature, listed by him, see his latest article „Die Qumran-Rollen und die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft”, 1948-58, in *Revue de Qumran*, 1958, pp. 103-112.

³⁾ As for the often discussed problem of the oral and written transmission of O.T. texts, I shall confine myself to referring to the very sound article on this subject by H. RINGGREN in *Studia Theologica* III, 1949, pp. 34-59.

ZUR ANFERTIGUNG DES „GOLDENEN KALBES“

In Ex. xxxii 4a steht: „Er (Aaron) nahm (das Gold der abgerissenen Ringe) aus ihrer (der Israeliten) Hand entgegen und machte daraus ein gegossenes Kalb“. Zwischen diesen beiden Sätzen lesen wir im massoretischen Text: וַיִּצֶר אוֹתוֹ בַּחֲרֹט. Nach der herkömmlichen Übersetzung bedeuten diese Worte: „Er bearbeitete es mit dem Griffel“¹⁾. Diese Übersetzung mag in der Tat die Meinung der massoretischen Vokalisation wiedergeben. Denn חֲרֹט bezeichnet an der einzigen anderen Stelle, an der es im Alten Testament vorkommt, den (Schreib-)Griffel²⁾. Aber was soll in diesem Zusammenhang ein „Griffel“, auch dann, wenn man auf Grund der Bedeutung des Stammes חרט = „einschneiden“ nicht an einen Schreib-Griffel, sondern an einen „Meissel“ denkt, mit dem man etwa eine Inschrift in Metall oder Stein hätte eingraben können? Zu dem „Guss“ einer Tiergestalt gehört weder ein Griffel noch ein Meissel, vor allem dann nicht, wenn von diesem Werkzeug die Rede ist, bevor die Anfertigung des Gussbildes erwähnt wird³⁾.

Daher verdient ein Vorschlag Beachtung, den, so viel ich sehe, zuerst B. STADE gemacht hat⁴⁾, nämlich statt חֲרֹט vielmehr חָרַט zu vokalisieren und damit abweichend von der massoretischen Vokalisa-

¹⁾ So H. HOLZINGER in E. KAUTZSCH, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* I⁴ (1922) S. 150; entsprechend H. HOLZINGER, *Exodus* (Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament II [1900]) S. 110; B. BAENTSCH, *Exodus-Leviticus* (Handkommentar zum Alten Testament I 2, 1 [1903]) S. 270; P. HEINISCH, *Das Buch Exodus* (Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments I 2 [1934]) S. 231 (HEINISCH interpretiert, Aaron habe Goldplättchen mit Hilfe eines Meissels auf einen Holzkern aufgetragen, wovon im Text nichts dasteht und wozu ein „Meissel“ nicht das geeignete Werkzeug gewesen wäre).

²⁾ Vgl. dazu K. GALLING, *ZDPV* 56 (1933) S. 217. Diese Bedeutung wohl auch 1 QM XII 3.

³⁾ Durch einen kühnen Eingriff in den überlieferten Text hat O. EISSFELDT, *Hexateuch-Synopse* (1922) S. 153*, 273*, die Schwierigkeit zu beseitigen versucht. Er liest עֵץ statt אוֹרֹז und übersetzt danach: „Er bildete ein Stück Holz mit dem Meissel“. Es wird nicht ganz klar, ob EISSFELDT überhaupt nur an ein hölzernes Bild oder an einen mit Gold belegten Holzkern denkt. In jedem Falle lässt sich die vorgeschlagene Textänderung mit textkritischer Methode nicht rechtfertigen. Sie verträgt sich auch nicht mit der folgenden Aussage, falls man nicht mit EISSFELDT die Worte עֵל מַסְכָּה einfach mit „Stierbild“ übersetzt, was schwerlich erlaubt ist. Da ausserdem EISSFELDT V. 24 der gleichen Quelle (E) zurechnet wie V. 4, ist auch auf den sachlichen Widerspruch zu V. 24 hinzuweisen. So hat denn auch der Vorschlag von EISSFELDT, so viel ich sehe, keine Nachfolge gefunden.

⁴⁾ Darauf weist H. HOLZINGER bei KAUTZSCH *a.a.O.* hin, ohne sich selbst diesem Vorschlag anzuschliessen.

tion dasjenige Wort als ursprünglich anzunehmen, das im Alten Testament noch in 2 Reg. v 23 und Jes. iii 22 überliefert ist ¹⁾ und das irgend einen Behälter bezeichnet. Dieser Vorschlag ist denn auch hier und da akzeptiert worden. Man übersetzt dann etwa: „Er schmolz sie in einen Behälter ein“ ²⁾ und denkt bei dem „Behälter“ an einen Schmelztiegel oder gar an eine Gussform. Dann fügt sich die hier gemachte Aussage ganz gut in den Erzählungszusammenhang ein. Es besteht aber die Schwierigkeit, dass das Wort **הָרֵט** nach seinen beiden anderen Vorkommen im Alten Testament nicht gerade einen Schmelztiegel oder eine Gussform bezeichnet, sondern eher einen Beutel oder eine Tasche; es ist reine Willkür, aus der Bedeutung Beutel/Tasche auf eine allgemeine Grundbedeutung „Behälter“ zurückzuschliessen und wiederum aus dieser hypothetischen Grundbedeutung eigens für Ex. xxxii 4a eine spezielle Bedeutung Schmelztiegel/Gussform abzuleiten. Nach 2 Reg. v 23 war **הָרֵט** ein ziemlich grosser Beutel, in den man (nicht gemünztes) Silber im Gewicht von einem Talent (ca. 35 kg) hineintun konnte; und in Jes. iii 22 werden Beutel (gewiss kleineren Ausmassen) unter den Ausstattungsstücken vornehmer Jerusalemer Frauen aufgeführt. Dem entspricht auch das mit **הָרֵט** zweifellos zusammenhängende arabische Wort *ḥarīṭa*, das einen Beutel aus Leder oder aus anderem Material bezeichnet ³⁾ und das speziell einen Beutel meinen kann, in dem man die Eier von Seidenwürmern aufhängt ⁴⁾. Wenn, was nahe liegt, dieses arabische *ḥarīṭa* und damit auch das hebräische **הָרֵט** auf die Wurzel *ḥrt* zurückgeht, die im Arabischen die Grundbedeutung hat „ent-rinden“, „die Rinde abschälen“ ⁵⁾, dann dürfte bei **הָרֵט**/*ḥarīṭa* ursprünglich an einen Beutel aus Bast gedacht sein; und es wäre anzunehmen, dass von da aus dann auch Beutel aus anderem Material mit demselben Wort bezeichnet wurden. Dass man von hier aus nicht zu der Bedeutung Schmelztiegel/Gussform gelangen kann, leuchtet wohl ein. Die zur Diskussion stehende Auffassung von Ex. xxxii 4a leidet aber auch daran, dass ein hebräisches **צור/צור** in der Bedeutung

¹⁾ In 2 Reg. v 23 wird das *ṯ* dieses Wortes defektiv geschrieben; der Konsonantenbestand gleicht also völlig dem **חֶרֶט** von Ex. xxxii 4a. In Jes. iii 22 haben wir allerdings Plene-Schreibung.

²⁾ So G. BEER, *Exodus* (Handbuch zum Alten Testament I 3 [1939]) S. 152; gleichlautende Übersetzung bei H. SCHNEIDER, *Das Buch Exodus* (Echter-Bibel I [1955]) S. 245.

³⁾ Vgl. G. W. FREYTAG, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum . . . excerptum* (1837) S. 145.

⁴⁾ Vgl. CUCHE, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français* (1862) S. 132.

⁵⁾ Vgl. KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon* (1953) S. 333.

„bilden“, „formen“ oder gar „giessen“ nicht nachzuweisen ist. Wollte man aber auch hier die massoretische Vokalisation für sekundär halten und als ursprüngliche Lesart eine Ableitung von יצר annehmen, so käme man zwar zu der Vorstellung vom Töpfer, der seine Tongefässe „bildet“, „formt“, aber noch nicht zu der Vorstellung von einem Metallgiesser.

Merkwürdigerweise hat man meist übersehen, dass in 2 Reg. v 23 nicht nur das Wort חָרֶט wiederkehrt, sondern die ganze Redensart בחרט . . . צור. Dadurch wird nicht nur die Richtigkeit der Lesung חָרֶט in Ex. xxxii 4a gestützt, ja sogar m.E. zur Gewissheit erhoben, sondern es wird zugleich die Bedeutung des ganzen Ausdrucks unzweideutig bestimmt, und zwar in einem ganz anderen Sinne, als er auch bei der Lesung חָרַט angenommen zu werden pflegt. Nach 2 Reg. v 23 liess Naeman die zwei Talent Silbers, die er dem Gehasi nachträglich ohne Wissen von dessen Meister Elisa gab, in zwei Beutel zusammenschnüren (בְּשָׁנֵי חָרָטִים . . . וַיֵּצֵר) und diese Beutel durch zwei seiner jungen Leute vor Gehasi hertragen. Hier ist also damit gerechnet, dass man ein Talent Silber in einem Beutel unterbringen konnte. Rechnet man das Talent zu 34, 272 kg ¹⁾, so ergäbe sich, wenn man reines Silber annimmt, ein Volumen von 3264 cm³; und wenn man sich dieses Volumen in einem Kubus vorstellt, käme man auf einen Kubus von ungefähr 15 cm Kantenlänge, und wenn man an eine Kugel denken wollte, hätte sie einen Radius von ungefähr 9 cm. Nun ist gewiss in Stücken vorliegendes „Bruchsilber“ ²⁾ gemeint; aber auch dann genügte ein Beutel von mässiger Grösse, um ein Talent Silber aufzunehmen, dessen Inhalt nur eben ziemlich schwer war. Deswegen wurden für zwei Talente Silbers zwei Beutel benutzt. Es ist natürlich nicht gesagt, dass der „Beutel“ von Ex. xxxii 4a ebenso gross war wie die Beutel von 2 Reg. v 23; aber einen gewissen Anhaltspunkt geben die Angaben in 2 Reg. v 23 doch für die Vorstellung, die der Verfasser von Ex. xxxii 4a gehabt haben mag. Die Übereinstimmung zwischen Ex. xxxii 4a und 2 Reg. v 23 schliesst ja über den Gebrauch der gleichen Redensart hinaus auch noch die Tatsache ein, dass in beiden Fällen Edelmetall in einen solchen Beutel gefüllt wird ³⁾.

¹⁾ So nach A. BARROIS, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique* II (1953) S. 258.

²⁾ Vgl. dazu W. EILERS, *Die Welt des Orients* II 4 (1957) S. 322 ff.

³⁾ So viel ich sehe, hat allein H. GRESSMANN diesen Sachverhalt beachtet. Er übersetzt: „verschloss es ‘in einen Geldbeutel’“ (so in *Die Anfänge Israels* [Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl I 2 (² 1922)] S. 64). Merkwürdiger-

Kann sonach m. E. kein Zweifel daran bestehen, dass in Ex. xxxiii 4a übersetzt werden muss . . . „und er (Aaron) schnürte es (das Gold) in einem Beutel zusammen“ . . ., so bleibt die Frage, was damit gesagt sein soll. Vielleicht wollte der Verfasser nur den Vorgang der Einsammlung der goldenen Schmuckstücke anschaulich und lebendig schildern. Da er aber den Guss des „goldenen Kalbes“ gar nicht im einzelnen anschaulich beschreibt, befriedigt diese Erklärung nicht recht. Nach 2 Reg. v. 23 diente ein Beutel dazu, um Edelmetall zu transportieren. Vielleicht also wollte der Verfasser andeuten, dass Aaron das gesammelte Gold wegbrachte oder wegbringen liess, um an irgend einem verborgenen Ort und jedenfalls ohne Zuschauen der Israeliten das Werk der Herstellung des Gottesbildes auszuführen. Vielleicht auch wollte er seine Aussage so verstanden wissen, dass Aaron das kostbare Material sogleich sorgsam verwahrte, um es vor etwa entstehender Begehrlichkeit seitens der Israeliten zu schützen. Diese hatten zwar auf seine Aufforderung hin ihre Schmuckstücke gespendet, um ihr Verlangen nach „Göttern“ (V. 1) erfüllt zu bekommen; aber vielleicht konnten sich doch unter ihnen solche finden, vor denen der gesammelte Goldschatz nicht sicher war. Da die Erzählung von Ex. xxxii sowohl Aaron wie das Volk offenkundig in einem nicht sehr günstigen Lichte erscheinen lassen will, könnte durchaus das Erzählungsmotiv vom Verwahren des gesammelten Goldes in diesem Sinne gemeint sein.

Bonn

MARTIN NOTH

weise hat er in der Auslegung (ebd. S. 66) diese Übersetzung nicht berücksichtigt, sondern hier den Text der 1. Aufl. von 1914 (S. 69) unverändert stehen lassen, der vom „Giessen in eine Form“ sprach (in der 1. Aufl. hatte er S. 68 noch übersetzt: „‘goss es in eine Form’“).

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